



Imam Ali And Political Leadership

(Siyasat Nameh Imam 'Ali)
Muhammadī Reysānī

Translated by: Ahmad Rezwani

In Cooperation with
The Islamic Research Foundation Translation Department
Āstān Quds Raḍawī



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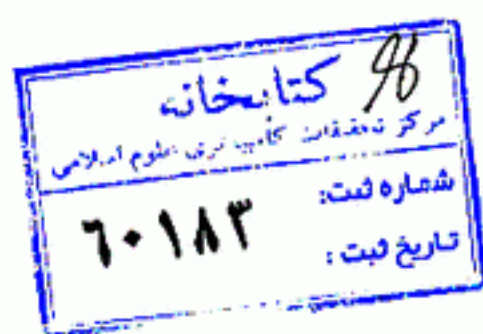


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A Word to the Readers

"Imam Ali and Political Leadership (Siyāsāt Nāmeḥ)" is the most comprehensive and useful part of "The Encyclopedia of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) (*Mawṣū'a al-Imām 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib*)". It is the most perfect asset, for the organization of a well-founded Islamic Civilization and a system of ruling a state in today's human society.

In reality, *Imam Ali and Political Leadership* is a book that speaks about the sovereignty of human values. Thus, this work is extremely helpful and instructive not only for the Islamic world and statesmen, but also for all those who suffer from the dominance of power, wealth and fraudulence under various names, and for those who yearn for the prevalence of values (of which its foremost is justice). Thus and for this reason, this part of the "Encyclopedia" was translated prior to other sections of this collection and presented as a separate volume to the interested readers.

Before reading this volume, respected readers are requested to consider the following points:

1. *Imam Ali and Political Leadership* is a complete translation [into English] of the fourth volume of The Encyclopedia of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) that also includes the Arabic text for those interested in *ḥadīth* and historical texts in its source language.

2. The Introduction to this version of *"Imam Ali and Political Leadership"* is more detailed than the fourth volume of the Encyclopedia, consisting along with new points, an analytical explanation for the reasons of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) solitude towards the end of his ruling and also the reasons behind the disruption and discontinuity of his government despite his efficient policies.¹

1. This analysis added to the Introduction of this book is taken from Volume Seven of *"The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn"* [in Persian].

3. The Introduction of *Imam Ali and Political Leadership* is a summary of the policies of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.). In order to be fully aware of the policies of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) in various fields, it is necessary to refer to the main text [of this volume] according to the order of the topics.

4. The references in the footnotes of the ‘Introduction’ are just a part of the sources used in *Imam Ali and Political Leadership* and it is necessary to refer to the main chapters of the book for further information about other sources.

5. Wherever reference is made to a ‘section’, it refers to the sections of the Encyclopedia of Imām ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib.

In the end, I would like to thank my respected colleagues and everyone else who collaborated in the compilation of the Encyclopedia of Imām ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, in particular the eminent scholars Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Ṭabāṭabā’i, Sayyid Maḥmūd Ṭabāṭabā’i Nijād and the dear professor Mr. Muḥammad ‘Ali Mahdawī Rād, for their efforts in presenting analyses. I am also sincerely grateful to Mr. Aḥmad Riḍwānī who took on the English translation of *Siyāsāt Nāmeḥ* and the eminent scholar Hujjatul-Islam Mohammad Sharif Mahdavi and Mr. Zaid Alsalami for editing this work. I pray to Allah the Beneficent to bestow His rewards on them all, befitting His Grace and the dignity of the Master of the Pious [‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.)].

O Lord, Deign to accept this from us! Verily, You are the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing.¹

Muḥammad Muḥammadī Rayshahrī

21 Shawāl 1431

30 September 2010

1. Qur’ān 2:127

Introduction

(1)

Politics in the Two Schools of Thought

On the 18th of Dhil Hijjah 35 AH/June 17,656 CE, Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) took over as leader of the Muslims and was martyred in his prayer niche on Ramaḍān 21st,40 AH /January 29th,661CE. His rule thus lasted for just four years, nine months and three days.

Among the many issues that merit discussion in relation to this period of his life are the following:

1. How the Imām (a.s.) came to power and the dimensions of his political reform;
2. The various kinds of resistance against the policies of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.), politically and militarily, and the wars and other conflicts during his short period of rulership;
3. The insubordination of Imām ‘Ali’s (a.s.) army, their refusing to go to battles and their weakness in front of the enemy and also tyrannical invasions, plundering and night raids by Mu‘āwiyā;
4. The companions of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) and his agents;
5. Events leading to the plot for the assassination of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) and his Martyrdom.

Of these topics, perhaps the most important is the way that Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) organized his administration, and the reasons for his policies, and that is because of its relevance to the present era and the guiding principles it can offer to contemporary rulers, particularly to the statesmen of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the leaders of Islamic movements. We believe that a clarification of the political principles of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) and a comparison with those of the Umayyad school, would confirm the validity of the Imām’s political principles in governing and respond to the objections that some people have raised against them, both in the past and even today.

According to Imām 'Ali (a.s.), political insight is one of the most crucial requirements of leadership. Imām not only considers 'understanding and correct political perception' as the secret to a government's success and survival, but also stresses that 'governing a state is exactly politics itself'.¹ He asserts that political incapability is a blight that undermines a statesman's authority and can lead to his downfall. In Imām's view, therefore, rulers who do not possess such political insight will not be able to remain in power for long. Eventually, according to the teachings of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), the pursuit of ineffective and wrong policies is a clear sign of the decline of a government's authority and the weakness of a state.²

Therefore, the management of a society on the basis of Islamic principles, as defined by Imām 'Ali (a.s.), is only possible through the effective leadership of the rulers. In other words, statesmanship is one of the general principles of management and it is equally important in other schools. What distinguishes Islam from other doctrines, and puts the political principles of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) above others and those of Umayyad politics, is how politic is viewed and understood.

Umayyad Politics

In the political ideology of the Umayyads, the only principle involved in politics appears to be identifying the goal and achieving it through whatever means possible and necessary. Such approach to politics has been common in all societies throughout history. Even today, politicians and statesmen in the "International Community" seem to have no other definition of politics than this. In other words, politics in the Umayyad School, is the same category as the common understandings of the governments that are not based on any principles or values, and for them, it is not the criteria for distinguishing between truth and falsehood that give them direction in their practices. In describing a politician, Oswald Spengler says, "A person who is politician by nature has nothing to do with the truth and falsehood of things."

1. See 10/1 (Causes of Durability of Governments).

2. See 10/2 (Causes of the Decline of Governments).

The British philosopher Bertrand Russell had a similar view of the political motives and behavior of men in politics:

Political motives in most people include profiteering, selfishness, competition and love of power. For instance, in politics, all human actions originate from the above traits. A political leader who can convince people that he would be able to satisfy these needs, would also be able to subjugate people in such a way that they get to believe that two plus two equals five, or his authority has come down to him right from God.

The political leader who neglects these basic motives is usually deprived of the support of the masses. The psychology of public mobilizing forces is the most basic part of the education of successful political leaders. Most political leaders achieve their positions by convincing people that they have humanitarian ideals. It is easily understood that such a belief will be welcomed as it is emotionally appealing. Fettering people, public lectures and sermons, illegal punishments, and wars are procedures and steps towards the development of emotions. I think, for the followers of illogical thinking, keeping people in emotions provides with a better chance to deceive them and make benefit from them.¹

This interpretation of politics is clearly the same interpretation of Umayyad statesmen, beginning with Mu'āwiya. On this basis, and by relying on the slogan 'Kingdom is barren', in order to seize control and safeguard his acquired power, Mu'āwiya was ready to commit any mischievous act and use any means to achieve this goal.

The Politics of Imām 'Ali (a.s.)

In the view of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), by contrast, politics is the administration of society based on Divine principles and values, and a truth-oriented movement. He is quoted as saying:

1. Robert Edward Eigner, Bertrand Russell, *Best: Silhouette in Satyr*.

الْمُلْكُ سِيَاسَةٌ.

Kingdom is politics.¹

Thus he (a.s.) never approved of doing anything simply for the purpose of achieving or retaining power. On the contrary, he never considered resorting to illegitimate measures, even if the alternative was the possible loss of rightful power.

According to the teachings of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), politics involves recognizing and employing of legitimate strategies to administer a society and provide its people with material and spiritual welfare. In other words, in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) teaching, exploiting illegitimate methods and tactics, to achieve ends, is not politics, rather they are deception, fraud and as in Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.)'s words, 'imposture', even though they may appear effective.²

Therefore, from the viewpoint of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), the government is based on mastery over the hearts and the subjugation of the intellects and emotions, not dominating over them by the exploitation and subjugation of their bodies. In such an understanding of government, there is no need to resort to duplicitous and illegitimate political strategies and methods. According to Imām 'Ali (a.s.), power has no sanctity other than to administer justice, and therefore there is no reason to resort to illegitimate or underhand methods to preserve it. Such mastery over hearts is only possible by using legitimate methods and by treating people in accordance to the principles of justice and truth. Unlawful and false policies may achieve and maintain power for a short while, but they will never last long and they bring nothing to people but harm and loss:

لِلْحَقِّ دَوْلَةٌ وَلِلْبَاطِلِ جَوْلَةٌ.

"Truth has a [lasting] sovereignty while falsehood has a [short-lived] turn."³

1. *al-Amālī* by al-Ṣādūq, p. 132.

2. Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) says about Mu'āwiyā's political cunningness: "It is imposture and devilishness; it looks like intellect but it is not intellect." (*al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 11.)

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 447.

Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) Reforms

In accordance to this approach towards government and understanding of politics, Imām 'Ali (a.s.), immediately after taking over the reins of power, launched a series of state reforms, calling for 'social and economic justice'. He declared that his main object in accepting government was to 'embark on reforms and restore suppressed rights'. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) believed that the events that occurred after the death of the Messenger of God (s.a.w.) had radically distorted the values that he (s.a.w.) had introduced, and there was as a result a great inconsistency between the rule and example of the Prophet (saw), and what had been done in the name of an 'Islamic State'. In his formal statement at the beginning of his Caliphate, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) had asserted that what had previously been done had been inconsistent with the conduct (*sīrah*) and tradition (*sunnah*) of the Messenger of God (s.a.w.). He believed that the current state of affairs was unacceptable; and there was a strong need to establish new ways and procedures of government, and that this idea can be achieved by the 'code of conduct and reforming of Imām 'Ali (a.s.)' which are in concordance with the 'Prophetic traditions and reforms' rather than the 'tradition of the two Sheikhs'¹,

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) with his deep political insight realized that such a process of radical reforms would not be tolerated by the people who had become accustomed to reversed values over a period of years:

لَا تَقُومُ لَهُ الْقُلُوبُ وَلَا تَثْبُتُ لَهُ الْعُقُولُ.

Neither hearts can bear it nor can intellects stand firm before it.²

However, he was a truth-oriented statesman who regarded honesty in speech and clarity in position as well as adherence to the truth, and nothing less, as being the very essence of politics. Thus, in his

1. The first two Caliphs.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 92/3, h 7 & 8. [Translations of *Nahj al-Balāghah* throughout this book are mainly adopted from Sayyid 'Ali Reḍa and William Chittick.]

very first statement after accepting the leadership of the community, he explicitly declared an unrelenting struggle against the errors and deviations of latest years, without the slightest fear of the political repercussions and social tensions that would ensue.

Policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) concerning Confrontation with Deviations

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) had a deep and precise awareness of what had befallen the people and knew how they had acclimatized to the deviations; he therefore became determined to embark on reforms. He knew both the depth of the calamity and the difficulty of removing it from every circle of the society. Thus, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) acted neither hastily nor unplanned. He divided the reforms he intended to make into two categories:

1. Fighting against administrative and economic corruption.
2. Fighting against cultural deviation.

The Policy of Administrative and Economic Reformation

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) began to encounter administrative and economic deviations and fight against corruption in these areas from the very beginning of his rule. He expelled incompetent, corrupt and ill-behaved administrators from their posts and reclaimed the plundered public treasury.

On the first day of his rule, Imām proclaimed his intended reform policy in the following thought provoking words:

وَاعْلَمُوا أَنِّي إِنْ أَجَبْتُكُمْ رَكِبْتُ بِكُمْ مَا أَعْلَمُ ، وَلَمْ أَصْغِ إِلَى قَوْلِ الْقَائِلِ وَعَنْبِ
الْعَائِبِ.

"You should know that if I responded to you, I would lead you as I know I should, and would not care about whatever one may say or reproach."¹

Meaning, you should comply with me in a way that I know. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is a truth-centered person, proficient in the *sunnah* and

1. See 1/3, h. 8.

absorbed in God. What is thought-provoking here is that Imām indicates that he knows that compelling people to comply with his way, would lead to hardships, or even more, being followed with rebukes, faultfinding, and stirring up the society, but his motto was 'I am a truth-centered and I safeguard the truth and nothing else'.

Then, on the second day of his Caliphate, he asserted in his lofty status of social guidance, and in view of his great responsibility of leadership, saying:

أَلَا إِنَّ كُلَّ قَطِيعَةٍ أَنْطَمَتْهَا عُثْمَانُ وَكُلَّ مَالٍ أَعْطَاهُ مِنْ مَالِ اللَّهِ فَهُوَ مَرْدُودٌ فِي
بَيْتِ الْمَالِ ، فَإِنَّ الْحَقَّ الْقَدِيمَ لَا يُبْطِلُهُ شَيْءٌ ، وَلَوْ وَجَدْتُهُ وَقَدْ تَزَوَّجَ بِهِ النِّسَاءُ
وَفُرِّقَ فِي الْبُلْدَانِ ، لَرَدَدْتُهُ إِلَى حَالِهِ ، فَإِنَّ فِي الْعَدْلِ سَعَةً ، وَمَنْ ضَاقَ عَنْهُ الْعَدْلُ
فَاجْتَرَّ عَنْهُ أَضْيُقُ.

Know that any land that 'Uthmān had granted and any wealth from God's property that he had given as gift will be refunded to the Public Treasury; as nothing can annul previous rights. If I find the assets I will restore them to their rightful place, even if they are given as dowries to women or distributed among cities; for "spaciousness is only in justice, and for whomsoever justice is constraining, oppression will be even more so."¹

In a fervent, awakening and thought-provoking sermon, Imām spoke widely on the same day about the responsibilities of the authorities of a community in realizing social justice, stressing that he would not give a special privilege to anybody to use Public Treasury; and those who have taken public treasury, plots of land, water, well-bred horses, and beautiful maids through usurpation, should know that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) will confiscate them all and return them to the Treasury.

These words came down like a heavy thunderbolts, striking like a blacksmith's hammer, on the heads of those who had plundered and pillaged (illegitimately) and were now extremely worried. Thus Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) outcry, advocating justice, reverberated more than ever

1. Sec 2/3, h. 72.

among the well-known figures that soon turned into staunch opponents of his (a.s.) ruling.

These mottos were announced and the people got familiar with a resonance, unknown to them up to then.

On the third day of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) rule, people sought to receive their portion of the Public Treasury. Imām ordered his scribe, 'Ubaydullah ibn Rāfi' as follows:

Start from *Muhājirīn* (the emigrants). Call for them and give them three *dīnārs* each. Then, call for the *Anṣār* (the supporters) and treat them similarly. Anyone else that comes to you, black or red, or..., treat them the same way as you treated *Muhājirīn* and *Anṣār*....¹

The elders among the people found that Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) plan of economic justice was not a slogan, but that it was indeed a real and very serious practice. Objections were raised before the scribe of the Imam [a.s.], who later reported them to him. Not only did the Imām remain unmoved by the onset of oppositions, [especially from insolent figures] and did not hesitate on his path, rather he asserted the continuation of his reforms decisively. He said:

وَاللّٰهُ اِنْ بَقِيتُ وَ سَلِمْتُ هُمْ لَا يُفِئْتُهُمْ عَلَى الْمَحَبَّةِ الْبَيضاء.

"By God, if I remain [in power] and stay secure and sound, I will set them firm on a bright path."²

From this very moment the vengeance for the killing of 'Uthmān began! Was it not ironic that some of the gold-hoarders and affluent stipulated their allegiance to the Imām on the following two conditions?

1. 'Ali (a.s.) should not meddle with the wealth that they have seized during the rule of 'Uthmān.
2. The murderers of 'Uthmān should be identified, arrested and killed.

However, the Imām knew that the revenge for 'Uthmān's bloodshed was only a pretext. Their main concern was to prevent 'Ali (a.s.) from taking back the illegitimate riches and treasured up properties left

1. See 2/1, h. 62.

2. Ibid.

over from the era of 'Uthmān. Regarding this, the Imām had heard various proposals and had strongly rejected all the proposals which were compromising, contradictory to the restoration of rights and based on trampling on the Public Treasury.

The Policy of Cultural Reformation

In different parts of the Encyclopedia of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.), the reasons for people's uprising against 'Uthmān's rule are mentioned; the most important of which was standing up against administrative vices and economic corruptions.¹ People were fed up with the unfair extravagance and nepotism and would not tolerate the incompetent sovereignty and incapability of the statesmen who had been assigned to their posts, only because of their attachment to the Caliph. Accordingly, from the early days of his rule, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) started his bureaucratic and economic reforms, despite all the difficulties that arose thereby. However, the society was not yet ready for the accomplishment of cultural and intellectual reforms and fight against distortions of values and deviations which had taken place in various dimensions in the Islamic state. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) had to delay and act prudently, preparing the ground and then begin the struggle. In other words, this movement was in need of more stability and stronger establishment in his government. That was why Imām 'Ali (a.s.) declared:

لَوْ قَدِ اسْتَوَتْ قَدَمَايَ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْمَدَاحِضِ لَغَيَّرْتُ أَشْيَاءَ.

"If my steps remain firm through these slippery places, I shall alter [many] things."²

The Imām could not easily and immediately build a different culture and fight against what had been fixed in the people's minds, tongues, souls, and characters over a period of twenty five years and they were accustomed to, so far.

Without doubt, this fight would have raised widespread discontent and exacerbated the already complex affairs, hindering the chance for

1. See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (a.s.), vol. 3, p. 157 (Causes of Uprising against 'Uthmān).

2. See 2/4, ḥ 73.

other reformatations. Therefore, forbearance had to be shown until the appropriate time came.

Nonetheless, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) embarked on reforms on the basis of precise planning, clear perspective and explicit goals, aiming at restoring the community back to the Prophet's (s.a.w.) conduct and tradition. He took the first step toward the founding and expansion of social justice and implementation of administrative and economic reforms, carrying it on to the end of his life in order to lay the foundation for an 'Islamic' community in its absolute meaning, based on the Qur'anic values and Divine doctrines. It is regretful that evil-mindedness, inhumanity and tyranny hindered this great man of justice and faith, from achieving all those noble goals.

What we are dealing with here is an account of the most fundamental reforms of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) in the bureaucratic, cultural, economic, social, judicial, security, military and international areas, based on texts of history and traditions, while trying to explain the principles of the reforms. Without question, a thorough explanation of the foundations of Imām 'Ali's policies and an interpretation of his reformation certainly demand more efforts and time.

(2)

Ruling over the Hearts

Islam is the religion of governance (*hukūmah*), as is clearly evident in the doctrines of this Divine faith. However, a close study of the Islamic texts dealing with the foundations of an Islamic government indicates that Islam is a religion that rules over people's hearts rather than over their 'bodies', dominate them with political authority. The principles of this type of ruling and statesmanship are tantamount to the political foundations of the Islamic state and the political foundations of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) ruling system are the very foundations of Islamic management.

Islam is the system for the material and spiritual advancement of human beings. The most basic element of this code is love. The role of love in the actualization of an Islamic government and the plans provided by the Divine religion for the development of human society is so highly emphasized upon, that Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) considers the religion of Islam as nothing other than love, saying:

هَلِ الدِّينُ إِلَّا الْحُبُّ؟

Is religion anything but love?¹

In the view of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), the main pillars of Islam and the principles of its plan of perfection are based on love for Allah. In this regard he says:

إِنَّ هَذَا الْإِسْلَامَ دِينُ اللَّهِ الَّذِي اصْطَفَاهُ لِنَفْسِهِ ، وَ اصْطَنَعَهُ عَلَى عَيْنِهِ وَأَصْفَاهُ
خَيْرَةً خَلَقَهُ ، وَأَقَامَ دَعَائِمَهُ عَلَى عَجَّتِهِ.

"Verily, this Islam is the religion which Allah has chosen for Himself, formulated before His eyes, for which He selected the best among His Creation and He established its pillars on His love."²

1. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 71. Friendship in the Qur'ān and hadith p. 259.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 198.

Religious and truthful political leaders of the Islamic nation are manifestations of the people's love for their Lord and the people's love for them is love for God. In this respect, the fundamental basis of the Islamic government is beyond people's allegiance and their votes. An Islamic government is rooted in the people's love. This is indeed the secret of so much emphasis given by the Holy Qur'an and Islamic traditions regarding love of Ahlul Bayt (a.s.).

On the other hand, it is clearly evident that love is not something which could be gained by compulsion. It is not possible for a person, by merely reading a statement or a pamphlet, to start loving someone or something or being forced to do so, contrary to his inner drive.

Man loves beauty. This love for beauty lies deep in his soul, and by nature, he loves all types of material and spiritual beauties. Consequently, if he views someone's personality, manner and behavior as beautiful, he would fall in love with him; and if he finds him displeasing, he would turn away from him. This is what human nature dictates, unless this inner nature changes.

We therefore understand that the secret of the emphasis on showing love for Ahlul Bayt (a.s.) and the philosophy of its necessity, are in persuasion to achieve real knowledge about them, as their character, behavior and treatment of people is so beautiful and attractive that true and unbiased knowledge of them simply leads to loving and attachment to them. How is it possible for a person to see and know so much inner beauty in the conduct of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and yet not to love him, unless one has lost his human conscience and defiled his pure and noble nature? This is the secret of the people's such fervent love and devotion towards Imām 'Ali (a.s.). Clearly, those who love him are of various types throughout history and unbounded by ideologies and beliefs, from all schools of thought; as beauty and the love for beauty have no boundaries, such as love for Imām 'Ali (a.s.) who is the greatest manifestation of beauty on earth.

The comportment of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) during his life was totally adherent with the truth, truth-centeredness and the spreading of truth. He (a.s.), during his brief period of reign, demonstrated the most beautiful aspect of human rule. Would it be possible to behold

Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) grace, beauty and its manifestation in his government and yet not to fall in love with it?!

Now, before we elaborate on the historical texts and traditions relating to the statesmanship of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), we intend to review the Imām's political principles in government. This review would be very brief and within our limited ability and time. In reality, restating these principles is manifesting the secret of the beauties and attractions of Imam 'Ali (as.) and indicating the political principles of ruling over hearts. We hope that the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran do their best in getting to know, introducing and implementing these beauties and try to identify the reality of their political and administrative life as well as their transient responsibility with Imām 'Ali (a.s.), and hence delineating a beautiful perspective of the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) for all mankind.

One: Administrative Policies

The managerial policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) in administration can be stated in the following principles:

1. Honesty in Politics

Honesty is the most fundamental principle in the administrative policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.). Throughout history, statesmen were mostly dishonest to people; what they have told people was not what they had thought about, nor acted upon accordingly. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) had set honesty and truthfulness to the people, as a steadfast principle in his sovereignty and remained faithful to it from the early days of his reign to the moment of his Martyrdom. Without doubt, honesty has been one of the most significant causes of the everlasting attractions of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) rule over the hearts throughout history and an explicit distinction between his (a.s.) politics and the Umayyad politics.

In the Umayyad culture, honesty is meaningless. All sorts of fabrication, lies and imposture are the motif of their politics. As previously mentioned and as it is evident to those having a slight familiarity with the history of politics, most statesmen of the past had no implication of politics except for inversion of reality and truth and spreading falsehood in their interactions. Narrating a

memory of a true follower of Imam Ali's (as.) school of politics, the late Imām Khomeini in this respect would be very beneficial and interesting. After his first intense attack against the tyrannical monarchy he was arrested and a high government official met with him and spoke to him about politics. His account of what that person said is as follows:

"[He said:] Politics is a kind of malice, falsehood, rascality, etc, so you'd better leave it to us!"

Imām Khomeini goes on to say:

"He was right in that. If politics is such, then it is theirs."¹

As for the professional statesmen, if lying, deception and hypocrisy are eliminated from politics, nothing will be left of it for them. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) politics is in extreme contradiction with this. In his view, honesty is the primary condition of statesmanship. If honesty is left out of the statesmen's actions and relations with people, then, human rights, adherent to law, social justice, and being truth-oriented, etc..., would be meaningless and vain. In other words, all these in the absence of honesty would be mere slogans for deception of people and instruments for further violation of their rights.

In the politics of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), employing 'inverting' methods is permissible only in battles, within all its restrictions, exceptions, and frameworks which will be pointed out when mentioning the warfare policies of the Imām (a.s.).

2. Truth-Orientation

Adherence to the truth is the manifestation of political honesty in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) government, and is evident all through the short period of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) reign. He thought of nothing but truth and intended nothing but the establishing of rights. His outcry was for the restoring of rights and his silence was for preparing the grounds for safeguarding the truth. His teachings in this regard are very thought-provoking and awakening. There were many who spoke of truth and claimed to be adherent to it; but when their personal,

1. *Wilāyate Faqīh*, p. 192 - 193.

group and sectarian interests happened to conflict with their slogans, their interpretations and justifications would come to their aid to surrender the truth. But, Alis's steadfastness and firm stance on truth and right is indeed a matter of wonder. In his view the 'Principle' is *right*. So it must be equally applied to everyone and practiced by all, friends, near of kin, insiders, outsiders, etc.

3. Adherence to the Law

Law is a strong cord that brings union and alliance among different social strata. What is addressed here is not the issue of lawlessness, as a lawless society is not a human society, rather a jungle. In fact, the position of law and the way rulers and people look at it, hold significance. The sanctity of law according to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is something irreplaceable. This can be seen in many texts, such as "Imām 'Ali (a.s.) Encyclopedia", where it reports his interaction with people in financial matters, implementation of legal punishments, judgments, etc. Contemplating on these narrations will show that from the view of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) no one was above the law and no person or no authority could hinder the execution of Divine law. The position of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) clearly indicates that he did not regard himself as a man of authority above the law.¹ This was why he did not tolerate any compromising and struggled against flattery and hypocrisy in politics, strongly fought against falsehood, pretending rightfulness(as a show), baseless justifications and [personal] interpretations that were so prevalent in the Umayyad politics.

4. Administrative Discipline

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) frequently and emphatically enjoined orderliness in affairs and discipline in behavior. This instruction was so important that Imām, even in his deathbed —where he would naturally have stated his most significant and efficient instructions—emphasized it.²

He viewed organization in life and discipline in action as among the lofty goals of Divine Revelation:

1. See 3/3, h. 89.

2. See 3/5, h. 102.

أَلَا إِنَّ فِيهِ عِلْمَ مَا يَأْتِي وَالْحَدِيثَ عَنِ الْمَاضِي وَدَوَاءَ دَائِكُمْ وَنَظْمَ مَا بَيْنَكُمْ....

"Verily, in it [the Qur'an] there is the knowledge of the future, the accounts of the past, the remedy to your maladies, and (what brings) order of your affairs."¹

He would continuously advise his administrators to attempt to maintain administrative discipline and not to forget orderliness in affairs, doing whatever they plan to in its due time and not wasting their time in disorder and confusion.

5. Appointment of Competent and Capable Administrators

Administrators are the executive arms of the rulers and they are the agents of establishing justice and spreading the law in society. Their competence, capability, steadfastness and behavioral soundness have doubtlessly the most effective function in organizing the society in its various dimensions. Therefore, from the perspective of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), in the appointing of administrators, competence and merits must be the criteria, rather than kinship or any kind of social relations. 'Meritocracy' is the quintessence of appointment in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) politics. Moral competence, nobility, expertise and capability should be the criteria for the appointments, and not kinship, or any kind of causal, factional, and sectarian relations, particularly if they are with political motivations (and void of truth).

The Imām maintains that, directors and officials do not have the right to grant governmental posts to people on the basis of familial or political relations. They do not have the permission to consign people's affairs to those who do not come from a noble and righteous family; they are not privileged to assign those who are far from moral virtues and good disposition. They cannot employ those who do not possess the proper expertise and necessary cheerfulness in performing executive jobs. He (a.s.) viewed the job of an administrator as a 'trust' that should not be consigned to anyone but a trustworthy person.

6. Providing the Administrators with Their Financial Needs

Imām believed that the administrators must enjoy sufficient remuneration. According to Imām 'Ali (a.s.), in preventing othe

1. See ḥ. 101.

formation of any corruption and in introducing reforms, it is necessary that administrators be handsomely remunerated. In this case, on one hand, they will avoid the embezzlement of the Public Treasury, and on the other hand, the officials will have the authority to punish the mutinous and treacherous and discipline the corrupt so that they would have no excuse for violation.

7. Special Care for the Armed Forces

Armed forces are the strong fortresses for safeguarding the sovereignty of a community. Their military power is definitely very effective in maintaining security and preventing the intrusion of the enemy, and above all, in barring even the slightest temptation by the rebels to launch an invasion. Military forces according to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) must enjoy special care from the officials. They must interact with troops as fathers do with their sons

8. Necessity for Setting up an Establishment to Monitor the Function of the Administrators

The world is a slippery place, and worldly attractions and glamour may cause one to blunder and fall. The officials are to take utmost care in selecting worthy administrators, and appointing pure-hearted, good-tempered and steadfast people for administrative tasks. Once they achieve this goal, they should not feel relieved of possible administrative corruption, violation of the law and behavioral abnormalities. Therefore, setting up an organization for supervising the administrators' behavior and watching over the administrative violations and deviations would be mandatory. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) strongly forbade prying into people's privacy in a ruling system;¹ but he always emphasized the surveillance over employees of an Islamic state and monitoring the behavior of administrators through certain intelligence establishments, lest they should neglect their duties or violate people's rights by means of their power and the authority which is at their disposal.

That section of Imām's letters in this respect and his letters to the wrongdoing administrators such as Ash'ath ibn Qays, Ziyād ibn

1. See *Nahj al-Balāghah*, letter 53.

Abih, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, Qudāma ibn 'Ajlān, Maşqala ibn Haybara, and Mundhir ibn Jārūd, indicate that he (a.s.) had employed very powerful intelligence establishments in his government to monitor the administrators.

However, what is very important here is that the informants were both honest and faithful so that they would watch over carefully, follow up steadfastly and investigate honestly on one hand, and be truthful and loyal in their reports on the other.

The people that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) had selected for this extremely important task were so highly endowed with justice, truthfulness, and authority that their reports were the bases for administrative rewards and punishments. Based on the reports, those who had done good were rewarded, the treacherous were punished once proven guilty and the corrupt ones were expelled from work, in order to set an example for others.

9. Prevention of Gifts

In order to put an end to bribery in the bureaucratic system and cleanse the society of this evil and corruptive practice, he (a.s.) banned the acceptance of gifts. Nonetheless, imposters will try to penetrate into the administrative body of the government to utilize the state facilities by any possible means, Imām (a.s.), therefore, considered the acceptance of gifts by the administrators as transgression (*ghulāl*) and called the bribery as a kind of polytheism (*shirk*).

10. Decisiveness together with Tolerance

Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) behavior highly represented decisiveness and tolerance. From his point of view, administrators must practice tolerance and flexibility while being decisive. He regards extreme violence as harmful to management and he also considers too much leniency and easygoingness in administering justice in people's affairs as detrimental. According to Imām (a.s.), a successful manager would be he who can devise a midway between decisiveness and compassion, strictness and leniency. Wherever there is need for firmness, he should practice it and not back down; and if leniency is demanded for being successful, he should not avoid using it.

Decisiveness coupled with tolerance, and strictness joined with leniency is the strategy that Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) employed to prevent rebels from turning more rebellious and the hopeful from becoming desperate. Pondering on factual examples of what was said here –and presented in this book– would be very instructive.

Two: Cultural Policies

Discussing the various dimensions of cultural policies demands much wider attention. Here, however briefly, we will mention certain points as an introduction to texts of history and *ḥadīth*:

1. Development of Education

In Imām ‘Ali’s (a.s.) system of government, cultural development precedes economic development, for the fact that economic development is not possible without cultural development, and also unconscious society submerged in ignorance neither enjoys the economic possibilities, facilities and blessings nor is it endowed with skills to use them or be even aware of the necessity to use them. Cultural and educational development is a true need of the human soul and mind, and economic development is the need of the body. Without doubt the needs of the soul and the intellect supersede the needs of the body.

Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) considered knowledge as the origin and basis of all physical and spiritual goodness and a criterion for the evaluation of human beings. He believed that ignorance is the source of all evils and disappointments:

قِيَمَةُ كُلِّ امْرِئٍ مَا يَعْلَمُهُ.

“The worth of every person is what he knows.”¹

الْعِلْمُ أَصْلُ كُلِّ خَيْرٍ . الْجَهْلُ أَصْلُ كُلِّ شَرٍّ.

“Knowledge is the root of all good, and ignorance is the origin of all evils.”²

1. See *Science and Wisdom in the Qur'an and Hadith*, 1/30.

2. Ibid. h. 15 For more information on the texts denoting the precedence of cultural development over economic development, see Chapter Two of Part One of the book.

He (a.s.) also emphasized that the people's need for knowledge and acquisition of moral virtues are higher than their economic needs:

إِنَّ النَّاسَ إِلَى صَالِحِ الْأَدَبِ أَحْوَجُ مِنْهُمْ إِلَى الْفِضَّةِ وَالذَّهَبِ.

"Verily, people need righteous manners (*adab*) more than they need silver and gold."¹

إِنَّكُمْ إِلَى احْتِسَابِ الْأَدَبِ أَحْوَجُ مِنْكُمْ إِلَى احْتِسَابِ الْفِضَّةِ وَالذَّهَبِ.

"Verily, your need to acquire manners is more than your need to acquire silver and gold."²

By looking at this issue from another perspective, we notice that the Divine teachings have clearly stated that the philosophy of Revelation, the secret of Prophethood and the reason for government in the doctrine of Prophecy is to educate and discipline human beings, remove ignorance and motivate the intellect. Similarly, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) whose mind, tongue, and manners were the clarifiers and explainers of the Prophetic culture, has presented this reality in a very beautiful form in his sermons.³ He clearly presented in his practical way of life the necessity of attaching importance to the culture of the society, giving priority to education over daily human needs and stressing the development of culture along with other dimensions of life. How subtly he defines the "age of pagan ignorance (*jāhiliyya*)" as a symbol of spreading ignorance and total destruction of knowledge, and without doubt a Divine Prophetic community and that of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) must be far from that.⁴

2. Reforming the Culture

Among the sublime and eminent policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is the battle against false traditions, impolite manners, unsuitable behaviors, and the emphasis on decent manners and befitting behaviors, or, in short, rectifying the culture of the public. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) would

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 3590.

2. *Ibid*, h. 3835.

3. See *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 182.

4. See *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 2.

advise his administrators not to eliminate anything from the society on the pretext that it is left over from the past. He would ask them to have a thorough study of them and support the beneficial and humane traditions and fight only against evil traditions, and never tolerate their perpetuation and expansion.

3. Criticism, Yes! Flattery, Never!

Criticism is a right by means of which other rights are restored. It prevents despotism -the most dangerous pitfall of governments-.

In a society where criticism is free and people are able to disclose the rulers' deficiencies and flaws, the statesmen can better notice their own weaknesses, fight against corruption and injustice and offer valuable services.

On the other hand, in the absence of criticism, the grounds will be paved for the emergence of flatterers, sycophants and hypocrites. The statesmen's weak points in policies, plans and steps will also remain unnoticed, and thus corruption, decadence, and injustice in governmental organizations will develop, leading to the fall of the governments.

When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) took over the government, undue praises and exaggerated compliments about authorities were part of the general culture. The rulers did not prevent these things on the contrary they further encouraged them. It was in this way that the culture of flattery and sycophancy had developed and the cunning enemies of truth had achieved political and social positions by flattering the commanders and authorities, without being qualified for those jobs.

On the other hand, since the authorities were never criticized, they began to slowly consider themselves immaculate and flawless, to the extent that they took the constructive and compassionate criticisms as offensive and deemed it necessary to stand against them, in order to protect their position.

Of the most exciting and exhilarating measures of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) taken in rectification of the common culture, was battling against flattery and sycophancy and his stress on constructive criticism.

He (a.s.) asked his administrators to appoint their associates, consultants and companions, from among people who were more straight forward in their impartiality and their sincerity. They were told that they must treat them in a way that they would never appeal to flattery, evade any criticism or excessively praise [others]. He (a.s.) would also openly and staunchly oppose any praises [made to himself] and mordantly respond to those who praised him. He asked people neither to praise nor to flatter him for his Divine duties, but instead to criticize him benevolently if they found anything wrong with his plans or if they found his manners in need of criticism, and that they should not talk to him the way they talk to the tyrants.

Interestingly enough, the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) had brought up the issue of letting others criticize him, not only in regular circumstances but even on the most critical occasions of his government, like amid the battle of Şiffin.

It so happened that in an exciting speech, Imām (a.s.) made some remarks regarding the mutual rights of the leadership and the people. One of his companions who was very excited by these points began as usual to praise and applaud him while expressing his loyalty. Without being influenced by his praising and applause or even being concerned about the sensitive and critical current circumstances, Imām (a.s.) responded to such admiration as follows:

وَأَنْ مِنْ أَسَخَفِ حَالَاتِ الْوَلَاةِ عِنْدَ صَالِحِ النَّاسِ أَنْ يُظَنَّ بِهِمْ حُبُّ الْفَخْرِ، وَيُوضَعَ
أَمْرُهُمْ عَلَى الْكِبَرِ. وَقَدْ كَرِهْتُ أَنْ يَكُونَ جَالَ فِي ظَنِّكُمْ أَنِّي أُحِبُّ الْإِطْرَاءَ وَاسْتِيعَ
الْتِنَاءَ، وَكَسْتُ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ كَذَلِكَ، وَلَوْ كُنْتُ أُحِبُّ أَنْ يُقَالَ ذَلِكَ لَتَرَكْتُهُ انْحِطَاطًا لِلَّهِ
شُبْحَانَهُ...

فَلَا تُكَلِّمُونِي بِهَا تُكَلِّمُونِي بِالْجَبَابِرَةِ، وَلَا تَتَحَفَّظُوا مِنِّي بِمَا يُتَحَفَّظُ بِهِ عِنْدَ أَهْلِ الْبَادِرَةِ،
وَلَا تُخَالِطُونِي بِالْمُصَانَعَةِ، وَلَا تُظَنُّوا بِي اسْتِغْفَالًا فِي حَقِّ قَبْلِ لِي، وَلَا أَلْيَاسَ إِعْظَامَ لِنَفْسِي،
فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ اسْتَقْفَلَ الْحَقَّ أَنْ يُقَالَ لَهُ أَوْ الْعَدْلَ أَنْ يُعْرَضَ عَلَيْهِ كَانَ الْعَمَلُ بِهَا انْقِلَ عَلَيْهِ.

“According to righteous people, the worst trait of rulers is that it may be thought about them that they love glory, and their

affairs may be taken to be based on pride. I really hate that it may occur to your mind that I love high praises or to hear eulogies. By the Grace of Allah, I am not like this. Even if I had loved to be mentioned like this, I would have quickly given it up in submissiveness before God"

"Do not address me in the same manner despots are addressed, do not evade me as the people of passion are (to be) evaded, do not meet me with flattery and do not think that I shall take it badly if a true thing is said to me or think that I wish to be admired, because the person who finds the truth said to him or justice presented to him unbearable, it would be more difficult for him to act upon them."¹

Furthermore, he draws the following conclusion from his words:

فَلَا تَكْفُرُوا عَنِّي مَقَالَةً بِحَقِّ أَوْ مَشُورَةً بِعَدْلٍ، فَإِنِّي لَسْتُ فِي نَفْسِي بِفَوْقِ أَنْ أُخْطِئَ وَلَا أَمْرُ
ذَلِكَ مِنْ فِعْلِي إِلَّا أَنْ يَكْفِيَنِي اللَّهُ مِنْ نَفْسِي مَا هُوَ أَمَلُّكَ بِهِ مِنِّي.

Therefore, do not abstain from saying the truth to me or pointing out a matter of justice, because I do not regard myself being immune from mistake. I am not immune from making mistakes in my actions, unless God helps me in my affairs as He is more Powerful than I am.²

By these words, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) clearly expressed that if it were not through God's assistance and his Divine infallibility (*'ismah*), he would possibly fall into mistakes too. Despite his enjoyment of this Divine immunity, he did not want people to be hindered by his political and spiritual status from criticizing him, and stressed that if they realized anything mischievous and wrong in his government, they must proceed and point it out to him.

In other words, by responding to the excessive admiration of that person, Imām (a.s.) on one hand firmly condemned the bad custom of praising the commanders and political authorities in the Muslim community, and on the other hand, he wanted to develop in people the spirit of criticizing and scrutinizing the actions of the authorities

1. See 4/5, h. 164.

2. Ibid.

of the Islamic state, even if they were on the highest level of administration, like the infallible Imām (a.s.), and also encouraged the acceptance of constructive criticism among the high ranking authorities of the Muslim community.

4. Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) Reaction to Destructive Criticism

One point that must be understood at the end of this discourse is Imām's (a.s.) sagacious reaction to criticism. Taking his conduct in encountering criticism and the objections of three main political opposition trends, i.e., *Nākihīn* (covenant breakers), *Qāsiṭīn* (deviators), and *Māriqīn* (transgressors) into consideration, indicate that although he formally and practically asked people to express their criticism, he did not allow the seekers of power, the spiteful and the plotters to tell and write whatever they wished in order to achieve their political goals on the pretext of criticism.¹

5. Adherence to Truth, rather than to Personalities

However high people soar towards the truth, the possibility of their eventual deviation can never be negated. Therefore, it is important that people, in following the personalities, to notice this fact, and never consider human beings as 'absolute'. Paying attention to this issue and other enlightening teachings of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), should be regarded as the most fundamental guidelines of that holy Imām in rectifying the general culture of the public. It is obvious that in political and social trends, most deviations that occur, originate from absolutism in regards to figures and the notion of 'personalism' in taking stances.

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) used to warn people that personalities, however great, noble, popular or trustworthy they may be, cannot be a criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood. He tried to get the society to a stage of awareness, understanding of stances and criteria and cultural consciousness, that people would measure personalities and their stand by truth and to see the truth as a criterion for getting to know personalities, and not the other way round.

1. *Leadership in Islam*, M. Muḥammadī Rayshahrī, p. 391-418.

Three: Economic Policies

The people who stood up against 'Uthmān's policies proclaimed that the reasons for their uprising was economic disorder, the caliph's excessive open-handedness, unnecessary spending, negligence of people's livelihood and dishonest use of the Public Treasury.

In such an environment, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) from one side stressed on the issue of production, and from the other, gave priority to the regulation of the market, and to conclude, he paid close attention to the distribution of the Public Treasury, rejecting any kind of discrimination. Perhaps this was Imām's most difficult position.

The principles of the policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) in economy can be specified as follows:

1. Promotion of Work Ethos

Paying attention to work and endeavor occupies a high status in the teachings of Imām 'Ali (a.s.). From his (a.s.) point of view, economic poverty is caused by the culture of lassitude, inactivity, laziness and incapability. A society replete with cheerfulness, full of positive movement and dominated by the culture of work will not be inflicted by poverty which is the origin of many spiritual, material, individual and social maladies. Imām therefore highly emphasized the necessity of working and striving, regarding work, as an act of worship and striving for the improvement of living condition, as taking steps towards God Almighty.

2. Agricultural Development

Land is the source of life. According to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) people who possess land and water and at the same time suffer from poverty are far from Divine Mercy and deprived of God's support. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) emphasized reviving the land and highly recommended the development of farming as a means of eliminating poverty from the society. He would ask people to engage in the prospering and developing of lands. Above all this, he regarded paying attention to the agriculture as a touchstone for evaluating the governments and their efficiency in rulership. He considered agricultural development

as among the main duties of the administrators and commissioned the troop commanders to defend the farmers' rights.

3. Development of Crafts

Due to its regional conditions, the society in which Imām 'Ali (a.s.) had set up his government did not have the qualifications for the development of crafts and industry. However, according to traditions quoted from him, he (a.s.) placed great importance on crafts, using the term 'treasures' for such professions. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) enjoined his administrators to seriously support the artisans and he encouraged craftsmen to take utmost care regarding the production of well-made goods and never sacrifice a product's quality' for the sake of speed in its production.

4. Development of Trade

In early Islam and also during the time of the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) trade played the most important role in the society. As a result, from one side he would encourage the trade prosperity, and on the other side he would stress on supporting the merchants within the governmental structure. He would also explain how to practice trade, how merchants were to deal in transactions, and in what manner trading had to be performed.

5. Direct Supervision of the Market

The market presents the outcomes of the economic endeavors of a society. Transactions take place in the marketplace, and the businessmen are somehow directly associated with people. The well-being of the market would not only lead to healthy transactions, but also to people's proper use of the process of economic struggles and endeavor for daily sustenance. Without doubt, the first loss due to abnormality of improper relations in market transactions would be primarily sustained by the people.

Due to the importance of the market and its great impact on the economical situation of the people and their livelihood, Imām 'Ali

(a.s.) himself directly supervised the market and the quality of the transactions made there. He (a.s.) would go to the markets of Kūfa every morning and, as the narrator expresses, 'like a children's teacher', instruct the traders to observe piety and avoid shortchanging, defraud, lying, deceiving and oppressing the customers. The narrations that report this direct supervision are very interesting and instructive to read. The Imām (a.s.) would shout among the Muslims, enjoining them not to practice fraud and hoarding, to be fair and honest in offering the goods as they really were, not to pretend genuineness, to treat the customers in a well-disposed manner, not to humiliate the seller when they are buying goods and not to overestimate their own goods when selling them.

All of these admonitions, warnings and instructions of Imām (a.s.) that were given to the tradesmen in regards to the practice of honesty, justice, human disposition, dignity and magnanimity, are all worth paying attention.

6. Fair Levying of Taxes

Rulership according to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is for the sake of people and the establishment of their rights. That is why a part of the government's financial needs must be met by the people who benefit from the government, and are engaged in producing and trading under its protection. It is for such reasons that taxes are levied in all ruling systems, although by different methods of collection and inclusiveness. In the view point of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), while the levying of taxes and the government's responsibility in receiving these taxes from people are stressed, the type of approach towards taxes, why they should be levied, how they must be collected are of particular importance. According to him, having trust in people, emphasis on not creating problems for them and also drawing people's attention to the status of taxes are very important.

In an instructions to one of his administrators, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) states: "Never use the whip and never put the people under pressure for collecting taxes." The administrator said, "In that case I will return the same way I had gone [to collect taxes], because the people

will not give me anything." Imām (a.s.) replied, "Even if it happens so."¹

A glance at the teachings of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) in this respect shows that the tax organization and its agents are bound to win the people's trust, and to observe Islamic morality and religious behavior, while they are trying to be alert and careful in safeguarding the Public Treasury and vigilantly learn about the problems of taxation.

7. Not Delaying the Distribution of Public Assets

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) never approved the blocking of public assets in the state's treasure; he would rather try to deliver them to the needy immediately. Imām's (a.s.) code of conduct indicates that he would not tolerate the delay of its distribution even for one night. He firmly believed that what rightly belonged to the people had to be delivered to them as soon as possible.

8. People's Equal Enjoyment of Public Assets

The equal allocation of the public assets among all Muslims was one of the policies in the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.). This was contrary to what had been practiced in the years previous to his reign and it was therefore very hard for the well off people and those that benefited from the government and were the influential of that time to accept it. In Imām's view, the skin color of a Muslim, his tribe, ancestors and their social status did not make any difference in their portion of the public assets. Arabs and non-Arabs, the *muhājirīn* (migrants) and the *Anṣār* (supporters), black and white and even the freed slaves and their former masters were equally treated and all enjoyed equally from the public incomes.

9. Provision of Basic Needs of Life for all

The general trend of the economic policy of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is to struggle against poverty and eradicate it from the Islamic society. His (a.s.) guidelines in this respect are very interesting and thought-provoking. He insists that the hunger and poverty of a group is

1 .See 5/8, ḥ. 208.

caused by unlimited exploitation by another group and the squandering of the wealthy:

مَا جَاعَ فَقِيرٌ إِلَّا بِمَا مُنِعَ بِهِ غَنِيٌّ

"A poor person would never go hungry except by that which a rich one enjoys (and he is deprived of it)."¹

The Islamic government is bound to prevent the undue accumulation of wealth in the hands of the powerful, and try to eradicate the means of any exploitation by the rich, and with constant attempts and accurate planning assist the poor to meet their basic needs of their lives. In that short period of his (a.s.) ruling and despite all the clashes, intrigues and hindrances, he made Kūfa reach such a condition about which he proclaimed:

مَا أَصْبَحَ بِالْكُوفَةِ أَحَدٌ إِلَّا نَاعِمًا؛ إِنَّ أَدْنَاهُمْ مَنَزِلَةٌ لِّيَأْكُلَ مِنَ الْبُرِّ وَيَجْلِسُ فِي الظِّلِّ

وَيَشْرَبُ مِنْ مَاءِ الْفُرَاتِ

"All in Kūfa are now enjoying ease and comfort. The most inferior in status among them has bread, can sit under shelter and drink from the water of the Euphrates."²

Imām's (a.s.) recommendations to his administrators for paying attention to the lower classes of society and the 'low-income stratum' are extremely astonishing. He does not tolerate the destitution of a Christian whom the rich benefited from and now in his old age had been abandoned³ and commanded his men to meet his needs through the Public Treasury. He (a.s.) also ordered his governors to search all corners of the society to identify the poor and needy and to save them from the claws of poverty.

10. Prohibition of Giving Gifts from the Public Assets

Governors are the trustees of the people and what they have at their disposal is a trust in their hand. Government administrators do not have the right to give away gifts from the government's assets on

1. See 5/11, h. 247.

2. See 5/11, h. 249.

3. See 5/14, h. 250.

various occasions and for different reasons. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) considers such treatment of the Public Treasury, as a form of tyranny:

جودُ الولايةِ بغيرِ المسلمينَ جورٌ وخترٌ.

“The generosity of the administrators with the public assets is a tyranny and a betrayal.”¹

11. Prevention of Granting Privileges to One’s Kin

We said earlier that from the viewpoint of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) what is at the disposal of the governors and administrators is entrusted to them and they are allowed to use these assets only for administering and rendering services. They do not have the right to allocate certain privileges or provisions to specific group of people. The children and close relatives of political and social dignitaries in Imām ‘Ali’s (a.s.) government and also his own children and relatives did not enjoy any particular privileges. Moreover, in order to set an example for others, the Imām (a.s.) showed more sensitivity towards his friends and kin and was harder and stricter on them in using the public assets.

12. Economization with Public Assets

As previously mentioned, the Imām’s policy in spending public assets, how the administrators should use them and how the Public Treasury should be spent, is very remarkable and instructive. In order to draw the attention of the administrators to maximum economization in [spending] public incomes and preventing them from extravagance, the Imām (a.s.) asked them through a decree to observe frugality, even in writing letters to him:

أدقوا أقلامكم ، و قاربوا بينَ سطوركُم ، واحذفوا عني فضولكم واقصدوا

قصَدَ المعاني وإياكم والإكثار ، فإنَّ أموالَ المسلمينَ لا تحتمِلُ الإضرارَ.

“Sharpen your pens and reduce the space between lines; eliminate needless and useless things when writing to me,

1. See 5/14, h. 262.

concern yourself solely with the meaning and beware of verbosity in writing, for the Muslim public treasury does not tolerate any loss."¹

It is clear that when an administrator hears about so much carefulness in writing letters, he would no longer give lavish banquets, ride costly horses, or try to achieve more and more welfare for himself through public assets.

Imām's personal economy and thrift in spending the public treasury is also extremely astounding. He would not even use the lantern that belongs to the public treasury when responding to those people who came to him at night for personal purposes. Along the same line is the thought-provoking and instructive story of Ṭalḥa and Zubair who went to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) to discuss their personal problems while he was taking care of affairs of the public treasury. He turned off the light which belonged to the public treasury and had another lantern brought in, unwilling to use the public belonging for personal purposes even for a few moments.²

Four: Social Policies

In social issues, the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) has also very firm and strong foundations, methods, and positions. The texts recounting the dimensions of his social policies are insightful and noteworthy. Based on these texts, Imām's principles of social policies can be recounted as follows:

1. Social Justice

Justice is the firmest, most pivotal, comprehensive and fundamental issue of the policies and rulership of Imām 'Ali (a.s.). The sacred name of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is so intertwined with justice that his name reminds us of justice and justice reminds us of him. Justice always prevailed in Imām 'Ali's life (a.s.) to the extent that he sacrificed his life dying a martyr's death in the way of establishing justice and spreading equity.

1. See 5/16, ḥ. 282.

2. See 5/16, ḥ. 283.

We emphasized the above point in order to ascertain that the only government that can claim to have followed the example of the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and his way of conduct (*ṣira*) is a government whose authorities attach more importance to justice than anything else and spare no efforts in spreading justice and the development of equity, not merely in words and speech—which is the top motto of many claimants today—but in action, behavior and in relations with people of all levels of society. Such justice is as rare as an elixir. Only a government that does not sacrifice justice in favor of expediency, by means of interpretation and justification, can indeed claim the establishment of justice.

In the government system of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and in the teachings of that '*manifestation of justice*', there is no expedient, higher than the establishment of justice. The only ruling system that can claim to be a follower of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is that which gives priority to justice over interests and insists on implementing it, and despite the hubbub and troubles, aims at holding a permanent rule over the 'hearts' rather than a transient rule over 'bodies', which is the result of giving preference to unfounded and vain interests.

2. Safeguarding People's Rights

The psychological factors in the people's support of governments are as numerous as their different spiritual needs. One of the most important factors of public support is the safeguarding of people's rights by that government.

One of the most important factors that contributes to securing the content of the masses is how the government views them and itself, whether it regards them as its slaves or as its masters and guardians, or whether it considers the people as possessing legitimate rights and itself only as their trustee, agent and representative. In the first case, whatever service a government may render to the people is nothing more than the care an owner would take of his animal. In the second case, the service presented is like the act of a loyal trustee fulfilling his duty. Among the foremost conditions of securing the confidence and goodwill of the people is the state's acknowledgement of the genuine rights of the people and the avoidance of any kind

of action that implies the negation of their right of sovereignty.¹

In a scholarly analysis, the Martyr Murtaḍā Muṭaharī (may God sanctify his soul) believes that one of the main reasons for inclination towards materialism in the recent centuries is the dangerous and misleading teachings which imply that responsibility towards God necessitates no responsibility towards the masses, and that 'God's rights' substitutes 'the rights of the masses' and the right of national sovereignty is equivalent to Godlessness:

At the dawn of the modern age a movement against religion was formed in Europe, which also more or less affected other regions outside of Christendom.

This movement was inclined towards materialism. When we examine the causes and roots of this movement, we discover that one of them was the inadequacy of the teachings of the Church from the viewpoint of political law. The Church authorities and some European philosophers developed an artificial relationship and association between belief in God on one hand and stripping the people of their political rights by despotic regimes on the other. Naturally, this led to the assumption that there is some necessary relation between democracy and atheism, and that we should either choose the belief in God and accept that the right of sovereignty was bestowed by Him upon certain individuals who have no superiority over others, or deny the existence of God so as to establish our right as masters of our own political destinies.

From the point of view of religious psychology, one of the causes of the decline of the influence of religion is the contradiction created by religious authorities between religion and a social need, especially at a time when that need expressed itself strongly at the level of public consciousness. Right at a time when despotism and repression had reached their peak in European political life and the people were thirstily, longing for the ideas of liberty and people's sovereignty, the Church

1. Shahīd Murtaḍā Muṭaharī, *Sayri dar Nahj al-Balāghah*, (*Glimpses of Nahj al-Balāghah*), p. 118.

and its supporters made an assertion that the people had only duties and responsibilities towards the state and had no rights. This was sufficient to turn the lovers of liberty and democracy against religion and God in general and the Church in particular.

This mode of thought, in the West as well as in the East is deeply rooted in ancient times....¹

Based on this dangerous way of thinking, people have no right against the leader; and authority and religious leadership means taking away people's socio-political rights, and in short, leaders are masters and people are servants! It is obvious that the government that is run on this basis lacks popular support and the leader who has this kind of belief about people's rights would not enjoy people's consent and support.

The Mutual Rights of the People and Leadership

From the viewpoint of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) the right of the political leader of the society within this doctrine does not conflict with the rights of the people, but in fact his right is dependent on securing their rights and the people are bound to obey and protect the leader only if their rights are secured within the system under his rule.

In this respect, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) says:

أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَقَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ شُبْحَانَهُ لِي عَلَيْكُمْ حَقًّا بِرِلَايَةِ أَمْرِكُمْ، وَلَكُمْ عَلَيَّ مِنَ
الْحَقِّ مِثْلُ الَّذِي لِي عَلَيْكُمْ، فَالْحَقُّ أَوْسَعُ الْأَشْيَاءِ فِي التَّوَاصُفِ وَأَضْيَقُهَا فِي
التَّنَاصُفِ، لَا يَجْرِي لِأَحَدٍ إِلَّا جَرَى عَلَيْهِ، وَلَا يَجْرِي عَلَيْهِ إِلَّا جَرَى لَهُ.

"Now, God Almighty has given me rights over you by giving me the authority over your affairs, and you too have a right over me the same as my right over you. A right is the vastest of things in description, but the narrowest in equitability of action. It does not apply in favor of any person unless it also applies against him and it does not apply against a person unless it also applies in his favor."²

1. Ibid. p. 119.

2. See, 6/2, h. 305.

In another statement he (a.s.) mentions the mutual rights of the people and the leader as follows:

حَقٌّ عَلَى الْإِمَامِ أَنْ يَحْكُمَ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَأَنْ يُؤَدِّيَ الْأَمَانَةَ، فَإِذَا فَعَلَ فَحَقٌّ عَلَى
النَّاسِ أَنْ يَسْمَعُوا لَهُ وَأَنْ يُطِيعُوا، وَأَنْ يُجِيبُوا إِذَا دُعُوا.

"It is incumbent upon the leader (*imam*) to rule according to what God has ordained and to hand over the trust. Once he does so, it is incumbent on the people to accept his words, obey his commands and respond to him when they are summoned."¹

In this discourse, not only is the leader's right dependent on fulfilling the rights of the people, but the right of leadership (*imamah*) and authority (*wilayah*) is also considered as an *entrusted right*.

Throughout history, the safeguarding of people's rights has never passed beyond being a mere slogan; rather, it (slogan) has always been a means of violating people's rights and suppressing the truth.

Within the history of Islam, after the era of the holy Prophet (s.a.w.), the time of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was an exception in the establishment of social justice, expansion of equity and the fulfilling of people's rights. Unfortunately, people could not take the best advantage of this valuable opportunity as a result of the disturbances and turmoil. This in fact was an injustice which was done to his ruling. In this regard he (a.s.) has said:

إِنْ كَانَتْ الرُّعَايَا قَبْلِي لَتَشْكُو حَيْفَ رُعَايَاهَا وَإِنِّي الْيَوْمَ لِأَشْكُو حَيْفَ رِعِيَّتِي.

"If the people prior to my era complained of the injustice of the rulers, then indeed today I complain of the injustice of my own people."²

It so happened that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) hastened to meet his Almighty Lord with a heart, burdened with sorrows. Justice also departed with his departure and once again there were governments and the oppression of the masses and violation of their rights!

1. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 5, p. 764, h. 14313.

2. *The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*, vol. 9, p. 408-419 h. 4748 & 4749.

It is up to us in this present time to take an example of what occurred in the past in order to prepare the ground for the establishment of social justice.

3. Development of Legitimate and Constructive Freedoms

Freedom is the first step on the path of the actualization of justice and development of respect for the rights of others. However, this freedom is to be constructive rather than destructive, like freedom from internal and external bonds, or as the Holy Qur'ān puts it, deliverance from 'heavy burdens':

ويضع عنهم اصرهم والأغلال التي كانت عليهم.

"He releases them from their heavy burdens and from yokes that are upon them."¹

The Messengers of God were the heralds of freedom and advocates of liberty. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) considered the philosophy of the Prophetic Mission (*bi'tha*) as a deliverance of the human beings from their bonds and their ascension to the highest peaks of glory and worshipping of God Almighty:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ - تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى - بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ) بِالْحَقِّ لِيُخْرِجَ عِبَادَهُ مِنْ

عِبَادَةِ عِبَادِهِ إِلَى عِبَادَتِهِ ... وَمِنْ وِلَايَةِ عِبَادِهِ إِلَى وِلَايَتِهِ.

God, the Blessed and the Exalted, sent forth Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) with the truth, to bring forth His servants from serving them to His serving...and from the authority (*wilāyah*) of His servants to His Authority.²

According to the teachings of the school of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) all human beings are free and should never be entrapped into slavery to anyone or take part in the enslavement of others. It is clear that what forces people to be slave to the powerful and entraps them into servitude to others, is their internal bondage to their own whims and carnal desires. Those who are internally liberated and have cut off their bondage of desires and those who have accepted servitude to

1. Qur'ān, 7:157.

2. See 6/3, ḥ. 308.

God and have deemed their status too high to fall prey to obedience to others like themselves, would never give up their independence and do not accept slavery. It is only a person like this that deserves to be emancipated. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) says:

مَنْ قَامَ بِشَرَائِطِ الْعِبَادَةِ أَهْلًا لِلْعِتْقِ.

He who fulfills the requirements of servitude [to God] is worthy of emancipation.¹

The conditions of servitude includes submission to God as His servant and acceptance of Divine law, which leads to real independence, freedom and liberation, and evading this is in fact returning to slavery, even if it may appear to be freedom.

4.To Care about People

Caring about people and valuing and respecting all is a sublime manifestation of social policies in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) ruling. In his (a.s.) view, people should be treated with compassion and kindness, and rulers must respect people, their perspectives and their principles. Politicians in other governments mostly try to satisfy the 'influential' and the powerful, or in other words, the elite in the political circle, even if it leads to the dissatisfaction of the masses.

Contrary to this policy, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) has stated:

فَإِنَّ سُخْطَ الْعَامَّةِ يُجْحِفُ بِرِضَى الْخَاصَّةِ وَإِنْ سُخْطَ الْخَاصَّةِ ، يُغْتَفَرُ مَعَ رِضَى الْعَامَّةِ.

Verily, the discontent of the general public harms the content of the elite, and the discontent of the elite is pardoned with the content of the masses.²

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) recommended the administrators to be kind to people, to maintain direct relations with them, have personal meetings with them and be informed of their problems. The Imām would say: "People have mainly suffered hardships, endured pains

1. See 6/3, h. 310.

2. See 6/4, h. 317

and have been oppressed. Therefore, if they ever find a chance to express their sufferings and pains, they may speak coarsely." He would hence advise his administrators to tolerate people's rough language, occasional ill-temper, bitterness and unseemly reactions, never to get angry at them and treat them with a smiling face and nice words, and if they found out that blunders were committed secretly and away from public's eyes, they should not make any enquiries about them.

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) tried to maintain the people's relationship with the state as candid, transparent and far from any ambiguity. He would therefore enjoin administrators to sincerely try to remove the grounds for people's suspicion towards the state, and if some hoodlums, would by commotion and hubbub, accuse the administrators of violating people's rights, they should try to elucidate the reasons for their actions with honesty and meet them with clear explanations and never leave any doubts about the affairs of the state in the people's minds. In reality, this is an indication of the value of people and their significance in the perspective of Imām 'Ali (a.s.).

5. Protecting the Oppressed

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) believed that restoring the rights of the oppressed from the oppressors was a 'Divine covenant'. He (a.s.) therefore stressed on helping the oppressed and insisted on fighting against the oppressors. Helping the oppressed and fighting the oppressors were among the last instructions bequeathed to Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) and Imām Ḥusayn (a.s.) and to all those who would hear the Imām's testament, throughout history.

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) seized every opportunity to promote the culture of fighting against oppression, protecting the oppressed, seeking help from people to carry out social reforms and to make social links and relations.

He (a.s.) would say:

أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! أَعِينُونِي عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ وَإِيْمُ اللَّهِ لِأَنْصِفَ الْمَظْلُومَ مِنَ ظَالِمِهِ، وَلَا تَقْوَدَنَّ
الظَّالِمُ بِخِزَامَتِهِ.

“O People! Assist me against your desires. By Allah, I will take revenge for the oppressed from his oppressor and I will control the oppressor by holding his harness.”¹

Stories of the practical assistance and support of the oppressed by such a paradigm of justice are examples to ponder on and are very instructive for those who claim to be followers of this noble figure of Islam.

6. Setting up a Complaints Box (Baytul Qişas)

The leader of the fighters against oppression who tried in every way possible to support the oppressed and to take vengeance on their behalf, would certainly spare no efforts in this way to see into the complaints of the oppressed.

However, how should the oppressed have their complaints heard by the rulers? It is evident that subordinates are mainly not able to get near to the ruling system, let alone to bring up a case or raise a complaint. Many a time it has so happened that when the complaint of an oppressed person was expressed, it was responded reversely, i.e., the one who should have been reprimanded has been promoted and turned into a complainant against the very person who had complained against him. In order to remove such difficulties and solve the problem of directly expressing the complaints and pleading for justice, as much as possible, Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) set up a station called ‘*baytul -qışas*’ (complaints box) so that the people, the oppressed, and everyone who had a problem and was unable to bring it up, could write his complaint and place it there, to inform Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) about it. Imām himself called out among the people that anyone who had a case to bring up and did not want anybody else to know about it and in order to be immune from being identified, should write down his inquiry and drop it in the complaints box. Seemingly, this is the first step in history towards connecting people to the ruling system.

1. See 5/11, h. 349.

7. Attempts to Create Empathy and Unity in the Society

The leader is the link between different sections of the society and the leadership and he is also the axis of struggles, movements and activities. The existence of various ideas, tendencies and trends in a society is natural and the concept of oneness in ideas and principles in all strata and levels of society is totally incorrect and unrealistic. Therefore, various trends, groups and possessors of different ideas must seek for unifying ways to rescue the society from disunity; and while approving the multiplicity of ideas try to hold on to convergence in sublime and transcendent principles. It is the leadership that plays the most significant role in this respect. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) strongly emphasized the necessity of unity and empathy in society.

He (a.s.) considered solidarity as a means for the survival of governments and differences as the cause of its falling, and hence he strongly emphasized the former. Parts of the sermon called (*Khūbah al-Qāsi'a*) are regarded as among the most instructive and awakening doctrines of the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.). He would himself do his best in this direction, to recognize the roots of differences and how to achieve solidarity and empathy, and he would overlook his inalienable rights so as the community would not burn in the fire of differences. He would say:

لَيْسَ رَجُلٌ - فَأَعْلَمُ - أَحْرَصَ عَلَى جَمَاعَةِ أُمَّةٍ مُحَمَّدٍ (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ) وَأُفْقَتِهَا مِنِّي.

"Know that no one is more desirous and concern for the unity and concord of the community of Muhammad (s.a.w.) than I am."¹

Imām stressed the unity and regarded empathy and the removal of tension necessary to the extent that he forced his judiciary to avoid enforcing a ruling that incites disunity and might disturb the solidarity of the society. Imām had frequently warned that if the faithful were disunited and gave up unity and solidarity, falsehood would definitely dominate over them.

1. See 6/14, b. 360.

Five: Judiciary Policies

The Judiciary is the main pillar of a ruling system. Correct and lawful judgments play the greatest role in protecting a society's well-being and stability. Doctrines of the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) indicate that he was particularly attentive to the Judiciary. Texts and documents concerning Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) judgments as well as his recommendations and emphasis in this respect are abundant and most inspiring. What is stated here, in this volume, can also be very enlightening for judges and Judiciary officials.

The principles of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) policies for judgment can be mentioned as follows:

1. Appointment of Qualified Judges for Juridical Posts

A judge is without doubt the main element of judging and plays the most significant role in the Judiciary establishment and in restoring people's rights and battling against oppressions and irregularities. In judicial practice, the more steadfast, morally healthy, pure, stronger and the more unbending in action a judge is, the more efficient, organized, and well-founded his judgment will be. Thus, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) would enjoin Mālik to select the best judges for the act of judgment; those who would not put the people under pressure and are not obstinate and adamant in their judgment or easily fall into blunders. They must be intelligent, deeply insightful, protected from falling prey to misconceptions, patient and forbearing, so that confusions and conflicting turmoil would not affect and change them.

2. Providing for the Financial Needs of the Judges

Needs and necessities of life can neither be forgotten nor passed by negligently, even those people who are ascetic and abandon the world, have the responsibility of running a household, they will also encounter certain worldly demands in their lives. The natural needs of one's family are neither forgettable nor are to be ignored. It is in this respect that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) advises Mālik al-Ashtar to select the best judges for practicing judgment, and to provide the best and most suitable livelihood for them so that the judge in his judgment never looks to other people's hand and for worldly gains and

fulfillment of his needs is not seduced into corruption, and thus, a person or a system that must safeguard the society against corruption does not fall into it.

3. Job Security for the Judges

The judge passes a judgment and obviously by his decisive judgment offends some people. There are very few people who would submit to a verdict against them and are not discontented. It is also evident that the violators and lawbreakers are not always from among the lower class of society, nor do clashes and conflicts always take place among them. In fact, it can be said that the upper class commit most of the law breaking and many conflicts do occur among them, and they are those who exert influence and are involved in the political affairs of the society. If a judge does not feel at ease while judging these people and does not see the judiciary and legal system as supporting and assisting, he might hesitate while passing a judgment and back down in restoring rights.

In the ruling system of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), qualified judges enjoy an elevated status. In his outstanding instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar, after giving him advise to select the best judges for judgment, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) enjoins him to station the judges near himself in such high position that nobody, not even his own close associates, would harbor any criticism against them to him. It is worth noting that the Imām (a.s.) then draws his attention to the evil doing of the ill-natured, to show that the selfish would often misuse their closeness to him [as a governor] against the judges, in order to reap worldly gains and escape punishment.

4. Observing the Manners of Judgment

The judge occupies a highly distinguished position and his duty is the restoring of rights and firm judgment. A judge is not himself one side of a lawsuit and what he says is most decisive in all disputes. He has to observe the rules of judgment with care. The teachings of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) in this regard are highly attentive.

He (a.s.) would warn the judges against discriminating between clients, enjoining them not to be suspicious of either of the litigants, offend people with tough language and authoritarian speech, make decisions when angry, speak out of whim, underestimate the tribunal,

behave in a way that the inferiors become disappointed of justly achieving their rights and that they should lay aside avarice, maintain their dignity in the court sessions. He (a.s.) discharged one of his companions from his judicial post, and when he asked for the reason his removal, the Imām replied as follows:

إِنِّي رَأَيْتُ كَلَامَكَ يَعْلُو عَلَى كَلَامِ الْخَصْمِ.

"I saw that you speak more loudly than your claimant does."¹

5. Close Supervision over the Actions and performances of Judges

Judges are the upholders of the society's interests and the judiciary system is responsible for its security. The interest of a society is more than anything else dependent on the Judiciary's soundness. Therefore, as the Authority of the affairs (*walī al-'amr*) of the Muslims, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) felt himself responsible for the Judiciary's function and did not content himself with admonishing the judges and giving lectures and merely warning them; rather, he would personally supervise their function and sometimes would even see into the way they issued their verdicts. Due to the important role of the judiciary in the welfare of a society and the correction of social problems, he (a.s.) would use any possible chance—despite his heavy responsibilities and numerous tasks—to call on the 'Platform of Judgment' (*dakkatul qaḍā'*) in person and would practice judgment himself so as to present a right pattern for judgment to the people and the judges.

6. Unifying Judicial Procedures

Among the things that the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) would emphasize, was the consistency of judgments, or in other words, '*unity of judicial procedures*' in judgments. If people notice that judges make different judgments in similar cases, their prompt reaction would without doubt be mistrust in the judiciary and disbelief in the legitimacy of the judgments. Imām insisted that

1. See 8/4, ḥ. 421.

difference in judgments would disrupt the establishment of justice and create disunity in the society. He enjoins then the judges to discuss and consult with each other concerning the things they disagree on, in order to achieve a consensus, or else take the issue to the leader and submit to his verdict. This means that it is in fact the responsibility of the leader to create a unity of judicial procedure in all judgments.

7. Equality of All before the Law

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) stressed the equality of all people in the implementation of rulings. In his (a.s.) system of ruling, all people are equal before the law, and the Judiciary enjoys such a high status and firm station that it can execute the law for all people, and people must also submit to the verdicts of the judges and the judiciary irrespective of their social status. In his doctrines, Imām stressed on this equality and, despite his greatness, reverence and lofty status in his knowledge and action, he would humbly stand before his state judiciary and answer to the questions of his own appointed judges. Doing so, he was indicating the importance of the judiciary system and safeguarding the station of judgment and practically protecting people's rights so as to set an example for all people and for future generations.

8. The Status of the Interests of the Islamic State in the Issuing of Verdicts

We previously mentioned that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) never sacrificed truth for interests and never took a stand for the sake of specific interests. He was a leader, leader of the people and a protector of the state and at the service of all. He therefore placed the highest value and significance on the most superior expedience, which was the protection of the state that belongs to the people and is at their service.

Imām emphasizes that in judgments the state's interests should be taken into consideration. In his (a.s.) system of government, nothing can hinder the carrying out of the genuine laws of Islam in the Judiciary, nevertheless the state's interests have a special status in the implementation of laws. In one case, due to certain social, cultural and political circumstances and also the people's particular notion of

the Divine law, Imām identifies judgment based on genuinely fixed Islamic rules as disuniting and its execution as detrimental to the foundation of the government. Therefore, he did not permit any judgment to be made on that basis in order to prevent the society from falling prey to disunity. This is why he ordered Shurayh the following:

إقضِ بما كُنْتَ تَقْضِي ، حَتَّى يَجْتَمِعَ أَمْرُ النَّاسِ .

Judge as you have been judging (before), so that the affairs of people are set together and organized.

Six: Security Policies

An insecure and chaotic society is more like a lawless jungle than being a human society. From the perspective of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), a society devoid of peace and security is the worst place to be. Imām (a.s.) regards the restoration of peace and security to the society as among the most important reasons for his acceptance of government and he was therefore highly concerned with security. His principles and procedures for security policies and his attempts in maintaining security among his people are listed as follows:

1. Establishing an Efficient Intelligence System

Although in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) code of conduct (*sīra*) no reference is made to an establishment entitled 'intelligence organization', yet there are various texts concerning intelligence missions and the measures taken by him in his ruling days on the basis of reports gathered secretly. These all suggest that Imām's government enjoyed an efficient and vigilant establishment. Secret investigations and collection of various reports in relation to internal security, all sorts of military information and the behavior of administrators were the major responsibility of this organization. Unfortunately, there is nothing in hand of the details regarding the above-mentioned organizations, but through the outcomes of Imām's decisions and the way he made them, it is clear that such an establishment existed. This organization can be regarded as one or even more than one intelligence systems.

2. Détente (Removal of Tension)

Trying to create changes in the thoughts and the positions of the enemies was among the valuable doctrines of Imām 'Ali (a.s.). The antagonism of many enemies, was rooted in their unawareness and lack of knowledge of Imām's stances and the methods and the reasons behind them. Imām insisted that attempts had to be made on the correction of thoughts and then the change of positions of the opponents. In his own words the reform of the enemy (*istiṣlāḥ al-'a'dā'*) [into friends] must be carried out as a procedure and method in the policies of the government.

Imām views conciliation with the enemy, rectifying their thoughts and correcting their positions as the utmost form of deep and far-sightedness, and stresses that it is much easier to transform the enemy's ideas and stances by means of good speech and nice treatment than by drawing the enemy to the battlefield, as the former approach will be effective in reforming the enemies [to friends] and compelling the evil doer enemies to do good. All this implies that Imām had pursued the policy of 'détente' (removal of tension), in order to transform the enemy into a friend, emphasizing the eradication of tension and an intelligent compromise with the enemy, as an effective means of establishing internal security.

3. Vigilance and Timeliness

Besides stressing the policy of "détente (removal of tension) and moving towards a peaceful life and compromising with the enemy, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) also emphasized watchfulness and prudence in the face of the enemy. He also insisted that the believers should not underestimate the enemy, and should be especially alert before those who do not openly express their enmity. They should be prepared to encounter any unprecedented event at the right time, knowing that if they ever sink into oblivion, the enemy will never remain ignorant.

4. Avoidance of Using Methods of Terrorizing and Spreading Fear

In his government, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) never resorted to the terrorization and spreading of horror against violators and opponents. He (a.s.) would not even employ the policy of terror, fear and the use of unlawful harsh actions against the violators of

security. He never confronted people on the basis of suspicion and probability and never punished the accused or the suspects who were charged with actions against the security of the state.

5. Adherence to Law in Dealing with Criminals

Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) system of government relied on law, and in all aspects it was the law and not the will of a person that ruled. He therefore, strongly emphasized adherence to the law and on law-centering in his doctrines. Thus, in his ruling system, torturing the accused and suspects was forbidden, and the criminals were never tortured or even offended. If anyone was proven guilty, they would be punished only according to the law. If the executor of the law deliberately or unintentionally violated the law in enforcing a verdict, he would be punished by way of retaliation (*qiṣāṣ*). When Imām 'Ali (a.s.) found out that his servant Qanbar had given three extra lashes when whipping a criminal, he ordered that three lashes be given to him in return as a *qiṣāṣ* [retaliation].¹

6. Tolerance towards Political Dissidents

Imām (a.s.) also never treated political dissidents with harshness. Tolerance in the diplomacy of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was an inviolable principle, and this tolerance was so great that the opponents would dare to conspire. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) believed that tolerance with opponents would cut down their vehemence and divert them from creating turmoil and disorder. Accordingly, Imām did not confront the Khārijites; he tolerated their invectives and did not even cut off their rights from the public treasury, until they committed murder and jeopardized the security of the society. His confrontation with the plotters against internal security was proportionate to the extent of their intrigue and their role in the plotting. Sometimes he would exile them, at other times he would incarcerate them, and finally when other alternatives did not work, he would resolve the problem by military intervention.

1. See 7/10, h. 394.

Seven: Military Policies

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was a gallant and courageous warrior. His challenges in battlefields and his superiority in combats are historically well-known. Furthermore, he was a keen sighted, sagacious and prudent army general.

It is very regretful that Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) rule, as short as it was, was mostly spent in internal battles against the conspirators. However, his code of conduct in these battles was full of doctrines in warfare, truly instructive, with many dignified acts worthy of him. Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) policies in warfare can be summed as follows:

1. The Importance of Military Training and Arrangement of Troops

We previously said that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was the most gallant warrior in the battlefield. Having spent a whole lifetime in the battlefields, he doubtlessly possessed the most efficient and the highest of relevant experiences. Furthermore, he was matchless in his courage and gallantry, and also his knowledge of various tactics of warfare. Imām personally trained his troops and prior to any battle he would reiterate the major points of his training while arranging the troops and arraying the combatants. When the ambushes by Mu'āwiya mounted up and the opponents accused him of lacking knowledge in war tactics, Imām said the following while complaining towards some of his companions:

وَأَفْسَدْتُمْ عَلَيَّ رَأْيِي بِالْعِصْيَانِ وَالْخِذْلَانِ حَتَّى لَقَدْ قَالَتْ قُرَيْشٌ إِنَّ ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ
رَجُلٌ شَجَاعٌ وَلَكِنْ لَا عِلْمَ لَهُ بِالْحَرْبِ. اللَّهُ أَبُوهُمْ! وَهَلْ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ أَشَدُّ هَا
مِرَاسًا وَأَقْدَمُ فِيهَا مَقَامًا مِنِّي؟ لَقَدْ نَهَضْتُ فِيهَا وَمَا بَلَغْتُ الْعِشْرِينَ، وَهَذَا أَنَا ذَا
قَدْ ذَرَفْتُ عَلَى السَّيْرِ. وَلَكِنْ لَا رَأْيَ لِي لَنْ لَا يُطَاعُ.

"Through disobedience and disappointment, you ruined my opinion to the extent that the Quraysh say that the son of Abi Tālib is brave but lacks knowledge of war. How strange it is! Which one of them has been in battlefields more than I have been and experienced fighting and the battlegrounds more than I did? I was still in my teens when I entered the

battlefield, and now I am over sixty, but, he who is not obeyed does not have command of the situation.¹

In his military training of the troops, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was not negligent of even the smallest details, such as: the troops should not part from their weapons, should use the right chance to launch attacks on the enemy, and should not stare into the enemy's eyes, the multitude of the enemy forces should not cast fear in their hearts, and that they should know what must be done at the time of defeat and how to withdraw tactically once defeated in war, and so on.

2. Formation of Special Forces

The forces may vary in their morale, level of knowledge and the extent of ability and self-sacrifice, even though they are on one single battleground and with a shared intention. Scenes of confrontation also vary, with each scene demanding appropriate and competent fighters and warriors. Thus, one of the most outstanding features in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) military policies is the formation of 'special troops' which Imām called the Forces of Thursday (*shurṭah al-khamīs*).²

Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) most efficient, self-sacrificing and most accomplished warriors were recruited for the special forces. This unit was astonishingly competent, and the Imām employed them for special purposes and for specific battlefields. He (a.s.) addressed them in a sermon as follows:

أَنْتُمْ الْأَنْصَارُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ، وَ الْإِخْوَانُ فِي الدِّينِ، وَاجْتُنُّ يَوْمَ النَّاسِ، وَ الْبِطَانَةُ دُونَ
النَّاسِ، بِكُمْ أَضْرِبُ الْمُدْبِرَ، وَ أَرْجُو طَاعَةَ الْمُقْبِلِ، فَأَعِينُونِي بِمُنَاصَحَةِ خَلِيَّتِي مِنَ
الْغَشِّ، سَلِيمَةً مِنَ الرَّيْبِ فَوَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لَأَوَّلِي النَّاسِ بِالنَّاسِ.

You are the helpers of the Truth, brothers in faith, the shields on the day of tribulations and hardships of the time, and my confidants rather than other people. With your help, I will beat those who turn their back, and I look forward to the obedience of the supporters. So, help me with benevolence

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 27. Also, see *The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*, vol.7

2. See 9/2, [Forming of Special Forces].

devoid of fraud and free from suspicion, as I swear to God that I have a greater right to people than themselves.

The Special Forces, or those who are referred today as wise and skillful 'fundamentalists' and '*hizbullāhis*' [members of the party of Allah] were next to the Imām and while criticizing and expressing their viewpoints about his policies, remained loyal to him in the most distressing situations and moments of his rule.

It seems that they were called the Forces of Thursday either because of their special features or due to their presence with the Imām (a.s.) with a special allegiance.¹ Aṣḥab ibn Nabāta was asked:

"O Aṣḥab! How were you named the 'Forces of Thursday'? He replied: "We guaranteed that we would sacrifice ourselves for him and he guaranteed victory for us."²

3. Strengthening the Troops' Morale

Without doubt, spiritual forces and mental power play a decisive and astonishing role in actions and all sorts of creativity. Imām therefore, greatly emphasized the importance of mental power, spiritual capability and increasing the chivalrous spirit in his combat forces. He tried through every possible means, to strengthen the morale of the armed forces in confrontation with the enemy and enhancing their steadfastness through uplifting their sense of chivalry. The Imām's speeches in this respect are highly thought-provoking and interesting.

The fiery speeches of Imām, his thrilling words, inspiring sermons, stimulating slogans, his attentive characteristics in that part of his life and his explanation to the combatants of their final station after life were all intended to provide and spread such elevated states of a spiritual mind.

Once having organized the combat forces, Imām would explain in a highly eloquent speech the shortness and undesirability of the worldly life in contrast to the excellence and everlastingness of the

1. *al-Nihāya*, vol. 2, p. 460.

2. *Majma' al-Bahrayn*, vol. 2, p. 942.

Hereafter. The impact of this, would, in many times, remain in the troops for a very long time. That is why for many of them their lives were intermixed with enthusiasm, self-sacrifice, valor and bravery, and their actions were amalgamated with their steadfastness, being unconquerable and daring when confronting the enemy.

Creating the spirit of 'Martyrdom' among the companions of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) which was without doubt the outcome of his lofty sermons and teachings, is indeed wonderful.

Paying attention to the role of inculcation was also among the meaningful tactics of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) to strengthen the spiritual capabilities of his fighters (*mujāhidīn*) in the battles. Concerning his own experience, the Imām said to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiya:

إِنِّي لَمْ أَلْقِ أَحَدًا إِلَّا حَدَّثَنِي نَفْسِي بِقَتْلِهِ ، فَحَدَّثَ نَفْسَكَ بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ بِظُهُورِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ.

I did not confront anyone [in war] without inculcating in myself that I would be able to kill him, therefore tell yourself that you will have victory over them with the help of God.¹

On the other hand, Imām demonstrates that the inculcation of weakness, fear and thinking about the power of the enemy is among the causes of disorder of the troops and defeat by the enemy. Once the Imām was asked:

بِأَيِّ شَيْءٍ غَلَبْتَ الْأَقْرَانَ؟

How did you win victory over [your] rivals?

He replied:

مَا لَقِيتُ رَجُلًا إِلَّا أَعَانَنِي عَلَى نَفْسِهِ.

I did not meet [confront] anyone, without him assisting me against himself [by revealing his weaknesses].²

1. See 9/4, ḥ. 499.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 318.

Describing the evil outcome of running away from the battlefield in this world and the next was another method that Imam 'Ali (a.s.) used in order to strengthen the spirit and morale of his soldiers.

Furthermore, Imām also insisted that the army generals should never disclose the reality of the current situation that could leave a bad impact on the morale of the combatants. In the heat of the battle of Şifḥīn and amid the direst states of war, the Imām outlined to one of his generals the perspective and outcome of the battle and explained how serious and destructive the upcoming confrontation would be serious for the forces. At the same time he (a.s.) stressed that this information should be kept as a secret and the troops should not be informed about it.

4. Employing Deceitful Tactics in Battles

In order to achieve victory, the Imām would try all kinds of rational tactics. As previously stated, he (a.s.) never appealed to 'deceit and fraud' in his statesmanship diplomacy and never practiced this in his managerial approaches. He used and emphasized it in his battles, saying:

كُنْ فِي الْحَرْبِ بِحِيلَتِكَ أَوْ تَقِ مِنْكَ بِشِدَّتِكَ.

"Rely on your tactics and crafts in the battle more than on your strength."¹

This is one of the differences between the policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and those of the Umayyads.

Imām's teachings and the practical examples indicate that 'craftiness' in warfare policies is a rational option to achieve victory and to avoid resorting to irrational actions as much as possible. 'Adi ibn Ḥātam is quoted as saying that, amid the clashes of the battle of Şifḥīn, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) said with a loud voice for his companions to hear:

وَاللَّهِ لَا قَتْلَ مُعَاوِيَةَ وَأَصْحَابِهِ.

1. See 9/5, ḥ. 509

"I swear by God that I will kill Mu'āwiyah and his companions."

He then said with a low voice:

إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ!

"If God wills!"

The narrator said, "I asked: O Commander of the Faithful! You swore and then made an exception. Why is that?" Imām replied:

الْحَرْبُ خُدْعَةٌ.

"War is craftiness."¹

Imām employed the same tactic when confronting 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-Wūd and managed to kill him with the opportunity he got by means of this tactic.

Therefore, the Imām's use of craftiness is in line with the human values and dignities, and on the other hand is an efficient and accurate tactic in warfare.

5. Ethics of War

In the school of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), resorting to war is only to defend the entity of faith and for the purpose of destroying tyranny, eliminating oppression and removing hindrances of rulership. 'Ali (a.s.) who always used the sword to safeguard the Truth, never neglected moral principles and human dispositions, even amid the direst moments of war. Observing such warfare characteristics and moral codes in a battleground in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) code of conduct, would be most instructive and enlightening. Some topics in this respect are as follows:

A. Refraining from Initiating a War

Imām never initiated a war. He would never draw his sword before his opponent and he ordered his companions not to ever initiate a

1. See 9/5, ḥ. 510

war, unless the enemy had most stubbornly blocked the way for peaceful and direct negotiation. In reality, this policy of Imām is a confirmation of the importance attached to peace, human values and opposing belligerency in Ali's Islamic approach.

Imām always emphasized the execution of this policy. Jundub Azdī has said:

إِنَّ عَلِيًّا كَانَ يَأْمُرُنَا فِي كُلِّ مَوْطِنٍ لَقِينَا فِيهِ مَعَهُ عَدُوًّا فَيَقُولُ: لَا تُقَاتِلُوا الْقَوْمَ
حَتَّى يَبْذُوكُمْ فَأَنْتُمْ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَى حُجَّةٍ وَتَرْكُكُمْ إِيَّاهُمْ حَتَّى يَبْذُوكُمْ حُجَّةٌ
أُخْرَى لَكُمْ.

Whenever we encountered an enemy in the company of 'Ali (a.s.), he would order us, by saying: "Do not fight them until they start; because, thanks be to God Almighty, you possess the proof (*hujja*), and letting them start the battle is another proof for you [against them]."¹

He would therefore show that in his culture, the crucial principle is 'peace and silence', rather than belligerence and warmongering.

It was for this reason that Imām would order his combat forces not to initiate the war and if the enemy started the war and they were defeated by the help of God, those who run away should not be killed, nor should the wounded be assaulted. They must not strip or dismember the corpses and so on. All these show that in Imām 'Ali's war conduct and in his policies, warfare is an exception and the main principle is emphasis on human values and their promotion.

B. Refraining from Calling to War

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) insisted that his troops should adhere to characteristics such as gallantry, steadfastness, authority in the battlefield, strong will and the spirit of defeating the enemy. He (a.s.) prepared them for the battle by all the necessary means. However, he would enjoin them never to challenge the enemy to fight, and not to

1. See 9/6, h. 511.

call for a rival to prepare for the war, which was a way of creating terror and panic. In reality, this was also in line with his methods and policy of opposing belligerency. Imām instructed that if the enemy challenged and asked for a rival in a battle, only then, they must proceed to fight in order to stop the enemy's obstinacy.

C. Diplomatic Immunity of the Enemy's Envoys

Islam is a global religion and its doctrines are universal and apply all periods of time, hence addressing international and global policies. In Islam, political envoys of foreign countries enjoy diplomatic immunity in military and political confrontations (even though in the thick of the war). 'Ali (a.s.) had instructed this noble doctrine to the troops and wanted them to take this policy seriously, and in case some people claimed to be carrying a message from the enemy, they should not be encountered before verifying the matter through sufficient inquiries.

D. Furnishing the Argument before Starting the War

We previously said that according to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) war is a means of removing the barriers against the spread of truth and guidance of mankind. He therefore, never failed to enlighten the enemy and used every possible chance to guide them. He would even attempt to guide the enemy on the battleground and in the heat of the war, frequently presenting arguments to avert the war. In all, in the conduct of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), a war would not be waged unless when necessary.

E. Supplication at the Time of War

In the teachings of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), spiritual dimensions and advancement of spirituality in people and human society is prior to anything else. Imām never forgot to create and develop such a spirit, even during the midst of the war. With illuminating words he would speak to the troops who were mobilized and prepared to assault, trying to put out the fire of sedition, but to no avail, the obstinacy of the enemy would inevitably lead to war. At the time of war Imām would engage in supplication and worship of God, reviving His

remembrance in the hearts of his soldiers and with his mystical whispers he would calm the atmosphere of his army, seeking the assistance of God Almighty. His (Jihad) and fighting was therefore a basis for Divine Love and a means of approaching to God, as well as a step in the direction of the actualizing of Divine teachings and human values. The contents of Imām's supplications and the theme of his invocations, clearly prove what has been previously said.

F. Starting War in the Afternoon

Imām would try through all possible ways and arrangement to lessen as much as possible the damages and human losses that war might inflict, in case fighting was inevitable. Imām would therefore try to get the war started in the afternoon so that by the falling of the night the fighting would stop and thus the fighters would withdraw earlier and there would be less bloodshed and also the runaways from the battleground could easily flee.

G. Good Treatment of the Survivors of the Enemy

When the battle would subside, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) would command that the defeated troops, the wounded, the captives and those of the enemy's army that were left behind, especially the women to be given the best of treatment. As previously mentioned, Imām's orders were: not to chase the runaways, not to kill the wounded, not to invade people's houses, not to take any of the spoils and never to mistreat the women, even if they insulted the troops and their army commanders.

Eight: International Policies

What has been said so far is just a glance at the policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) in various aspects of governing a state.

We now intend to recount some aspects of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) global policies. We have selected particular doctrines from among the Imām's world policies that would be beneficial and practical for the governing of a state in every place and in any culture. The guidelines presented with their relevant texts in the main part of the book include political, social, cultural and governmental guidelines that

the innate human nature (*fīṭra*) and common sense confirm its soundness and efficiency, and historical experiences testify their correctness and value. By referring to conscience and history, anyone with any kind of ideology can easily perceive these facts and confirm their efficacy in governing a state. In chapter ten of the present book, these guidelines and principles are divided into the following three categories:

1. Policies Causing the Perpetuation of Governments

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) regards certain policies necessary for the survival of governments. By observing the doctrines of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and his code of conduct we can find out that Imām (a.s.) considered the following of utmost necessity: the spreading of equality, social justice, proper management in administering people's affairs, good treatment and respect to all, awareness of political trends and safeguarding freedom, independence, dignity and all that which is related to people's individual and social rights. He considers them all, as essential for the steadfastness and perpetuity of government. His interpretation of justice is something truly interesting to contemplate.

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) compared justice with a fortress, a shield, a firm foundation and a binding string and he considered the implementing of justice as the best and the most efficient policy in ruling. He defined it as 'the adornment of politics', affirming that it is with justice that the ruler captures the hearts and attains Divine Mercy. He was also quoted as saying that once governments are based on the foundations of justice and rested on the pillars of wisdom, God Almighty will help their advocates and destroy their challengers. In addition to the spread of justice, Imām regarded proper management as a necessity for the stability and continuation of governments. He considered benevolence as the beauty of power and awareness as a sign of astuteness and correct governing.

2. Policies Causing the Decline of Governments

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) considers the outcomes of certain policies as destructive and damaging. Even though such policies are effective for a short time and may preserve the government for a while longer, they would ultimately lead to its fall and destruction. What the

doctrines of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) deem destructive and damaging are: violation of people's rights, unjust bloodshed, mismanagement in handling affairs, selfishness, misappropriation, giving priority to governors, heads of government and their associates over others, neglecting fundamental tasks and issues, dealing with trivial, fruitless and unimportant issues, assigning inefficient people to critical posts and failing to employ competent individuals.

Imām asserts that oppression and injustice under any name and in any form will cause the decline of the state, and if injustice is allowed in a society, it will consequently lead to wars and the state's authority and its dignity will be marred. This is why he views oppression as the worst of policies and affirms that injustice and tyranny create instability, remove blessings and ruin communities and states.

In his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) wrote: "Never commit bloodshed when dealing with opponents and those of other ideologies, as the shedding of unlawful blood will bring Divine revenge, take away blessings and sovereignty will never be set firm by bloodshed, rather it will weaken, enfeeble and ruin its authority."

He asserted that if a government is inflicted with mismanagement and does not enjoy wise and precise policies, it will start to decline and will consequently topple. The state which provides the best facilities for the ruler and his dominance, and instead of self-sacrifice (*ithār*), it proceeds with selfishness and the use of facilities for the ruler and his associates (*isti'thār*) will definitely be bound to decline. Imām said: "The rulers who deal with trivial, baseless, and transient issues instead of proceeding with fundamental tasks, basic policies, and principal planning, will rapidly slide to decline. Those who put aside the great tasks and excellent deeds and deal with mean and petty work will lead the government to its plight." Pondering on such teachings of the Imām is necessary and beneficial for rulers, officials, and heads of states.

3. Efficient International Policies

In addition to what has been said, Imām followed certain policies and introduced methods of interaction that should be taken into consideration by the rulers when interacting with other states,

nations, and countries. The following facts and policies can be extracted from among the highly valuable words of Imām and by studying his way of life:

respecting the rights of the human beings, regardless of their ideas and ways of thinking, upholding their rights, absolute respect in dealing with others, avoiding any disrespectful and belittling relation or association with governments and nations, never submitting to derogation, stressing on removal of tension in connection with governments, moving towards the development of genuine tranquility and a peaceful life accompanied by esteem, prevention of arousing enmity, sparing no means to correct the enemy's ideas and conducts (*istiṣlāḥ al-'adū*); remaining loyal to various treaties and being trustworthy in fulfilling of the people's rights, benefiting from other people's knowledge and expertise in the field of culture, yet stressing on the policy of cultural independence, warning against being absorbed in polytheistic and corrupt cultures; and finally, studying various cultures and selecting what is best in them and many other things.

Furthermore, there are many issues that have been expressed in the various sayings of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) which are very illuminating in regard to international relationships. Such tenets have been presented in the 'miscellaneous' section at the end of this present volume.

A Summary of the Policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.)

That which has been presented so far, was a glance at the contents of the chapters which have been compiled in this book to explain the different politics of Imām 'Ali (a.s.). Contemplating on what was mentioned would reveal that politics according to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is an instrument for ruling on the basis of human rights and the real needs of the people, not for the dominance of dictators and violators of people's rights.

Based on what we mentioned, and after summing up and studying the above information, we can now respond to the questions and criticisms raised regarding the policies of Imām and analyze the causes and reasons of what is mentioned about his statesmanship and discuss their veracity or incorrectness.

(3)

Defending Imām 'Ali's Statesmanship

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) took over the caliphate in response to the public demand and insistence, and his caliphate came to an end with his Martyrdom on Ramadan 21st, 40 AH [January 29th, 661]. People had been accustomed to the rulership of the three caliphs for twenty five years, during which certain policies and procedures had been performed most of which Imām regarded as unjustifiable. Changing the views and behavior of people was as difficult for him as 'returning the water which has run downstream', and in some cases even impossible. He therefore accepted the caliphate with extreme precaution and prudence and only after several times of refusing it – so that nobody would think that he had a desire for ruling. Nonetheless, from the very beginning he stated future plans and the difficulties ahead of him very clearly.

Parts of the policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and some of his political positions have since long prompted discussions and criticisms. Those who viewed politics as a tool of power and aimed at dominance over people from a governmental position did not tolerate some of Imām's political stances. It should be first known that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) had accepted the government in order to administer justice, and he adopted politics as tools for the government to secure the human rights and fulfill the real human needs.

If we look from this angle and evaluate his rule and authority by this criterion, we will see that what the Imām did, was well-founded and meticulously organized and precisely in line with his lofty goals.

However, those who do not look from this angle do not accept Imām's position in the six-person electoral council of 'Umar for appointing the caliph, and believe that his insistence on the deposal of Mu'āwiya at the beginning of his rule, when the foundations of his sovereignty were not yet firmly set, as being far from diplomatic

prudence, and say that 'Ali (a.s.) was a brave and fearless warrior but not a political ruler!

They say that if 'Ali (a.s.) had been a man of politics, why had he not accepted the proposal of 'Abdul Raḥmān in the six-person electoral council (that was appointed by 'Umar to assign a caliph after him) when he suggested that he would swear allegiance to him (a.s.) on the condition that Imām acts according to the conduct of Abū Bakr and 'Umar? Political prudence suggests that he should have accepted the condition, and after the establishment of his government, act in his own way and follow his own path. Did 'Uthmān who accepted the condition follow their (the caliphs) steps?!

If Imām had acted the way politicians do, he should not have treated the opposition the way he did, especially Ṭalḥa and Zubair who were influential figures and Mu'āwiya who was very powerful in Shām (Syria). He should have compromised for a while and fulfilled their demands, and later, after the establishment of his government, he should have begun to extirpate them. There were many similar occasions where he took such problematic stances. Imām's insistence on moral and Islamic values created problems in the establishment of his authority and dominance and made him encounter serious hardships. Before continuing, we will refer to the words of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in this respect:

وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ قَوْمًا يَحْكُمُونَ بِمَعْرِفَةِ حَقِيقَةِ فَضْلِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ (عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ) رَعَمُوا أَنَّ عُمَرَ
كَانَ أَسْوَسَ مِنْهُ، وَإِنْ كَانَ هُوَ أَعْلَمَ مِنْ عُمَرَ.

Know that a group of those who do not know the real virtue of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) claim that 'Umar was more diplomatic than he was, even though [they considered] him as being more knowledgeable than 'Umar.¹

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd goes on to say:

Ibn Sīnā [Avicenna] admits to this, in his book al-Shifā', and my teacher also inclines to this belief, in his book al-Ghurar, where he mentions it. Moreover, his (a.s.) enemies and

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 10, p. 212.

opponents assumed that Mu'āwiya was ahead of him in politics and so was his management.¹

What shortly follows here is a general response to all criticisms raised regarding Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) policies, and the detailed responses are presented in their appropriate places in the following chapters.

The most important point in response to this issue is emphasis on the way in which, politics and government is looked at. If politics is viewed as a means for ruling over the hearts or interpreted as ruling on the basis of people's rights and real needs of society, and if we look at Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) stances from such perspective, then we will realize that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is the greatest statesman throughout history, second to the Holy Prophet (s.a.w). But, if we consider politics and statesmanship as a means to achieve power and domination, or interpret it as taking advantage of the people and exploitative domination over them, then Imām's stances are not defensible indeed.

It is evident that Imām was aware of these issues and knew how to employ them, but due to his commitment to Divine laws, ethical values and his stress on the people's rights, he did not deem their use as permissible. The following narration quoted from him clearly elaborates this fact:

لَوْلَا إِنَّ الْمَكْرَ وَالْحَدِيعَةَ فِي النَّارِ لَكُنْتُ أَمَكَّرَ النَّاسِ.

"If it was not that plotting and deception have their place in Hellfire, I would have been the trickiest and craftiest person!"²

مَهِيَاتُ! لَوْلَا التُّقَى لَكُنْتُ أَدْمَى الْعَرَبِ.

"Alas! Had it not been for God wariness, I would have been the craftiest of all Arabs!"³

He also had said:

"I swear by God, that Mu'āwiya is not cleverer than I, but he practices deception and commits debauchery; and if it were

1. Ibid.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 336.

3. See 3/1, h. 75.

not for the hideousness of deception, I would have been the shrewdest of all people! However, every kind of deception is sin, and every sin darkens (the heart) and for any deceiver, there will be a banner raised on the Day of Resurrection, by which he will be identified."¹

Accordingly, Imām knew well how to suppress voices; how to bring down loud cries to silence; how to deceive people with tricks; how to cast fear in their hearts by force; how to subdue the unruly greedy misers by allurements and consequently, and by violating the people's rights, massacres suppress internal oppositions and rebellions. However, he was 'Ali, the axis of truth, conscious of God and a believer in Resurrection Day, whose commitment to the truth and ethical values, and whose stressing on Divine teachings prevented him from perpetrating illegitimate policies. Imām frequently referred to these facts, by saying:

إِنِّي لَعَالِمٌ بِمَا يُصْلِحُكُمْ وَيُغَيِّرُ أَوْدَكُمْ وَلَكِنِّي لَا أَرَى إِصْلَاحَكُمْ بِإِفْسَادِ نَفْسِي.

I certainly know what can reform you and straighten your crookedness. But I shall not improve you by way of corrupting myself.²

He clearly states that he knows how to reform people and is familiar with the oppressive policies that suppress them for a short period of time, but he does not apply them since he views them as corrupting to the reformer.

Furthermore, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) viewed that above all, such actions lead the statesman to the dreadful domain of harassing, domination and, in his own words, corruption. This is why he calls out: "There will never be reformation at the cost of the corruption of the reformer!"

The Imām's lofty words indicate that superficial reformation will inevitably lead to corruption.

By this Imām obviously meant unlawful reformation, such as the undergoing economic reformation in contemporary world, at the

1. Sec, 3/1, p. 77.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 69. Also see *'The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*, vol.7.

cost of sacrificing social justice. Imām does not tolerate such reforms. On one hand, he knew well, how to deceive the influential political opponents and outlaws and keep them silent, by promising to fulfill their avarices and then, gradually eliminate them; and on the other hand, to promise people to restore their rights and stress on developing Divine and human values; and as soon as he would have established the foundations of his rule, he would do whatever he wished and break all promises, as politicians have always done. If he did so, he would no longer be 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, but rather a politician like any other politician.

Indeed, so much love and devotion from the people towards 'Ali (a.s.) throughout history is because of his own righteousness and truth-centeredness and his emphasis on right. We should carefully study and ask ourselves where the power-centered hypocrites and imposters are now? On the other hand, we ought to see what were the reasons for the continuous remembrance of 'Ali (a.s.) in History and throughout time. Why do the hearts carry so much love for 'Ali (a.s.)? We reiterate here and repeat again and again that 'Ali (a.s.) regards politics as a means of establishing the truth and restoring people's rights, and not a means of domination over them.

Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) reformations were solely intended to revitalize the *sīra* and *sunna* of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and his method of government. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) could not have followed immoral, antireligious and antihuman policies. This was why he (a.s.) faced the same difficulties that the holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) did.¹

Through tolerating hardships and practicing patience towards difficulties, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) attempted to replicate once again the illuminant outlook of the Prophetic rule and the government policies of the Messenger of Allah in the history of Islam, presenting an efficient, just, and perfect way of conduct to the generations and nations to come.

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 10, p. 214, h. 222.

(4)

Reasons for Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) Loneliness

Towards the end of this brief study, we present the following important question: if the administration of a state on the basis of the aforementioned policies are applicable and such policies are proper and competent, why then did the people distance themselves after a short time from such a truth-centered statesman as Imām 'Ali (a.s.) whom they had selected as their leader with their widespread support and left him alone and solitary during the last months of his life?

Explaining the Issue

We will now delve further into the various aspects of this topic and raise the issue more clearly. The foremost questions here are: What was the reason for people's withdrawal from 'Ali (a.s.) in such a short period of time within his ruling? Why could he not practically preserve the people's widespread support of the government? Why was the bond of relations detached between the ruler and the people in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) government, and why were the people so disunited that Imām could not create concordance and harmony even among those who had directly sworn allegiance to him and maintain any unity among them?

Why did Imām (a.s.) complain of the lack of people's support in actualizing his superior teachings and implementing his reforms during the last days of his life and would painfully say:

فَبَهَاتِ! أَنْ أَطْلَعَ بِكُمْ سِرَّازَ الْعَدْلِ أَوْ أَقِيمَ إِعْرَاجَ الْحَقِّ.

"Alas! It is indeed hard that I make manifest through you the codes of justice or set in place the crookedness of truth.¹

1. See, *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minin*, vol. 7, p. 29.

Why did he consider them as the heart-rending pain of his political life? Saying:

أُرِيدُ أَنْ أُدَاوِيَ بِكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ دَائِي.

"I want to cure (sicknesses) through you, but you (yourselves) are my very pain."¹

And he complained of disobediences and rebellions, saying:

مُنِيَتْ بِمَنْ لَا يُطِيعُ.

"I am entangled with people who do not obey."²

And he would complain of their dispersed tendencies and their fruitless crowded presence with their dissociated hearts, where he said:

لَا غَنَاءَ فِي كَثَرَةٍ عَدَدَكُمْ مَعَ قَلَّةٍ اجْتِنَاعٍ قُلُوبَكُمْ.

"There is no richness, even though you may be big in number, when there is little unity in order to bring your hearts together."³

He yearned to have a few (sincere) companions of the battle of Badr:

لَوْ كَانَ لِي مِنْكُمْ عَصَابَةٌ بِعَدَدِ أَهْلِ بَدْرٍ ...

"If I had companions similar in number to the people of Badr..."⁴

And:

What was the reason for such regression after that wonderful turnout for swearing allegiance?

Is it not correct to say that such a surprising loneliness after an unbelievable turnout for allegiance and support (of his rule) indicate that ruling on the basis of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) policies and his system of government, was not practically applicable in the society of the

1. Ibid, vol. 6, p. 227 h. 2609

2. Ibid, vol. 7, p. 26

3. Ibid, vol. 7, p. 28

4. Ibid, vol. 7, p. 32

real world and that Imām 'Alī's (a.s.) utopia was not but an image in the world of illusion?

In this discourse we will try as much as possible, to respond to these questions on the basis of historical texts and the realities of the Islamic society of those days. However, it would be worthwhile to briefly outline several points in advance:

1. Role of the Elite in Political and Social Transformations

The role of the elite and prominent personalities, in social transformations is very fundamental and extensive. They had the most influential impact on political and social developments of the society throughout history.¹

In reality, they often make decisions for the masses, and people, time and again, do not hesitate in following them. They play their roles of controlling and manipulating people in such a way that people imagine that they themselves have made the decisions and are acting on their own!

In such a time as the early period of Islam, chiefs of tribes played pivotal roles in political and social changes. In other times, the intellectual elite and party leaders played such roles and in today's society, heads of media, political establishments, managers of large cultural, educational and information organizations, chief executives of press agencies and other mass media are the main manipulators, role-creators and decision makers of societies.

2. Role of the Kūfans in Imām 'Alī's Government

In the political geography of early Islam, the territory of Iraq used to serve as a bridge, connecting the east and the west of the Islamic world and acted as a center, for supplying military power to the central authority. In this territory, Kūfa enjoyed a special status and a sensitive role.

Kūfa was constructed in 17AH/638CE for the stationing of troops. The organizers founded this city for the purpose of setting up a large camp for the troops. It is therefore clear that Kūfa was

1. See, *Mizān al-Hikma*, vol. 10, p. 4614.

made as a military center; a place for those who knew nothing other than to fight and combat, and hence, always thinking of conquering borders and gaining spoils of war.

The people who had gathered in Kūfa were far away from Madīna which hosted most of the [Prophet's] companions. Very few companions frequented Kūfa as it was the Caliph 'Umar's policy to have them remain in Madīna.¹

The Kūfans were therefore deprived of acquiring knowledge and had very little understanding of religious laws and doctrines.

'Umar had explicitly asked the companions who intended to travel to Kūfa not to teach them any *ḥadīth* and not to distract them from their familiarity with the Holy Qur'ān.² The Kūfans' familiarity and preoccupation with the Qur'ān was restricted to mere recitation and nothing more and this point can also be found in the words of the Caliph. This is why, those who initially gathered in Kūfa as the 'reciters' (*qurrā'*) later formed the original core of the Khārijites.

The important point here to take notice of is the tribal system in Kūfa and the prevalence of ethnocentrism and dominance of the clannish culture and lifestyle in the behavior and relations of the Kūfans. In this culture, the chief of the tribe was the key role player in the movements and efforts, while other people were blind followers who had no power of choice.

Thus, when we say that people left Imām 'Ali (a.s.) alone, we mean the elite, the influential and the chieftains of the Islamic community left him alone. This painful fact was more evidently seen in the people of Iraq at that time, especially among the Kūfans.

Now and after this brief explanation, we proceed to deal with the reasons for Imām 'Ali's loneliness, according to his own words and sayings.

1. *al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 1, p. 193, ḥ. 374

2. *Kanz al-'Ummal*, vol. 1, p. 292, ḥ. 29479

Imām Ali's Loneliness in His Own Words

We said earlier that history is a truthful witness to the claim that the short period of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) government has been the most sublime manifestation of a rule based on human values. His ruling method was not only attractive to those committed to Islamic human values, but those uncommitted to such values were also attracted by it, and they sometimes did not fail to admit its magnificence and perfection. Therefore, the reasons for the people's distance from the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is not to be sought in the inconsistency of his method, but there are other reasons and causes to be delved into, that will be mentioned in the following pages.

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) himself explicitly and sufficiently has talked about the reason for the withdrawal of people from him and turning their backs on his government. In his sermons and responses to queries, he expressed the reasons for their initial welcome and then their eventual distancing from him. Here is a review of the background, reasons and causes of the people's withdrawal and Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) loneliness:

1. Contradictory Demands

The first reason for the people's distance from Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was the fundamental difference between two types of views about government. In reality, these two approaches had fundamental conflict between each other in their motivations and purposes.

A great majority of the participants in the uprising against 'Uthmān, especially a number of the key players of that movement such as Ṭalḥa and Zubair, did not intend to bring the community back to the Prophetic conduct (*sīra*) and tradition (*sunna*). They did not wield their swords, in order to maintain the sovereignty of genuine Islamic values. Party monopolization tendencies and tribal decision-making of the Umayyads in government which was formed through 'Uthmān's rule had exhausted them. For them, overthrowing 'Uthmān and their pledge of allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.) were in fact aimed at solving this problem, although in their slogans they stated otherwise.

Finally after much insistence by the people and his frequent refusals, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) took over the caliphate, so as to restore a right, lead the community back to the conduct (*sīra*) of the Prophet, revive the forgotten genuine Islamic values in the society, and to spread reforms in all bureaucratic, cultural, economic, social and judicial fields. In one of his earlier sermons, he stated among other things, the perspective of these changes.

In other words, while people were motivated by the material and worldly inclinations, 'Ali (a.s.) was motivated by truth-centrism, seeking God's pleasure and being concerned about the revival of religious values. In this regard he (a.s.) said:

لَيْسَ أَمْرِي وَأَمْرُكُمْ وَاحِدًا. إِنِّي أُرِيدُكُمْ لِلَّهِ وَأَنْتُمْ تُرِيدُونَنِي لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ.

"My concerns and yours are not the same. I want you for the sake of Allah but you want me for your own self."¹

In such a time when some people saw Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) persistence in his goals and realized that they could not be in harmony with these goals, they turned away and abandoned 'Ali (a.s.) and refused to support him. As time passed, religious concerns, Divine motives and Islamic-human orientation of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) rule were further manifested. At the same time, the distance became wider and the support of those who were seeking other than the truth slackened even more.

2. The Betrayal of the Elite and Obedience of the Masses

Through the era of the government of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), tribal chiefs played the main role in making decisions for most of the people. He (a.s.) tried very hard to develop the necessity of following of *criterion* in the minds and lives of the people so that they would choose their path and measure the others by the criterion of truth, rather than measuring truth with the criteria of prominent individuals and personalities...²

1. See, h. 15.

2. See 4/6. p. 341 Cultural Policies

The efforts of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) in this respect were unfortunately of no avail. The prevalence of the aforementioned situation seriously hindered the basic reforms of 'Ali's (a.s.) rule and this was extremely painful for him as his decisions were occasionally left unfulfilled by the opposition of an individual who was backed by a large group of ignorant followers. Imām described this sorrowful situation as follows:

النَّاسُ الثَّلَاثَةُ: فَعَالِمٌ رَبَّانِيٌّ، وَمُتَعَلِّمٌ عَلَى سَبِيلِ نَجَاةٍ، وَهَمَجٌ رَعَاعٌ أَتْبَاعُ كُلِّ نَاعِيٍّ.

People are divided into three groups: a Lordly (divinely inspired) knower, one seeking knowledge who moves along the path of salvation, and the riffraff and rabble, the followers of every screaming voice, those who bend with every wind, who have not sought to be illuminated by the light of knowledge and who have not had recourse to a solid support.¹

In this insightful statement, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) divides people into three groups concerning to the choosing of their way of life:

1. The learned who have found the way: 'Divine Scholars'.
2. The seekers of truth and those on the path of deliverance from darkness and corruption: 'The learners on the path of salvation'.
3. People who neither know the right and straight path nor its correct course; rather, they are prompted to move by blind following of the influential. Imām has called them the uncivilized rabble (*hamaj ra'ā*), who are like the petty flies who sit on the faces of animals, and the foolish ignorant who are moved around, with any blowing wind and drift along any flow, without achieving any firm position.

By the Imām's (a.s.) analysis, those who neither know the right way of life nor allow themselves any wise deliberation and knowledge and blindly follow others are like flies that have gathered around those who are more ignorant than themselves and seek benefit from them. Such people neither possess a firm intellectual status nor are

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 147.

able to stand steady on one position. Without knowing who their leader is and whether he speaks the truth or not, they highly respect him with their body and soul, and follow him only because he has some reputation, or holds a lofty position and bears on his forehead the title of chief of the tribe or the leader of a party or for any other reasons, just like a swarm of flies which are blown to every direction without knowing why and where they are heading.

It was so painful for 'Ali (a.s.) to see that such a great number of people of his time were among the third group. He (a.s.) was faced with large masses who were neither 'people of knowledge' nor on the path of understanding.

More heart-rending and distressing was the lack of a sympathetic person who would listen to these social problems and calamities, and the lack of some intelligent ones with whom Imām 'Ali (a.s.) would share all of these. In other words, he (a.s.) could not unveil the pains and reveal the nature of the people whom he ruled upon and accompanied him. When he intended to share what he was involved in, to one of his close companions, Kumayl, he took his hand, led him to the desert and asserted the bitter reality with much sorrow and pity. What he told him was not conveyable to anyone since many were not able to tolerate listening to all these problems. According to him, every person who enjoyed a larger intellectual and spiritual capacity would become a more valuable and helpful person to listen.

Imām then revealed the reasons for not being supported by people. He announced that the root of all problems and failures concerning his reforms and reformative plans was hidden in the people's ignorance and their blind following of the treacherous elite.

More Explanation on the Roots of the Problem

On one occasion Imām 'Ali (a.s.) spoke in front of his relatives and a group of the elite about his problems, stating more openly than before the reasons of the disturbance (in Kūfa), elucidating its origins and revealing the reasons for disunity in the Islamic community of that time. He explained why people were not consistent

with his reformatory planning, did not tolerate the government and sovereignty based on the Prophetic path (*sīra*) and tradition (*sunna*) and did not support his policies. Then Imām began his insightful speech with the following words of the Holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.):

أَلَا إِنَّ أَخَوْفَ مَا أَخَافُ عَلَيْكُمْ خَلَّتَانِ: إِتِّبَاعُ الْهَوَى، وَطُولُ الْأَمَلِ.

What I fear most for you are two things: the following of vain desires and extending of hopes.¹

He (a.s.) then explicitly stated that the political disturbances that had caused disunity in the Muslim community and created factions and division are rooted in moral corruptions, egoism and desires:

إِنَّمَا بَدَأَ وَقُرْعَ الْفِتَنِ مِنْ أَهْوَاءِ تُتَّبَعُ وَأَحْكَامُ تُبْتَدَعُ، يُخَالَفُ فِيهَا حُكْمُ اللَّهِ وَيَتَوَلَّى فِيهَا رِجَالٌ رِجَالًا.

Surely the causes of seditions (and conspiracies) in which the Divine Law is disobeyed and men rule over other men are the following of desires and laws that are innovated.²

Imām (a.s.) indicates that egoism, desire and self-centrism bring baseless and anti-religious innovations under the cover of religion; and it is through this approach that blind factionalism is founded, moral disturbances grow into cultural turmoil, and eventually wind up in political and social seditions and rebellions. It is in such cases that the perpetrators in order to justify their goals and to spread the seditions, misuse the truth and pretend to support it. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) warns:

أَلَا إِنَّ الْحَقَّ لَوْ خَلَصَ لَمْ يَكُنْ اخْتِلَافٌ وَلَوْ أَنَّ الْبَاطِلَ خَلَصَ لَمْ يُخْفَ عَلَى ذِي حِجْبٍ لَكِنَّهُ يُؤْخَذُ مِنْ هَذَا ضِغْتٍ وَمِنْ هَذَا ضِغْتٍ.

Verily, if the truth becomes purified and manifest, there will be no differences and if falsehood becomes manifest, it will not be hidden from the wise. However, (what is done) is that some from this and some from that are taken (and mixed).³

1. See 2/4, h. 74.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

By these words, Imām (a.s.) actually delineated the cultural features of his time and drew attention to the fact that truth and falsehood had been intertwined in the past and those who had promoted falsity pretended truthfulness to achieve their false goals. As a result, after the lapse of one generation, innovations that were presented were regarded as tradition. Now that he (a.s.) intended to expose the features of falsehood and to rightly clarify the aspects of truth, it would be extremely difficult to do so, because people did not realize the depth of the tragedy.

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) quoted as saying from the holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) who had predicted and mentioned that such an atmosphere will occur after him:

إِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَقُولُ: كَيْفَ أَنْتُمْ إِذَا لَبَسَتْكُمْ فِتْنَةٌ يَرَوْنَ فِيهَا الصَّغِيرَ
وَيَهْرَمُ فِيهَا الْكَبِيرَ، يَجْرِي النَّاسُ عَلَيْهَا وَيَتَّخِذُونَهَا سُنَّةً فَإِذَا غَيَّرَ مِنْهَا شَيْءٌ قِيلَ:
قَدْ غَيَّرَ السُّنَّةُ....

Verily, I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say: "How would you be when a sedition would encompasses you? Such that the children would turn to adults and the adults would turn old. People would act according to them and adopt them as traditions to the extent that if one of them is changed, they would cry out that the tradition (sunnah) is changed!"¹

It is a wonder that the Prophetic doctrines had settled in people's minds, tongues, and beliefs so reversely that when someone like Imām 'Ali (a.s.) who was a clear manifestation of truth and was a truth-centered personality intends to reform and rectify the minds and thoughts of the people, they cry that 'the tradition has been changed!', and so on.

Were any fundamental reforms, essential changes and restoring the Muslim community back to the *sunnah* of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) possible in such an atmosphere? Thus, in these words and after his introductory statement, Imām (a.s.) returned to the main issue and candidly talked about innovations and stated part of these

1. Ibid.

innovations imposed on the *sunna*. He painfully unveiled what the former statesmen and authorities had bequeathed people, asserting that he could no longer do anything else because if he would not hold on to this cultural transformation and carry on the campaign against cultural deviations, the troops would disperse and he would be left alone. Here are the Imām's painful words:

وَلَوْ حَمَلْتُ النَّاسَ عَلَى تَرْكِهَا وَحَوَّلْتُهَا إِلَى مَوَاضِعِهَا وَإِلَى مَا كَانَتْ فِي عَهْدِ

رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ لَتَفَرَّقَ عَنِّي جُنْدِي حَتَّى أَبْقَى وَحْدِي أَوْ قَلِيلٌ مِّنْ شِبَعَتِي.

If I force people to abandon their own customs (what they practice now) and restore the traditions to their original state and to the way they were during the Prophet's (ṣ.a.w.) era, my troops will scatter and I will be left alone or with only a few of my followers.

Expressing Grievances, an Ultimatum to all

During the last months of Imām 'Ali's rule, his life was hard, painful and unbearable. The tribulations, rebellious, lootings and stubbornness of the enemies made his life difficult. In a lengthy and exciting speech that he delivered for relatives and closed ones, he reiterated what he had told earlier to Kumayl ibn Ziyād in the desert. By explaining the situation for them, he left no excuse for any one, the elites or the common people.

In this speech, known as the Sermon of Disparagement and Threatening (*Khuṭbah al-Qāṣi'a*)¹ which was delivered after the battle of Nahrawān, Imām stated very important and fundamental points as to how and why pre-Islamic religious revolutions ended in failure and he precisely predicted the future history of Islam.

With the Elite (al-Khawāṣ)

In his eloquent words, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) described the destiny of Satan that he had worshipped God for six thousand years, and with references to his high status [before his rejection], he (a.s.) points to the elite who enjoyed good accounts in their services to Islam and warns them lest they end up in a destiny similar to that of Satan:

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 192.

فَاحْذَرُوا عِبَادَ اللَّهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ أَنْ يُعْدِيَكُمْ بِدَائِهِ وَأَنْ يَسْتَفِزَّكُمْ بِدَائِهِ ...

Therefore, O servants of God, beware of Satan infecting you with his disease or leading you astray through his call.¹

He then explains that the only way to avoid this destiny is to give up groundless prejudices, factional tendencies, and vindictiveness rooted in the age of ignorance, and seeking undeserved superiority:

فَأَطِفُوا مَا كَمَنَّ فِي قُلُوبِكُمْ مِنْ نِيرَانِ الْعَصِيَّةِ وَأَحْقَادِ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ فَإِنَّهَا بِلَاكِ الْحَمِيَّةِ
تَكُونُ فِي الْمُسْلِمِ مِنْ خَطَرَاتِ الشَّيْطَانِ وَنَخَوَاتِهِ وَنَزَعَاتِهِ وَنَفَثَاتِهِ، وَاعْتَمِدُوا
وَضَعِ التَّدَلِّيَ عَلَى رُؤُوسِكُمْ وَالْقَاءِ التَّعَزُّزَ تَحْتَ أَقْدَامِكُمْ وَخَلْعِ التَّكَبُّرَ مِنْ
أَعْنَاقِكُمْ....

Extinguish what is hidden in your hearts of the fires of prejudice and the grudges of the age of ignorance, as this vanity and self-conceit can only exist in a Muslim by the (astute) machinations of Satan, his haughtiness, mischief and whisperings. Practice humbleness, to trample self-pride under your feet and to cast off vanity from your necks.²

Warning the Masses

When eminent figures of the community, the political and cultural manipulators, and those of ethnic, and ideological reputation get involved in prejudiced clashes, they make use of means such as enflaming disturbances within the people and the communities and thus lead the society into the fire of disunity.

As well, in his sermon, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) insistently enjoins the people to refuse obeying their dignitaries and elite, in case they would not give up their arrogance and persist on their haughtiness arrogance and sedition. They should not follow their illegitimate objectives and should be heedful of the fact that all seditions, corruptions and abnormalities are rooted in their positions:

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

أَلَا فَالْحَدَرَ الْحَدَرَ مِنْ طَاعَةِ سَادَاتِكُمْ وَكِبَرَائِكُمُ الَّذِينَ تَكَبَّرُوا عَنْ حَسَنِهِمْ
وَتَرَفَّعُوا فَوْقَ نَسَبِهِمْ... فَإِنَّهُمْ قَوَاعِدُ أُسَاسِ الْعَصِيَّةِ وَدَعَائِمُ أَرْكَانِ الْفِتْنَةِ...
وَهُمْ أُسَاسُ الْفُسُوقِ وَأَحْلَاسُ الْمُعْزُوقِ يُتَّخَذُهُمْ إِبْلِيسُ مَطَايَا ضَلَالٍ وَجُنْدًا بِهِمْ
يَصُولُ عَلَى النَّاسِ....

Beware and avoid obeying your leaders and elders who felt proud over their lineage and boasted over their descent...they are the main sources of obstinacy and main pillars of mischief... They are the roots of vice and people of disobedience. Satan has made them as the carriers of misguidance and the troops with whom he attacks men.¹

Imām then gave an enlightening explanation of what was stated. Afterwards, he proceeded to make a very important political and ethical discussion about social interaction and behavior. He talked about the difficult Divine trials aimed at training the human beings, stressing that life's various misfortunes and difficulties are in line with the spiritual construction of man and to purify him of moral vices, particularly selfishness, arrogance and haughtiness just as God Almighty has ordained prayers, fasting and alms for such purposes.

He (a.s.) then enjoined people to delve into history, deliberate on events and take lessons from the fates of the religious revolutions to find out how they had ended, and recognize the impact of disparity and disunity on the failures in religious calls, lest the haughtiness and egoism of the elite and the influential along with the people's unaware obedience would lead the Islamic government to a destiny similar to that of previous revolutions.

In this part of his speech, Imām (a.s.) gives an explicit warning and issues an ultimatum to the elite and the influential:

أَلَا وَإِنَّكُمْ قَدْ نَقَضْتُمْ أَيْدِيَكُمْ مِنْ حَبْلِ الطَّاعَةِ، وَتَلَمَّتُمْ حِصْنَ اللَّهِ الْمَضْرُوبَ
عَلَيْكُمْ بِأَحْكَامِ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ... وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّكُمْ صِرْتُمْ بَعْدَ الْهِجْرَةِ أَعْرَابًا وَبَعْدَ الْمَوْلَاةِ
أَخْرَابًا، مَا تَتَعَلَّقُونَ مِنَ الْإِسْلَامِ إِلَّا بِأَسْيُوهِ وَلَا تَعْرِفُونَ مِنَ الْإِيمَانِ إِلَّا رَسْمَهُ.

Indeed, you have shaken off your hands from the rope of obedience and broken the divine fortress around you by (resorting to) pre-Islamic laws. You should know that you have

1. Ibid.

again reverted to the position of the Bedouin after the immigration (to Islam) and have become different parties after having been once united. You do not possess anything of Islam except its name and know nothing of faith other than its form.¹

The Danger of Abandoning the 'Enjoining Good and Forbidding Wrong'

From the viewpoint of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) the enjoining to do good and forbidding them from doing any wrong are among the major elements in the continuation of an Islamic revolution. The establishment of all human and Islamic values is directly related to this duty. If this obligation is forgotten, values will also be forgotten and once the Islamic community turns its back on religious values and takes refuge in other than Islam, it will lose Divine assistance and fail in its battle against foreign enemies, and a government based on the teachings of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) and 'Ali (a.s.) will thereby be defeated, the devils will dominate the Islamic Community and the prayers of the pious will not be answered.

Imām (a.s.) goes on to say further in the sermon of *al-Qāṣi'a* regarding this same issue:

إِنَّكُمْ إِنْ لَجَأْتُمْ إِلَى غَيْرِهِ حَارَبَكُمْ أَهْلُ الْكُفْرِ، ثُمَّ لَا جَبْرَائِيلَ وَلَا مِيكَائِيلَ وَلَا مُهَاجِرُونَ وَلَا أَنْصَارَ يَنْصُرُونَكُمْ إِلَّا الْمُقَارَعَةَ بِالسَّيْفِ حَتَّى يَحْكُمَ اللَّهُ بَيْنَكُمْ.
وإِنَّ عِنْدَكُمْ الْأَمْثَالَ مِنْ بَأْسِ اللَّهِ وَقَوَارِعِهِ وَأَيَّامِهِ وَوَقَائِعِهِ، فَلَا تَسْتَبْطِنُوا وَعَيْدَهُ
جَهْلًا بِأَخْذِهِ، وَتَهَاوُنًا بِطَرْفِهِ، وَيَأْسًا مِنْ بَأْسِهِ.

فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ لَمْ يَلْعَنِ الْقَرْنَ الْمَاضِيَيْنِ أَبْيَدِيَكُمْ إِلَّا لِتَرْكِهِنَّ الْأَمْرَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ
وَالنَّهْيِ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ. فَلَعَنَ اللَّهُ السُّفَهَاءَ لِرُكُوبِ الْمَعَاصِي، وَالْخُلَئَاءَ لِتَرْكِ النَّهْيِ.

Be sure that if you incline towards anything other than Islam, the disbelievers will fight against you. Then neither Gabriel nor Michael nor the *Muhājirīn* or *Anṣār* will help you, you will draw swords against each other, until Allah settles the matter for you.

1. Ibid.

Certainly, there are examples before you of God's wrath, punishment, days of tribulations and happenings. Therefore do not disregard His warnings due to ignorance of it or taking light His Wrath, or feeling immune from His punishment, for God the Glorified did not curse people of the past except because they had abandoned enjoining good and forbidding wrong. In fact, Allah cursed the foolish for committing sins and the clement because they gave up forbidding wrong.¹

The Holy Prophet (s.a.w.), prior to Imām 'Ali (a.s.), had also warned people of this danger in the following words:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَقُولُ لَكُمْ: مُرُوا بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَانْهَوَا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ، قَبْلَ أَنْ تَدْعُوا
فَلَا أُجِيبَ لَكُمْ، وَتَسْأَلُونِي فَلَا أُعْطِيَكُمْ، وَتَسْتَصِرُّونِي فَلَا أَنْصُرَكُمْ.

O People! Verily God says to you: Command people to do good and forbid them from wrong, or else you will pray, but I do not answer your prayer and you ask Me but I do not grant you and you seek My assistance but I do not assist you.²

The danger of abandoning the enjoining to do good and forbidding the wrong in regard to the continuance of the Islamic revolution is so serious that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) warned people about it until the last moments of his life, saying in the last sentence of his testament:

لَا تَرْكُوا الْأَمْرَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَالنَّهْيِ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ، فَيَوَلَّى عَلَيْكُمْ شِرَارُكُمْ، ثُمَّ تَدْعُونَ
فَلَا يُسْتَجَابُ لَكُمْ.

Do not abandon the enjoining of good and forbidding the wrong, or else the villains would dominate over you, then when you pray, you will not be answered.³

After drawing attention to the dangers that await the future of the nation because of abandoning the enjoining good and forbidding

1. Ibid.

2. *Mizān al-Hikma*, vol. 8, p. 3708, h. 12727

3. See, *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minin*, vol. 7, p. 255, h. 2961

wrong and turning away from the [Islamic] values, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) goes on to say in the sermon of *al-Qāsi'a* that the Islamic community is facing this problem at the present time. Therefore, if it is not cured, people must be expecting the dominance of the villains and the wicked over them:

أَلَا وَقَدْ قَطَعْتُمْ قَيْدَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَعَظَّمْتُمْ حُدُودَهُ وَأَمْتُمُ أَحْكَامَهُ.

Indeed! You have broken the ties of Islam, transgressed its limits and destroyed its rules.¹

Indeed, refraining from obeying the wise and a truth-seeking leader, breaking through the stronghold of religion by following pre-Islamic tendencies and behaviors and leaving meritocracy, solidarity, harmony and empathy by yielding to disunity and satanic pomposity, contenting oneself with grandiose titles, towing behind only the titles of truth, faith and Islam (neglecting their essence); abandoning the practice of enjoining good and forbidding wrong, not practicing Divine sanctions, annihilating religious ordinances and so forth are all causes of failure, defeat, falling into hardships, and consequently being ruined and witnessing the satanic dominance of the enemy, and so on.

3. Equality in Distribution

Human beings very often fall into the trap of material and worldly inclinations and attractions. If one gets accustomed to worldly indulgence and fills his life up with worldly provisions and concerns himself with its pleasure and comfort, then it will be difficult for him to part himself from them.

After the Messenger of God (s.a.w.) and during the reign of the [first] three caliphs, one of the wrong policies pursued was bribing and alluring the reputed figures and discrimination in favor of the related elites. In this way many who did not deserve such lofty positions were lifted high in rank and others were unrightfully degraded and tyrannized.

1. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 192.

Imām (a.s.), as he stated in one of his early sermons, intended to eliminate this appalling class discrimination and disorder in enjoyment of the privileges.¹

It was evident that this policy would stimulate many people against Imām (a.s.) and they –mainly consisting of the elite and reputed figures– would in turn pull many of the common people behind them by various tricks in order to justify their opposition and to hide the secret of their parting from ‘Ali (a.s.).

It was for this reason that many of Imām ‘Ali’s (a.s.) advocates frequently asked him to give up this policy and forget about the chieftains, influential political figures and pompous persons who enjoyed special economic privileges for a time and temporarily and that he should not confront them and their indulgence. Nonetheless, he (a.s.) found the suggestions in conflict with the principles and fundamentals of his government and therefore rejected them. He regarded these suggestions as somehow abandoning the goals and ideals of an Islamic state and so he refused them.

Here are some examples of such suggestions and the Imām’s responses to them:

1. It is reported in the book *al-Ghārāt* that:

‘Ali (a.s.) was complaining to Mālik al-Ashtar of the people’s flight toward Mu‘āwiya. Al-Ashtar said: “O Commander of the Faithful! We fought against the people of the Battle of Jamal in the company of Baṣrans and Kūfans who were all unanimous in their opinions, but then they differed, bred enmity and their intentions slackened and justice failed. And you call them to justice, treat them righteously, and take back the rights of the weak from the wealthy who in your views have no superiority over the weak.

Many of them, who were with you when they were treated as such, began to grieve and became sad with this justice. As for Mu‘āwiya, his gifts were with the opulent. People’s soul yearned towards the worldly gains. Those who are not infatuated with the world are very few; many of them are the

1. See 2/1, p. 62.

ones who discard the truth, go along with falsehood and prefer the worldly gains. If you are munificent toward them, they will be drawn toward you and become benevolent to you and their friendship will purely belong to you. May God settle your affair (O Commander of the Faithful) and terminate your enemy, disperse their assembly, nullify their plots and slacken their efforts, as He knows what He does."

In response to him, 'Ali (a.s.) thanked God and praised him, and said: "As for what you said that my manners and character are based on justice, verily, God says: *'Whoever acts righteously, it is for his own soul, and whoever does evil, it is to its detriment, and your Lord is not tyrannical to the servants'*"¹ and I am more fearful that I may have been negligent in what you said.

As for what you said that they found the truth too heavy and thus turned away from us, God knows that they did not turn away from us due to our tyranny. When they did turn away, they were not called forth to justice; [rather] they sought nothing but the transient world that they had been parted from it; and on the Resurrection Day, they will be called to account whether they sought worldly gains or acted for the sake of God.

As for being munificent to men and buying them off, actually we are not able to give away out of public assets to people beyond what they deserve, as God has rightfully said: *"How many a small party has overcome a large party by Allah's will!"*²

He Almighty chose Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) as a Prophet and he was alone and after a while he turned his few followers into multitudes and raised his party to power after being humiliated. If God wishes to assign us to a task, He would smooth out the difficulties and would ease the hardships (for us too). I approve all that of your ideas in which there is the pleasure of God; you are the most trustworthy of my companions, and the most trusted, the most benevolent, and the most discerning of them to me.

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1. Qur'ān, 41:46. [All translations of the Qur'ān are from the translation of Sayyid 'Ali Quli Qarā'i, The center for Translation of the Holy Qur'ān, 2003, Qum, Iran.]
 2. Qur'ān, 2: 249.

2. In the same book, Rabī'a and 'Ammāra are quoted as saying:

A group of 'Ali's (a.s.) companions went to him and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, give these riches away, and give the noble and the dignitaries of the Arabs and Quraysh superiority over the non-Arab liberated ones and also [give preference and advantage] to those opposition you fear their harm."

Rabī'a Said: "They said this because Mu'āwiya treated those who went to him in this way". 'Ali (a.s.) said to them: "Do you order me to seek victory by means of tyranny? By God, I would not do that as long as the sun keeps rising, and a star is shining in the sky. By God, if these riches belonged to me, I would treat them equally, how is it possible when they are the public properties."¹

3. Sahl ibn Hunayf, Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) governor in Madina sent him a letter reporting that a group of Madīnans had joined Mu'āwiya. Imām wrote in reply:

"Now, I have come to know that certain persons from your side are stealthily going over to Mu'āwiya. You should not worry if the number of your men is reduced and their help is lost. Indeed they have joined misguidance and you have been relieved of them. They are running away from guidance and truth and advancing towards blindness and ignorance. They are seekers of this world and are proceeding to it and are leaping towards it. They have known justice, seen it, heard it and appreciated it. They have realized that here, to us, all men are equal in the matter of right. Therefore, they ran away to selfishness and partiality. Let them remain remote and far away from the mercy of Allah. By Allah, surely they have not gone away from oppression and have not joined justice. In this matter, we only beseech Allah to resolve for us the hardships and to level for us its unevenness, if Allah wills; Wassalām!"²

4. Avoidance of Using Unlawful Means in the Enforcement of Commands

An ideal human society, as it must be, is a society full with human values. It is a society in which law and justice create relations or break

1. See 5/10, h. 229.

2. See *The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*, vol. 7, p. 171 (*Nahj al-Balagh*, Letter 70)

them, extinguish rebellions and rectify abnormalities. However, it is evident that achieving such a stage in human society is very difficult. What was the kind of society that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) ruled over? What were people's tendencies at its public level? How were the inclinations and efforts of people basically determined?

The community during those days had been ruled by others for 25 years. Those governments faced, towards the final years, rebellions, criticisms and confrontations, and in return reacted with violence, severe confrontations, punishments, and occasional imprisonments, tortures and atrocities.

The general public was not rightly familiar with the law and its significance so the rulers ruled over people in this milieu. The rulers, whenever encountered with people's wrongdoing, right from the beginning practiced force, violence and dominance instead of resorting to them as a final solution.

In the Umayyad policy, ends justify the means and the politicians use any tools, even illegitimate ones for implementing their policies, plans and orders. The leader of such policy speaks to some in a language of allurements and to others through threatening and still to some others by means of deception. Mu'āwiya did rule over Shām by means of such policies and perhaps the maintenance of the interests of Shām demanded doing so!!

What should Imām 'Ali (a.s.) do when in his doctrines, the use of illegitimate means to implement his policies is not permissible and the people's leader speaks solely by means of explanation, elucidation and instruction, does not use words of allurements, deception, threat, or violence; and how should he bring the people who had been accustomed to these methods, back to the right way?

Surprisingly, the public masses of Shām indisputably used to obey Mu'āwiya without receiving anything from him simply and just because he used the means of the policy of imposture, allurements and threat. The public masses of Kūfa however, did not obey the Imām, even though they were not deprived of material interests. In this regard Imām said:

أَوْ لَيْسَ عَجَبًا أَنَّ مُعَاوِيَةَ يَدْعُو الْجُفَاءَ الطَّغَامَ فَيَتَّبِعُونَهُ عَلَى غَيْرِ مَعُونَةٍ وَلَا عَطَاءٍ، وَأَنَا أَدْعُوكُمْ - وَأَنْتُمْ تَرِيكُنَّ الْإِسْلَامَ، وَيَقِيَّةُ النَّاسِ - إِلَى الْمَعُونَةِ أَوْ طَائِفَةٍ مِنَ الْعَطَاءِ، فَتَفَرَّقُونَ عَنِّي وَتُخْتَلِفُونَ عَلَيَّ؟!

Is it not strange that Mu'āwiya calls out to some rude, low people and they follow him without receiving any support or grant, but when I call you, although you are the successors of Islam and the (worthy) survivors of the people, to help and grant you, you scatter away from me and oppose me?¹

Imām (a.s.) knew well that the society was not at a level of understanding to grasp his heart-rending and suspicion-free words. He knew that he could make many, including some dignitaries, obey him through violence and threat and put things in order even though temporarily, but he refused to do so and said:

أَلَا إِنِّي كُنْتُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، فَأَصْبَحْتُ الْيَوْمَ مَأْمُورًا وَكُنْتُ نَاهِيًا فَأَصْبَحْتُ مَنْهِيًا وَقَدْ أَحْبَبْتُمُ الْبَقَاءَ وَلَيْسَ لِي أَنْ أُحِلَّكُمْ عَلَى مَا تَكْرَهُونَ.

Indeed, yesterday I was the Commander of the Faithful, but today I am commanded and until yesterday I was dissuading people (from wrong acts), but today I am being dissuaded. You have now shown that you only love to live in this world and it is not for me to force you to what you dislike.²

In the policy of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), achieving goals is rightful only when people think freely and accept the reform plans and submit to them without any obligation. Imām (a.s.) never deemed it right to make people accept what he viewed as truthful and proper by resorting to the sword, violence and to force them to obey him. At the end, it is people who would finally choose a way which they are attached to.

In other words, if Imām 'Ali (a.s.) had been asked why people had left him alone, he would have answered: "I was not willing to force them to obedience by the language of the sword. And they were regretfully not in a position to appreciate this path [my rule] and submit to it for some cultural reasons and due to the social structure that has been imposed on them and they have been accustomed to."

1. See 5/10, h. 245 (*Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 180)

2. *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minin*, vol. 6, p. 191, h. 2577

Imām (a.s.) believed that problems of a government could be temporarily solved by violence, but such sovereignty and rule would no longer be that of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.). He has frequently stated this fact as follows:

يَا أَهْلَ الْكُوفَةِ! أَتُرَوْنِي لَا أَعْلَمُ مَا يُصْلِحُكُمْ، بَلَى، وَلَكِنِّي أَكْرَهُ أَنْ أُصْلِحُكُمْ
بِفْسَادِ نَفْسِي.

O People of Kūfa! Do you think I do not know what can rectify you? Yes indeed. But I do not like to rectify you by corrupting myself.¹

And then he said:

وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ الَّذِي يُصْلِحُكُمْ هُوَ السَّيْفُ، وَمَا كُنْتُ مُتَحَرِّياً صَلَاحَكُمْ بِفَسَادِ
نَفْسِي وَلَكِنْ سَيَسْلُطُ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِي سُلْطَانٌ صَعِبٌ.

I know that what rectifies you is the sword, but I do not seek to rectify you by corrupting myself. After me, however, a tough authority will dominate over you.²

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) asserted that he knew how to confront people and subjugate them by means of violence and sword and was able to straighten their crookedness with a sword and to force the rebels to obedience, but he refused to do so. He said: "Correcting you by resorting to violence would cost a price, (i.e., ruining the moral values) and I am not willing to pay such a price. This would neither be compatible with my disposition nor with my philosophy of governing. But you should know that after me a hard time will be awaiting you. With such manners and acts, you pave the way for the rule of those who would not have mercy on you and would not talk to you except by the language of the sword:

لَا يَصْلَحُ لَكُمْ يَا أَهْلَ الْعِرَاقِ إِلَّا مَنْ أَخْزَاكُمْ وَأَخْزَاهُ اللَّهُ....

You will not be rectified (O people of Iraq!) except by he who shall humiliate you, and God will humiliate him too."³

1. See 8/9, h. 447.

2. See 8/10, h. 449.

3. *Rabi' al-Abrār*, vol. 4, p. 250

Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) Predictions Coming True

Finally, Imām (a.s.) departed people while having been unjustly treated by them and complaining about them:

إِنْ كَانَتْ الرُّعَايَا قَبْلِي لَتَشْكُرُنِي حَيْفَ رُعَايَاهَا وَإِنِّي الْيَوْمَ لِأَشْكُرَنَّ حَيْفَ رَعِيَّتِي.

People before me used to complain of the oppression of their rulers but now I have to complain of the wrongful actions of my subjects....¹

He had told people that their wrongdoing towards the just leader would be as dangerous to the community as the wrongdoing of an oppressive leader, and a community that does not observe the rights of a just leader and refuses obedience, solidarity and empathy to him—who is most deservedly entitled to such rights—will be entangled in commotion and burn in the fire of decline:

... وَإِذَا غَلَبَتِ الرُّعْيَةُ وَالْيَهَا أَوْ أَحْجَفَ الْوَالِي بِرَعِيَّتِهِ اخْتَلَفَتْ هُنَالِكَ الْكَلِمَةُ
وَوُظِّهَتْ مَعَالِمُ الْجَوْرِ وَكَثُرَ الْإِدْغَالُ فِي الدِّينِ، وَثَرَكَتْ مَحَاجِّ السُّنَنِ فَعُمِلَ بِأَهْوَى
وَعُطِّلَتِ الْأَحْكَامُ وَكَثُرَتْ عِلَلُ النُّفُوسِ. فَلَا يُسْتَوْحَشُ لِعَظِيمٍ حَقٌّ عُطِّلَ وَلَا لِعَظِيمٍ
بَاطِلٌ فَعِلَ فَهُنَالِكَ تَذَلُّ الْأَبْرَارِ وَتَعَزُّ الْأَشْرَارُ وَتَعَظُمُ تَبِعَاتُ اللَّهِ شُبْحَانَهُ عِنْدَ الْعِبَادِ.

And if the subjects come to dominate over the ruler, or the ruler oppresses the subjects, differences will arise among them, signs of oppression will appear, mischief will enter religion and the tradition will be forgotten. Then desires are acted upon, the religious commands are discarded, diseases of the spirit become numerous, great rights will remain idle, falsehood will be practiced. In such circumstances, the virtuous are humiliated, the wicked are honored and the chastisements of God Almighty towards people will be severe.²

Thirty four years after the martyrdom of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), his prediction about the Kūfans came true. In the caliphate of 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwān, a group of Khārijites called "*Azāriqa*" rose up in

1. See: *The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*, vol. 9, p. 474, h. 4747, 4748 (*Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 261).

2. See 6/2, h. 305.

the Ahwāz region against the central government. The only place that could dispatch military troops to the fronts was Kūfa, but the people did not comply and refused to go to battle. In an inciting sermon, 'Abdul Malik sought a solution from his dignitaries and close companions, by asking them:

فمن يتدب لهم منكم بسيف قاطع وسان لامع؟

Who will volunteer against them with a cutting sword and a piercing spear?¹

All remained silent. Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf who had recently suppressed 'Abdullah ibn Zubair in Mecca stood up and declared his readiness, but 'Abdul Malik did not accept. Referring to the difficulty of dispatching troops to the Ahwāz front, he asked them to choose volunteers from among their most powerful troops to Iraq for the battle against the *Azāriqa* army. Here again, the only one who volunteered was Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf.

Interestingly, 'Abdul Malik wonders how Hajjāj wants to have such rebellious and unsteady people to obey, and thus asked him:

إن لكل أمير آلة وقلائد، فما آلتك وقلائدك؟

Every commander has instruments and leashes. What are your instruments and leashes?²

And Hajjāj replied, "The tongue of the sword and the instruments of violence!" He would talk to them with the language of the sword and would raise whips of violence. He said that he would spread the policy of threat and allurements and by doing this he would uproot the opposition:

فمن نازعني قصمته ومن دنا مني أكرمته، ومن نأى عني طلبته ومن ثبت لي طاعته ومن ولى عني لحقته ومن أدركته قتله... إن آلتني... أزرع بدرهمك من يواليك، واحصد بسيفك من يعاديك.

I will destroy anyone who fights against me and honor anyone who shall approach me. I will chase anyone who runs away from me, harm anyone who resists me and trace those who turn their back on me, so when I find them, I will kill them.

1. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 7, 8, p. 3.

2. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 7, p. 4, ḥ. 3.

These are indeed my instruments. Saw your friend with your dirhams (gold coins) and reap those who are hostile to you with your sword.¹

‘Abdul Malik approved this policy and in 74 AH /887 CE he appointed Hajjāj as the governor of Kūfa and Baṣra. In his first encounter with them and in a warning sermon to the people Hajjāj said:

“Verily I see heads ripe enough to be plucked and I am undertaking this task. It seems as if I am looking at blood gushing out of the turbans and the beards...

Know that I will not promise anything, unless I carry it out to full term; I do not utter anything unless I fulfill it; I will not come close unless I find out and will not stay far unless I hear. Therefore, avoid shouting, gatherings, demonstrations, playing champions and listening to every individual! What is happening to you, O people of Iraq? O separatists? O people of hypocrisy and vulgar morals? Verily you are inhabitants of a town that [God said] was secure and peaceful. Its provision came abundantly from every place, but it was ungrateful toward God’s blessings, so He made it taste hunger and fear because of what they used to do.²

Know that my sword will soon be satiated by your blood and it will peel off your skin. Therefore, whoever wishes, should preserve his blood!”³

1. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 7, p. 8, ḥ. 4.

2. Qur’ān, 16:112.

3. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 7 & 8, p. 8-10. Mas’ūdī has said:

Hajjāj died at the age of 54 in the region of Wāsiṭ, Iraq in 95 AH/713 CE. He ruled for twenty years and the number of people who were killed [during his reign] in battles or due to their being tortured, were up to 120000. At the time of his death, 50000 men and 300000 women, including 16000 girls, were in his prisons.

He used to keep men and women in the same place. His prisons did not have roofs, so the prisoners could not keep away from the heat of the sun in summer time and the rain and cold in winter time. His other methods of tortures are described in my [i.e. Mas’ūdī’s] other books. It is reported that one day he mounted his horse to go to the Friday prayer. He heard moans, so he asked what it was. He was told: “The prisoners are moaning and complaining of their hardships.” He went towards them and said: *Be gone in it, and do not speak to Me!* [Qur’ān, 23:108]

It is said that Hajjāj died on this same Friday, and he never again mounted a horse after this. (*Murāj al-Dhahab*: vol. 3, p. 175).

From the very first time, Ḥajjāj showed in his speech that death would be flowing out of his eyes and blood shall be shed from his sword. He talked to the Kūfans with the harshest words and the most degrading epithets and revealed the ending of rebellions, openly stating that he would quench his sword with the blood of those disobeying him and intending to be haughty towards him. After this horrifying speech, characterized with blood dripping from his every word, he issued a statement, which was announced to the public in every quarter and district:

ألا! اننا قد أجلنا من كان من أصحاب المهلب ثلاثاً، فمن أصبنا بعد ذلك
فعقوبته ضرب عنقه.

"Be informed that we gave the companions of Muhlab a respite of three days, whomever we catch after that, his punishment will be the decapitation of his head."¹

In order to show that the statement would definitely be implemented, he quickly ordered his disciplinary commander and doorman Ziyād ibn 'Urwa to have a number of his troops patrol around town, recruiting people to be dispatched to the war front and to kill those who hesitated or refused.

In this way, all the troops who had abandoned Muhlab ibn Maqra - the commander of the troops against *Azāraqa*- returned to the battle front and not even one person lagged behind.²

'Abdul Malik was able to suppress all the opponents of the central government by implementing the policy of threat and allurements throughout the society and then set out for Ḥajj pilgrimage with a peaceful mind in 75 AH/694 CE. al-Ya'qūbī wrote:

ولما استقامت الأمور لعبد الملك وصلحت البلدان! ولم تبق ناحية تحتاج إلى
صلاحها والإهتمام بها، خرج حاجاً سنة 75.

When things were settled in favor of 'Abdul Malik and the cities were controlled and calm and there was no place in need of control or being taken care of, he left for Ḥajj pilgrimage in the year 75 AH.³

1. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 7 & 8, p. 10.

2. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 7 & 8, p. 13.

3. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 273.

This kind of reform, which was based on subjugating the people and creating peace under the glittering of swords, was the kind of reform whose price in Imām 'Ali's view was the corruption of the reformer and he was not willing to approve such 'reformation' of the society. He could not yield to a policy that would solve the problems of the state to the cost of ruining human values.

What is the need for messengers, divine leaders and a person like Ali, in a society which resorts to this type of solution for the problem? What need do they have for Divine leaders and what need is there for 'Ali (a.s.)? In such politics, the government of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) is meaningless. Anyone who possesses power and impudence in action, puts aside compassion, discards human wisdom, abandons moral virtues and appeals to whatever enforces his dominance, can rule.

However, in Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) government it is values that are fundamental. He is not willing by any means to sacrifice human and Islamic values. A government in which values are sacrificed and human values and criteria are beheaded in the slaughterhouse of statesmanship is a Satanic and Umayyad government. These kinds of governments will not be an Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) government, even though it might carry behind it the name of 'Ali (a.s.) and Islam.

It must also be added that in today's world the policy of sword, force and violence is no longer efficient. Military equipment is gradually losing its efficacy and statesmen are basing their systems of governments on new foundations. Human values are now being wiped away in a different way in such modern policies. The policy of eradicating social justice through economic reforms and crushing the feeble is an example.

5. Peripheral Factors

What we enumerated so far are the major factors of the people's lassitude and weariness and Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) loneliness in the last days of his government. Other factors can also be mentioned for the people's withdrawal from him. Although they were not as effective as the aforementioned factors, they had a conspicuous role in humiliating the people. Such factors which we have called 'peripheral factors' are listed below:

A. War against the People of the Qibla

In the first days of the establishment of his government, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) unfortunately plunged into war; civil war and war against the people of the Qibla. The previous wars were entirely against the disbelievers. The wars against the disbelievers were unambiguous and free of any misconception. But the wars during Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) government which were fought to suppress seditions, reform the society and bring it back to the conduct (*sīra*) and tradition (*sunna*) of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) were wars against the people of the Qibla, against those who were called Muslims and in cases had good reputations with high ranking socio-political profiles.

That was how the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) –who had seen these events in the mirror of time and had predicted how they would happen– regarded these battles as wars based on the interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the Qur'ān and confirmed their difficulties.¹

War against the people of the Qibla was creating lots of trepidation in faith for the narrow-minded. They could not correctly make up their minds, so they refused to stay with him (a.s.). This way the cunning statesmen who had problems with Imām (a.s.) justified their refusal and raised doubts among the common people. Thus from the very beginning the so-called influential personalities such as Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Usāma ibn Zaid and 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar refused to support 'Ali (a.s.). When he (a.s.) asked them about the reason for their refusal, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said:

إِنِّي أَكْرَهُ الْحُرُوجَ فِي هَذَا الْحَرْبِ؛ لِنَلَّا أَصِيبَ مُؤْمِنًا فَإِن أُعْطِيتَنِي سَيْفًا يَعْرِفُ
الْمُؤْمِنَ مِنَ الْكَافِرِ قَاتَلْتُ مَعَكَ.

"I hate to go out to this battle lest I kill a believer. So, if you give me a sword that distinguishes a believer from a disbeliever, I will fight along with you!"²

Usāma said:

أَنْتَ أَعَزُّ الْخَلْقِ عَلَيَّ وَلَكِنِّي عَامَدْتُ اللَّهَ أَنْ لَا أُقَاتِلَ أَهْلَ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ.

1. See *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*: vol. 5, p. 25

2. See 1/9, h. 44.

"You are the dearest of people to me, but I have made a pledge to God not to fight against the people of '*lā ilāha illa Allāh*' (those who say, *There is no god but Allāh*)."¹

And 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar said:

لَسْتُ أَعْرِفُ فِي هَذَا الْحَرْبِ شَيْئًا، أَسْأَلُكَ أَلَّا تَحْمِلَنِي عَلَى مَا لَا أَعْرِفُ.

"I do not know anything about (the nature of) this battle and I ask you not to make me do that which I do not know."²

Mental readiness of people in accepting such an unjustified doubt concerning the prohibition of fighting against the people of the Qibla on one hand, and the raising of doubts by those who opposed the reform plans of Imām (a.s.), particularly by the propaganda network of Mu'āwiya on the other hand, had made the recruiting and mobilization of the military forces extremely difficult. Therefore, Imām was often forced to explain to the people the grounds, causes and motives of his stance. In the beginning of the emergence of disturbances and when he was forced to fight against the perpetrators, Imām said:

وَقَدْ فُتِحَ بَابُ الْحَرْبِ بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَ أَهْلِ الْقِبْلَةِ، وَلَا يَحْمِلُ هَذَا الْعَلَمَ إِلَّا أَهْلُ

الْبَصِيرِ وَالصَّبْرِ وَالْعِلْمِ بِمَوَاضِعِ الْحَقِّ، فَاْمْضُوا لِمَا تُؤْمَرُونَ بِهِ، وَقِفُوا عِنْدَ مَا

تُنْهَوْنَ عَنْهُ وَلَا تَعْجَلُوا فِي أَمْرِ حَتَّى تَتَبَّعْتُمُوهُ، فَإِنَّ لَنَا مَعَ كُلِّ أَمْرٍ تُنْكِرُونَهُ غَيْرًا.

"The door of war has been opened between you and the people of the Qibla [other Muslims]. This banner will be borne only by him who is a man of insight, endurance and knowledge of the position of truth. Therefore, go ahead with what you are ordered and desist from what you are forbidden.

Do not make haste in any matter until you have clear knowledge of it. For in every matter you dislike, we have another solution for it."³

Although Imām spared no effort in explaining to people the reasons for his stances and the causes of events, it was difficult for

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 173.

many to accept that 'Ali (a.s.) was always right, that he had a resolute position, and that Ṭalḥa, Zubair and 'Ā'yisha were always wrong and on the false path.¹

B. Soldiers being tired of War without Spoils

The people of that time, even though they were Muslims and ready to set out for battle, by the order of their Divine leaders, but they were not on such a high level of culture and predisposition that they could be solely God-seeking and practice sincerity and devotion. Collecting spoils in wars was a strong motivation, especially for those who for years had been accustomed to this practice. Now they had to remain in the battlefield for days and months, without being able to enjoy what they seized [as spoils of war].

During the reign of former rulers, they were accustomed to gaining spoils in wars and using them. Now, Imām (a.s.) from the very beginning of the battle wanted them to keep their hand off people's property and to know that they had no right to keep what they seized at the height of the battle. Participating in a battle without gaining any spoils was very difficult for the people.

Most of those who accompanied Imām 'Ali (a.s.) did not have that deep faith and strong insight to think only of God and 'to wield their sword for His sake' and to have no desire except for God's pleasure in their battle against the wicked. In the war, the majority were only thinking of their own interests rather than righteousness, faith or putting an end to the disturbances. Historical facts state that among the most frequent and numerous complaints that were brought up in the battles of Nahrawān and Jamal were concerning the booties of wars. People were asking why the enemies women were not taken as captives and their properties were not divided among the soldiers. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has quoted this historical event based on the consensus of the reporters:

اتَّفَقَتِ الرِّوَاةُ كُلُّهَا عَلَى أَنَّهُ قَبِضَ مَا وَجَدَ فِي عَسْكَرِ الْجَمَلِ مِنْ سِلَاحٍ وَدَابَّةٍ
وَمَمْلُوكٍ وَمَتَاعٍ وَغُرُوضٍ، فَقَسَمَهُ بَيْنَ أَصْحَابِهِ، وَأَنَّهُمْ قَالُوا لَهُ: اقْسِمْ بَيْنَنَا أَهْلَ

1. See *The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*, vol. 5, p. 142.

البصرة فاجعلهم رقيقاً، فقال: لا. فقالوا: فكيف تحل لنا دمانهم وتحرم علينا

سيبهم.

It is a consensus among the narrators that what 'Ali (a.s.) found in [the Battle of] Jamal, including weapons, riding animals, slaves and other things, he divided them among his companions. They said to him: "Divide the people of Basra between us as slaves." He (a.s.) said: "No." Then they said: "How can the shedding of their blood be lawful to us, but taking them as captives cannot?"¹

When the physical and mental fatigue of the troops who had fought for two years without receiving any spoils and financial benefits is accompanied with the misconception of the illegitimacy of the war against people of the Qibla, along with other factors of the Imām's (a.s.) loneliness, the result would obviously be nothing but disobedience. Thus, Imām (a.s.) faced serious problems in controlling and mobilizing his troops towards the end of his government.

C. Losing Eminent Companions

He who manages a society and leads the people is in dire need of competent staff and loyal companions among his administrators in order to enable him to overcome problems and resolve complicated social intricacies. The presence of self-sacrificing talented and dedicated wise men that support the leader by making sacrifices in challenging situations is greatly effective in the managing of the society. The role of such people in removing ambiguities, delivering messages, explaining situations and motivating the forces, those who could indirectly actualize the strategies of the leader in society is extremely significant. Amid the battle of Şiffin, the impact of the sermons and valorous speeches delivered by such companions like Mālik al-Ashtar, Hāshim ibn Mirqāl and others is evident and attests to this.

1. See *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, vol. 5, p. 147.

It is unfortunate that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) did not enjoy the company of such persons toward the end of his government. The most outstanding of his (a.s.) companions who were eloquent explainers and advocates of his path were no longer present. The absence of Mālik al-Ashtar, 'Ammār, Hāshim ibn Mīrqāl, Muḥammad ibn Abi Bakr, 'Abdullah ibn Badīl, Zaid ibn Ṣūhān and others who were among the companions of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was sadly felt. No longer was it possible to hear those passionate, encouraging and stimulating sermons among the troops. On the other hand, there were many evil-minded, misleading and ill-hearted individuals who raised difficulties and spread apathy.

It is due to such an atmosphere of chaos, sedition and insubordination that Imām (a.s.) remembers with sorrow those vigilant, insightful 'worshippers in the night and fighting lions in the day', who were pioneers in the fields of action and warriors on the battlefields, saying:

Where are those who were invited to Islam and accepted it wholeheartedly? Those who read the Qur'ān, acted according to it and established it in their hearts. Those who were exhorted to fight and leapt towards it as a she-camel leaping towards its young, drew their swords out of their sheaths and went out and took control of lands in groups and ranks. Some of them passed away and some survived. The good news of their survival did not please them nor did they condole the dead (living in this world would not make them happy as departing this transient life could not sadden them). Their eyes turned white from weeping, their bellies were emaciated because of fasting, their lips were dry because of constant praying, their color was pale because of staying awake and their faces bore the dust of God-fearing humility. They were my comrades who have departed. Therefore, it behooves that we long for them (and desire their presence) and bite our hands (out of sorrow) from being separated from them.¹

In the end of his painful words, uttered in the last days of his life, he said:

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 121.

Where are my brothers who took the true path and departed from the world with righteousness? Where is 'Ammār? Where is Ibn al-Tayyḥān?¹ Where is Dhūl-Shahādātayn?² Where are those who were like them from among their comrades and had pledged themselves to death and whose severed heads were gifted to the corrupt [enemies]?³

It must be further added that some of the companions and soldiers of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) became members of the Khawārij who stood up against him after the battle of Šiffin. Some of them were killed in the Battle of Nahrawān and others retreated from society. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was therefore left totally alone with no combatant companions, eloquent speakers and intelligent intellectuals and brave indefatigable heroes of the battlefields.

The Peak of the Power of Leadership during Loneliness

Now, and at the end of this brief analysis, we find it necessary to draw the attention of the esteemed readers to a significant point regarding the policies of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and his leadership approach, which I have not seen to be noticed and raised by any one. This point is the authority, power of management and extraordinary capability and steadfastness of Imām (a.s.) in leadership, in such a time and conditions, and despite all those circumstances as have all been explained.

Historical documents show that 'Ali (a.s.) has displayed the most sublime, the most powerful and the most significant characteristics of leadership during the days of his loneliness. Therefore, when we say 'Ali (a.s.) was alone, it must not be presumed that, due to so much disobedience and difficulties that he faced and which can be realized through his lamentation and complaints, he went into

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1. Mālik ibn Tayyḥān al-Anṣārī was one of the companions (*ṣaḥāba*) in the Battle of Badr and was martyred in the battle of Šiffin.
 2. Khuzayma ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, who was present in the Battle of Badr and other battles and was martyred in Šiffin. The Holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) considered his testimony as equal to that of two persons.
 3. See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minin*, vol. 7, p. 151. (*Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 182).

retreat or left the society. Nor could it be said that during the final months of his government he lost the power of leadership and management of the society, and until his martyrdom he contented himself only with grieving and complaining about the people's disobedience and lack of support and the weakness of the elite. Never!

Historical texts and abundant statements reporting about the code of conduct of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) show that, the most hard-working and diligent period of his (a.s.) government, was during the time of his loneliness. Never did despair overwhelm the matchless hero of the battlefields and the most sagacious figure of resistance in the onslaught of hardships and difficulties. All alone he made reforms, delivered great sermons, created enthusiasm and continued with the path he had delineated at the very outset of his government to the end of his life and never kept quiet or remained idle for even a moment.

In a society where a great part of the elite and influential people did not support 'Ali (a.s.); and the masses who followed them, in an atmosphere of misconception and ambiguity about fighting against the people of the Qibla and renowned and eminent personalities, turned to disobedience and lassitude, the soldiers were exhausted from fighting three severe battles without gaining any spoils, and at the time when Imām had lost the best of his companions, and when the frequent ambushes by the ignorant, wicked and inhumane troops of Mu'āwiya and their plundering had wearied the people, Imām nevertheless, stood firm. He bravely and persistently pursued the mobilization of people against Mu'āwiya's iniquities and criminalities. In such surroundings, fraught with disappointment, lassitude, and horror, he controlled the people—without resorting to violence—and brought them again to the battlefield of war against Mu'āwiya. How much power in leadership, how much strength in management and charisma in leadership, 'Ali (a.s.) must have had to be able to stand up in such an environment and to mobilize the troops to such an extent...?

The last fervent and heroic sermon of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) delivered before re-dispatching the troops to Şiffin attests to the above claim.

Nawf Būkālī described the outer appearance of Imām at the time of delivering his exciting sermon along with the way he arrayed the troops:

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) delivered this sermon to us in Kūfa while standing on a rock set up by Ja'da son of Hubayra al-Makhzūmī. He was wearing a woolen garment, his sword-belt was made of palm tree filaments and so were the slippers he was wearing. The trace of prostration on his forehead was like the callus on the camel's knees.

Nawf goes on to say that in the end of his speech, Imām (a.s.) shouted with a loud voice:

الْجِهَادَ، الْجِهَادَ، عِبَادَ اللَّهِ... وَإِنِّي مُعَسِّكٌ فِي يَوْمِي هَذَا، فَمَنْ أَرَادَ الرُّوْحَ إِلَى اللَّهِ
فَلْيَخْرُجْ.

Jihād, Jihād (struggle, struggle), O servants of Allah! By Allah, I am preparing the army today. He who desires to proceed towards Allah, let him go forth.

Then, concerning the organization and arraying of the troops he reports:

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) then allocated Ḥusain (a.s.) over (a force of) ten thousand; Qays ibn Sa'd over ten thousand; Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī over ten thousand and others with different numbers. He was ready to return to Siffin, but it was before the Friday when Ibn Muljam carried out his fatal strike. As a result, the armies came back and we were left like sheep that had lost their shepherd, while wolves were snatching them away from all sides.¹

According to what was said, the painful utterances of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and his frequent complaints about his companions were not due to his weakness, failure in leadership and managing people, rather instead of using the language of violence and sword for gaining authority over people, he used this language to motivate them.

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 182. Also cf. *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minin*, vol.7, p. 167.

As explained above, the mobilization of a great numbers of troops in less than a week (the same week before his martyrdom) indicates his superb capability in mobilizing masses on one hand, and the success of his (a.s.) policies on the other.

What was presented here was a glimpse at the background, reasons and causes of the people's lassitude in such a period of time, as well as a delineation of Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) way of conduct in administering a state.

In conclusion, we beseech Almighty Allah to grant us success to derive benefit from 'Ali's (a.s.) radiating Divine knowledge and the everlasting doctrines of the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.).

الفصل الأول

بَيَعْنَا النُّورَ

1 / 1

تَارِيخُ بَيْعِنَا الْإِمَامَ ﷺ

اختلف المؤرخون وكتاب السيرة في تعيين التاريخ الدقيق لبيعة الناس للإمام ﷺ، فقال البعض: إنها حصلت في اليوم الذي قُتل فيه عثمان.¹ وقال آخرون: إنها وقعت بعد قتل عثمان بفترة؛ واختلفوا في تحديدها بين اليوم الواحد والخمسة أيام.² فورد في بعض المصادر التاريخية: «بُيِعَ عَلِيٌّ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ لِحُكْمِ بَقِيَّةٍ مِنْ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ وَالنَّاسُ يَحْسِبُونَ مِنْ يَوْمِ قَتْلِ عُثْمَانَ».³

لكن نقل الطبري عن أبي المليح⁴ ونقل ابن أبي الحديد عن أبي جعفر الإسكافي،⁵ كما

١. الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 217 الرقم 7875، مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 358، تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 436، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 305 وفيها «والناس يحسبون بيعته من يوم قتل عثمان»، المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3 ص 123 ح 4594 وفيه «وقبل: بويع عقب قتل عثمان».

٢. ذكر في بعض المصادر أن بيعة الإمام ﷺ بعد يوم واحد من قتل عثمان، مثل: أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 7. وبعضها ذكرت أنها حدثت بعد ثلاثة أيام، مثل: المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3 ص 123 ح 4594 والأخبار الطوال: ص 140.

ويعرضها ذكرت أنها بعد أربعة أيام، أو خمسة أيام مثل: المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3 ص 123 ح 4594.

٣. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 436، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 305، المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3، ص 123 ح 4594.

٤. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 428.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 7 ص 36.

Chapter One

Allegiance of Light

1 / 1

The Date of Allegiance to the Imām

Historians and hagiographers have differed in determining the accurate date of the people's pledge of allegiance to Imām 'Alī (a.s.). Some hold that on the same day which 'Uthmān was killed people swore allegiance to the Imām (a.s.).¹ Others believe that the allegiance to the Imām took place several days after the murder of 'Uthmān. This interval, varying from one to five days, is a matter of disagreement among the historians.²

It is reported in some historical sources that the allegiance to 'Alī (a.s.) was sworn on Friday 25th of Dhil Ḥijja, which people is supposed to be the same day that 'Uthmān was killed.³

Finally, according to what⁴ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd quoted his teacher Abū Ja'far Iskāfi⁵ and based on what is reported in *Tārikh Dimashq*

1. *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 217, ḥ. 1875, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 358, *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 436, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 305.

It is narrated in the above volumes that: "People presumed that allegiance to the Imām took place the day 'Uthmān was killed." *al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 123, ḥ. 4594. It is reported in this volume that, "It is said that the allegiance to Imām took place after 'Uthmān was killed".

2. It is reported in some sources that the allegiance took place one day after the killing of 'Uthmān. Cf., *Ansāb al-Ashraf*: vol. 3, p. 7. Other sources state that the allegiance was sworn three days later. Cf. *al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*: vol. 3, p. 123, ḥ. 4594, *al-Akhhār al-Tirmāzī*: p. 140. Some sources report that the allegiance took place four or five days later. Cf., *al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 123, ḥ. 4594.

3. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 436, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*: vol. 2, p. 305.

4. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 428.

5. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 7 p. 36.

جاء في تاريخ دمشق وتذكرة الخواص^١، أن بيعة الناس كانت يوم الثامن عشر من ذي الحجة سنة (35 هـ).

والذي نراه هو أن القول الثاني أقرب إلى الواقع؛ حيث أنه يلانم القول باتحاد تاريخ قتل عثمان - الذي هو 18 ذي الحجة على أصح الأقوال^٢ - مع تاريخ بيعة الإمام، مضافاً إلى تصريح المصادر السابقة بذلك.

ومن جهة أخرى إذا لاحظنا الشرائط السياسية الحاكمة على المجتمع الإسلامي آنذاك، ولاحظنا شخصية الإمام العديمة النظر، فإنه يبعد - غاية البعد - وقوع فاصل زمني بين قتل عثمان وتعيين القائد الجديد للأمة.

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حَرْبَةُ النَّاسِ فِي انْتِخَابِ الْإِمَامِ ﷺ

1. الإمام عليؑ - في كتابه إلى أهل الكوفة عند مسيره من المدينة إلى البصرة -: يَا عَيْنِي النَّاسُ غَيْرَ مُسْتَكْرَهِينَ، وَلَا مُجْبَرِينَ، بَلْ طَائِعِينَ مُخَيَّرِينَ.^٣

2. عنهؑ: قُبِضَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ وَأَنَا أَرَى أَنِّي أَحَقُّ النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ! فَاجْتَمَعَ النَّاسُ عَلَى أَبِي بَكْرٍ! فَسَمِعْتُ وَأَطَعْتُ. ثُمَّ إِنَّ أَبَا بَكْرٍ حَضَرَ فَكُنْتُ أَرَى أَنْ لَا يَعْدِلَهَا عَنِّي، فَوَلَّى عُمَرَ، فَسَمِعْتُ وَأَطَعْتُ! ثُمَّ إِنَّ عُمَرَ أُصِيبَ، فَظَنَنْتُ أَنَّهُ لَا يَعْدِلَهَا عَنِّي، فَجَعَلَهَا فِي

١. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 437، تذكرة الخواص: ص 56.

٢. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 480 ح 778، أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 7، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 3 ص 77، تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 415، تاريخ خليفة بن خياط: ص 132، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 294، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 159 الرقم 1797.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 1، الجمل: ص 244، الأمل للطوسي: ص 718 ح 1518 عن عبد الرحمن بن أبي عمرة الأنصاري وفيه إلى «غير مستكرهين».

٤. في الطبعة المشتملة: «فولي»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في تاريخ دمشق «ترجمة الإمام عليؑ» تحقيق محمد باقر المحمودي (ج 3 ص 101 ح 1142).

and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*¹, people swore allegiance to the Imām on Friday Dhil Hijja 18, 35 AH/June 12, 656 CE.

In my opinion, this last view is closer to reality; for besides being asserted by the foregoing sources, it is compatible with the view of those who identify the date of allegiance to the Imām with the date of the murder of ‘Uthmān, since according to the most authentic traditions, ‘Uthmān was murdered on the 18th of Dhil Hijja.²

On the other hand, considering the political circumstances of the Islamic society of that time and the exclusive situation of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.), to claim that there was an interval of time between ‘Uthmān’s murder and the appointing of a new leader is far from reality.

1 / 2

People’s Freedom in Electing the Imām

1. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.), in a letter to the Kūfans while leaving Madīna for Baṣra: “People swore allegiance to me, not by force or compulsion, but willingly and with free choice.”³
2. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “The Messenger of God departed and I saw myself the most worthy among the people for this affair [of leadership]. But people agreed upon Abū Bakr for ruling. So I listened and obeyed.

Then came the death of Abū Bakr and I presumed that it [the government] would be handed over to no one but me, but he appointed ‘Umar as ruler. Again I listened and obeyed. Then ‘Umar was injured and I presumed that it would not be given to someone other than me, but ‘Umar turned it over to six persons

1. *Tārākh Dimashq*, vol.42, p. 437, *Tadhkira al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 56.

2. *Faḍā’il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 480, h. 778,

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 1, *al-Jamal*, p. 244, *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 718, h. 1518.

بِسَيِّئَةِ أَنَا أَحَدُهُمْ! فَوَلَّاهَا عُثْمَانُ، فَسَمِعْتُ وَأَطَعْتُ. ثُمَّ إِنَّ عُثْمَانَ قُتِلَ، فَجَاؤُونِي، فَبَايَعُونِي طَائِعِينَ غَيْرَ مُكْرَهِينَ.^١

3. عنه عليه السلام - من كتاب له إلى طلحة والزبير -: أَمَا بَعْدُ، فَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمَا - وَإِنْ كُتِمْتُمَا - أَنِّي لَمْ أُرِدِ النَّاسَ حَتَّى أَرَادُونِي، وَلَمْ أُبَايِعْهُمْ حَتَّى بَايَعُونِي، وَإِنِّكُمَا يَمْنُ أَرَادَنِي وَبَايَعَنِي، وَإِنَّ الْعَامَّةَ لَمْ تُبَايِعْنِي لِسُلْطَانٍ غَالِبٍ، وَلَا لِعَرَضٍ حَاضِرٍ.^٢

4. الفتوح: أَقْبَلَ عَمَّارُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ)، فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّ النَّاسَ قَدْ بَايَعُوا طَائِعِينَ غَيْرَ كَارِهِينَ، فَلَوْ بَعَثْتَ إِلَى أُسَامَةَ بْنِ زَيْدٍ وَعَبِيدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ وَمُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مَسْلَمَةَ وَحَسَّانَ بْنِ ثَابِتٍ وَكَعْبِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ فَدَعَوْتَهُمْ؛ لِيَدْخُلُوا فِيهَا دَخَلَ فِيهِ النَّاسُ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ!
فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ): إِنَّهُ لَا حَاجَةَ لَنَا فِيمَنْ لَا يَرْغَبُ فِينَا.^٣

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كَرَاهَةُ الْإِمَامِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لِلْحُكُومَةِ

5. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في خطبته بعد البيعة -: أَمَا بَعْدُ، فَإِنِّي قَدْ كُنْتُ كَارِهَاً لِهَذِهِ الْوِلَايَةِ - يَعْلَمُ اللَّهُ فِي سَهَاوَاتِهِ وَفَوْقَ عَرْشِهِ - عَلَى أُمَّةٍ مُحَمَّدٍ ﷺ، حَتَّى اجْتَمَعْتُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ، فَدَخَلْتُ فِيهِ.^١
6. تاريخ الطبري عن أبي بشير العابدِي: كُنْتُ بِالْمَدِينَةِ حِينَ قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ، وَاجْتَمَعَ الْمُهَاجِرُونَ وَالْأَنْصَارُ - فِيهِمْ طَلْحَةُ وَالزُّبَيْرُ - فَأَتَوْا عَلِيًّا، فَقَالُوا: يَا أَبَا حَسَنَ، هَلُمَّ تُبَايِعْكَ!

١. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 439، أسد الغابة: ج 4 ص 106 ح 3789 كلاهما عن يحيى بن عروة المرادي.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 54، كشف الغمّة: ج 1 ص 239، الفتوح: ج 2 ص 465 كلاهما نحوه، الإمامة والسياسة: ج 1 ص 90 وفيه «خاص» بدل «غالب» وليس فيه «ولا لعرض حاضر».

٣. الفتوح: ج 2 ص 441.

٤. الأُمالي للطوسي: ص 228 ح 1530 عن مالك بن أوس، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 26 ح 9.

of whom I was one. It was given to 'Uthmān, and I listened and obeyed. 'Uthmān was then killed and the people came to me and swore allegiance to me willingly with no compulsion.¹

3. Imām 'Ali (a.s.), in a letter to Ṭalḥa and Zubair: "Now, you both know, even though you conceal it, that I did not approach people till they approached me, and I did not ask them to swear allegiance to me until they themselves swore allegiance to me. In fact both of you were among those who wanted me and swore allegiance to me. Indeed, the masses did not swear allegiance to me under any force or for any money given to them."²
4. *al-Futūḥ*: 'Ammār ibn Yāsir came to 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib (a.s.) and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, now that people have sworn allegiance to you obediently and not out of compulsion, send for Usāma ibn Zaid, 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar, Muḥammad ibn Maslima, Ḥassān ibn Thābit, and Ka'b ibn Mālik and invite them to what the *Muhājirīn* and *Anṣār* have taken part in." 'Ali (a.s.) said: "We are not in need of those who are reluctant and unwilling toward us."³

1 / 3

The Imām's Reluctance to Rulership

5. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) in his speech after the people's allegiance (*bai'ah*): "[After praising God] Verily, as God in His heavens and over His Throne knows I was reluctant to assume authority over the community of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) until you (people) agreed upon this (my ruling) and I then accepted it."⁴
6. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* –narrating from Abū Bashīr al-'Ābidī: "I was in Madīna when 'Uthmān was killed and the *Muhājirīn* and *Anṣār* gathered along with Ṭalḥa and Zubair and went to Imām 'Ali (a.s.), saying: "O Abū al-Ḥasan! Let us swear allegiance to you."

1. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol.42, p. 439, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 106, ḥ. 3789.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, letter 54, *Kashf al-Ghumma*, vol. 1, p. 239, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 465, *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 90.

3. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 441.

4. *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 728, ḥ. 1530, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 26, ḥ. 9.

فَقَالَ: لَا حَاجَةَ لِي فِي أَمْرِكُمْ، أَنَا مَعَكُمْ؛ فَمَنْ اخْتَرْتُمْ فَقَدْ رَضِيتُ بِهِ، فَاخْتَارُوا!
فَقَالُوا: وَاللَّهِ مَا نَخْتَارُ غَيْرَكَ.

قَالَ: فَاخْتَلَفُوا إِلَيْهِ بَعْدَ مَا قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ مِرَاراً، ثُمَّ أَتَوْهُ فِي آخِرِ ذَلِكَ، فَقَالُوا لَهُ: إِنَّهُ لَا يَصْلُحُ النَّاسُ إِلَّا بِأَمْرِهِ، وَقَدْ طَالَ الْأَمْرُ! فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: إِنَّكُمْ قَدْ اخْتَلَفْتُمْ إِلَيَّ وَأَتَيْتُمْ، وَإِنِّي قَائِلٌ لَكُمْ قَوْلًا إِنْ قَبِلْتُمُوهُ قَبِلْتُ أَمْرَكُمْ، وَإِلَّا فَلَا حَاجَةَ لِي فِيهِ. قَالُوا: مَا قُلْتَ مِنْ شَيْءٍ قَبِلْنَاهُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.

فَجَاءَ فَصَّيْدَ الْمَنْبَرِ، فَاجْتَمَعَ النَّاسُ إِلَيْهِ، فَقَالَ: إِنِّي قَدْ كُنْتُ كَارِهَاً لِأَمْرِكُمْ، فَأَيُّتُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ أَكُونَ عَلَيْكُمْ، أَلَا وَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ لِي أَمْرٌ دُونَكُمْ، إِلَّا أَنْ مَفَاتِيحَ مَالِكُمْ مَعِي، أَلَا وَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ لِي أَنْ أَخْذَ مِنْهُ دِرْهَمًا دُونَكُمْ، رَضِيتُمْ؟ قَالُوا: نَعَمْ. قَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ اشْهَدْ عَلَيْهِمْ. ثُمَّ بَايَعَهُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ.^١

7. تاريخ الطبري عن محمد وطلحة: غَشِيَ النَّاسُ عَلِيًّا، فَقَالُوا: تُبَايِعُكَ؛ فَقَدْ تَرَى مَا نَزَلَ بِالْإِسْلَامِ، وَمَا ابْتُلِينَا بِهِ مِنْ ذَوِي الْقُرْبَى! فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: دَعُونِي، وَالتَّمَسُّوا غَيْرِي؛ فَإِنَّا مُسْتَقْبِلُونَ أَمْرًا لَهُ وَجْهُ وَلَهُ أَلْوَانٌ، لَا تَقُومُ لَهُ الْقُلُوبُ، وَلَا تَثْبُتُ عَلَيْهِ الْعُقُولُ. فَقَالُوا: نُنْشِدُكَ اللَّهَ، أَلَا تَرَى مَا نَرَى! أَلَا تَرَى الْإِسْلَامَ! أَلَا تَرَى الْفِتْنَةَ! أَلَا نَخَافُ اللَّهَ! فَقَالَ: قَدْ أَجَبْتُكُمْ لِمَا أَرَى، وَاعْلَمُوا إِنْ أَجَبْتُكُمْ رَكِبْتُ بِكُمْ مَا أَعْلَمُ، وَإِنْ تَرَكْتُكُمْوَنِي فَإِنَّمَا أَنَا كَأَحَدِكُمْ، إِلَّا أَنِّي أَسْمَعُكُمْ وَأَطُوعُكُمْ لِمَنْ وَلَّيْتُمُوهُ أَمْرَكُمْ.^٢

8. الإمام عليٌّ - مِنْ كَلَامٍ لَهُ لَمَّا أَرَادَهُ النَّاسُ عَلَى الْبَيْعَةِ بَعْدَ قَتْلِ عُثْمَانَ -: دَعُونِي وَالتَّمَسُّوا غَيْرِي؛ فَإِنَّا مُسْتَقْبِلُونَ أَمْرًا لَهُ وَجْهُ وَأَلْوَانٌ، لَا تَقُومُ لَهُ الْقُلُوبُ، وَلَا تَثْبُتُ

١. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 427، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 302 و ص 304 نحوه: الكافي: ص 12 ح 7 عن أبي بشر العائدي وفيه إلى «مراراً»، شرح الأخبار: ج 1 ص 376 ح 318 عن أبي بشير العائدي نحوه وراجع: الفتح: ج 2 ص 434 - 436 والمناقب للخوارزمي: ص 49 ح 11.

٢. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 434، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 304، نهاية الأرب: ج 20 ص 13 وفيها «بين القرى» بدل «ذوي القرى»؛ الجمل: ص 129 عن سيف عن رجاله نحوه.

The Imām said: "I have no need in ruling over you. I am with you and I will accept whomever you chose. So choose (you)." But they said: "By God we choose nobody other than you."

He [Abū Bashīr] said: "They used to visit the Imām after 'Uthmān was killed and in the last meeting they said: "The people's affairs will not be settled except under a rulership and this [your acceptance of caliphate] has taken too long."

He said to them: "Verily, you have come to me many times and my reply to you is that if you accept what I say I will accept ruling and if not, I have no need of it."

They said: "We will accept whatever you say, if God wills."

The Imām came and ascended the pulpit where the people gathered around him and he said: "I was reluctant to rule over you, but you refused everything other than me ruling over you. Indeed, I have nothing to hide from you, but the keys of your wealth are with me. Indeed, I have no right to take one dirham from it without your consent. Do you agree with this?" They said: "Yes."

He said: "O God! Bear witness to them." He then accepted their allegiance."¹

7. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, narrated from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥa: "People gathered around 'Ali (a.s.) and said to him: "We swear allegiance to you. You can see what has befallen Islam and what calamities have been inflicted upon us by our kin."

Imām 'Ali (a.s.) said: "Leave me and seek someone else. We are facing a matter which has multiple faces and colors, which neither hearts can endure nor can intellects accept."

The people said: "We implore you by God. Do you not see what we see? Do you not see [the problems that] Islam [faces]? Do you not see the disturbance? Do you not fear God?"

He (a.s.) then said: "I answered you according to what I view. Know that if I accept your request I will act on the basis of what I know, and if you leave me I shall be one like you, except that I will be the most submissive and obedient among you towards the one to whom you surrender as your ruler."²

8. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –from what he said when people wanted to pay allegiance to him after the killing of 'Uthmān: "Leave me and seek someone else. We are facing a matter which has multiple faces and

1. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 427, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 302 & 304, *al-Kāfi*, p. 12, ḥ. 7.

2. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 434, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 304.

عَلَيْهِ الْعُقُولُ. وَإِنَّ الْأَفَاقَ قَدْ أَغَامَتْ، وَالْمَحَجَّةَ قَدْ تَنَكَّرَتْ، وَاعْلَمُوا أَنِّي إِنْ أَجَبْتُكُمْ رَكِبْتُ بِكُمْ مَا أَعْلَمُ، وَلَمْ أَصْغِ إِلَى قَوْلِ الْقَائِلِ، وَعَتَبَ الْعَاتِبِ، وَإِنْ تَرَكْتُمُونِي فَأَنَا كَأَخَدِكُمْ، وَلَعَلِّي أَسْمَعُكُمْ وَأَطُوعُكُمْ لِيْنٍ وَلِيْتَمُوهُ أَمْرُكُمْ، وَأَنَا لَكُمْ وَزِيرًا خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ مِنِّي أَمِيرًا.^١

9. تاريخ الطبري عن محمد ابن الحنفية: كُنْتُ مَعَ أَبِي حَبِيبٍ قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ، فَقَامَ فَدَخَلَ مَنَزِلَهُ، فَأَتَاهُ أَصْحَابُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ، فَقَالُوا: إِنَّ هَذَا الرَّجُلَ قَدْ قُتِلَ، وَلَا بُدَّ لِلنَّاسِ مِنْ إِمَامٍ، وَلَا نَجْدَ الْيَوْمَ أَحَدًا أَحَقَّ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ مِنْكَ؛ لَا أَقْدَمَ سَابِقَةً، وَلَا أَقْرَبَ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ! فَقَالَ: لَا تَفْعَلُوا، فَإِنِّي أَكُونُ وَزِيرًا خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَنْ أَكُونَ أَمِيرًا. فَقَالُوا: لَا، وَاللَّهِ مَا نَحْنُ بِفَاعِلِينَ حَتَّى تُبَايَعَكَ. قَالَ: فِيهِ الْمَسْجِدُ؛ فَإِنْ بَيَّعْتَنِي لَا تَكُونُ خَفِيًّا، وَلَا تَكُونُ إِلَّا عَن رِضَا الْمُسْلِمِينَ.^٢

10. الإمام عليؑ - مِنْ كَلَامٍ لَهُ فِي جَوَابِ طَلْحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرِ -: وَاللَّهِ مَا كَانَتْ لِي فِي الْخِلَافَةِ رَغْبَةٌ، وَلَا فِي الْوِلَايَةِ إِرْبَةٌ، وَلَكِنْ كُنْتُ دَعَوْتُمُونِي إِلَيْهَا، وَحَمَلْتُمُونِي عَلَيْهَا، فَلَمَّا أَفْضَتْ إِلَيَّ نَظَرْتُ إِلَى كِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَمَا وَضَعَ لَنَا وَأَمَرَنَا بِالْحُكْمِ بِهِ فَاتَّبَعْتُهُ، وَمَا اسْتَنَى النَّبِيُّ ﷺ فَأَقْتَدَيْتُهُ.^٣

11. عنهؑ - مِنْ كَلَامِهِ لَمَّا أَرَادَ الْمَسِيرَ إِلَى ذِي قَارٍ -: بَايَعْتُمُونِي وَأَنَا غَيْرُ مَسْرُورٍ بِذَلِكَ، وَلَا جَذِلٌ، وَقَدْ عَلِمَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ أَنِّي كُنْتُ كَارِهًا لِلْحُكُومَةِ بَيْنَ أُمَّةٍ مُحَمَّدٍ ﷺ؛ وَلَقَدْ سَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ: مَا مِنْ وَالٍ يَلِي شَيْئًا مِنْ أَمْرِ أُمَّتِي إِلَّا أَتَيْ بِهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ مَغْلُولَةً يَدَاهُ إِلَى عُنُقِهِ، عَلَى رُؤُوسِ الْحَلَائِيقِ، ثُمَّ يُنْشَرُ كِتَابُهُ، فَإِنْ كَانَ عَادِلًا نَجَا، وَإِنْ كَانَ جَائِرًا هَوَى.^٤

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 92، الملتقى لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 110 وفيه إلى «وعتب العاتب».

٢. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 427، أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 11 نحوه.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 205.

٤. جَذِلٌ بالشيء: يَجْذَلُ جَذَلًا، فهو جَذِلٌ وجَذْلَانٌ: فَرَحَ (لسان العرب: ج 11 ص 107).

٥. الجمل: ص 267، بहार الأنوار: ج 32 ص 63 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 1 ص 309 عن زيد بن صوحان.

colors, which neither hearts can endure nor can intellects accept. The horizons (of life) have been covered by clouds and the right path is not discernable. Know that if I accept your request I will lead you according to what I know and I will not care about whatever one may say or the admonishing of an admonisher. If you leave me I will be like one of you, and I might be the most listening and obedient among you to whom you put to rule over your affairs. I am better for you as a counselor more than I am as a commander."¹

9. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* –narrated from Muḥammad ibn al-Hanafīyya: "I was with my father when 'Uthmān was killed. He suddenly stood up and entered his house and the companions of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) came to him and said: 'This man has been killed and the people must have a leader. Moreover, we know nobody for this affair more rightful than you, or with such a past [in Islam] or being closer to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.).'

My father said: "Do not do this, for I am better for you as a counselor than I am as a commander."

The people said: "No, by God, we will do nothing until we swear allegiance to you."

He said: "So let it be in the mosque, as allegiance to me is not to be done in secrecy and will not be without the consent of the Muslims."²

10. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) –in what he said in response to Ṭalḥa and Zubair: "By Allah, I had no liking for the caliphate nor any interest in government, but you yourselves invited me to it and prepared me for it. Then, when it [caliphate] came to me, I kept the Book of God in my view and I followed everything that He had put therein and I acted according to what the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had taught."³
11. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) –from what he said when leaving for Dhī Qār: "You swore allegiance to me, while I was not happy [about it]. God the Glorious knew that I did not have any liking for ruling over the community (*ummah*) of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.), and I heard him say: 'There is no ruler who will lead something of the affairs of my nation without being brought on the Day of Resurrection in front of all creation with his hands tied to his neck. His book [of deeds] will be presented, and if he was just he will be saved and if he was a tyrant he will perish.'⁴

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 92, *Manāqib 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb*, vol. 2, p. 110.

2. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 427, *Ansāb la-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 11.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 205.

4. *al-Jamal*, p. 267, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 63, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 309.

An Analysis of the Reasons for Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) Reluctance to Accept Rulership

The general uprising against 'Uthmān by all the masses took place because of his method of ruling. The expansion of the revolt against 'Uthmān and the people's attention towards an eminent figure to become the caliph had practically taken the caliphate out of the clutches of political trends. Thus, it was the people who were deciding on their political leader. In such a critical situation, almost all hearts were directed towards Imām 'Ali (a.s.) without the slightest doubt, as he was the most appropriate successor to the Holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), whose name is mentioned again by all after twenty five years of seclusion.

The general inclination of the people was so strong and to the extent that nobody could oppose this public movement. Therefore, the claimants who had assumed themselves as equal to 'Ali (a.s.) and had been beside him in 'Umar's electoral council of six people were feeling that it was politically reasonable to precede others in swearing allegiance to Imam (a.s.).

People from all walks of life crowded the way towards Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) house to pledge their allegiance. The Imām strongly resisted and refused to accept, explicitly asked them to go to someone else, saying: "I am better for you as a counselor than being a commander."

How surprising! Someone who regarded himself as the immediate successor to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) and during his long period of seclusion used to speak of his oppressed state on every occasion and in any appropriate situation, and prove his worthiness of caliphate and that his rights have been usurped, is now clearly pronouncing his unwillingness to accept the responsibility of caliphate and ruling which was then so strongly and whole-heartedly and in a free and direct election demanded and approved of by such great multitudes of followers.

Why was this so?! Did the Imām not like to accept rulership and he was inclined towards the ruling of another person?! Or was he playing a political maneuver by taking such a stance in order to attract more popular support?! Or there are other reasons for these two approaches in his life.

Any slight familiarity with the viewpoints and behavior of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) leaves no doubt that he was far from any political maneuvering and had a true aversion to the very government itself. 'Ali (a.s.) was neither seeking to rule nor intending to dominate over people. He considered government as an instrument for the establishment of rights, spreading justice and implementing equality. Were the political, social and cultural circumstances of those days prepared for achieving such goals of a government? Now, after twenty five years of political, social and intellectuals vicissitudes and other spiritual and mental changes, the companions had also undergone changes with different ideas and criterions and views for life, and so on.

The present generation who are leading the political arena and are engaged in the current challenges are neither familiar with the firm criterions and standards of religion, nor with the conditions of the era of the Prophetic revelation, nor with the *sīra* (conduct) of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), or are they truly aware of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and his high position in religion and his great virtue. What befell the religion in that quarter of a century was because of (false) explanations and interpretations of religious texts along with distortions that were made in the Divine laws.

All of these things created an image of religion in the minds and sayings of people which made it extremely difficult to act according to the Book of God and the traditions (*sunna*) far from courtesy and flattery. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) knew well that trying to reverse the situation would be tantamount to prompting all kinds of disturbance and that the implementing of truthfulness would urge the wrongdoers and deceivers to rise up! He therefore persistently refused to submit, in order that the rebellions would not have any excuses in future. This is why he said in a sermon:

دعوني والتمسوا غيري، فإننا مستقبلون أمراً له وجوه وألوان، لا تقوم له
القلوب ولا تثبت عليه العقول. وإنّ الأفاق قد أغامت، والمحجّة قد تنكرت،
واعلموا أنّي إن أجبتكم ركبت بكم ما أعلم، ولم أصغ إلى قول القائل وعتب
العائب، وإن تركتموني فأنا كأحدكم، ولعلّي أسمعكم وأطوّعكم لمن وليتموه
أمركم، وأنا لكم وزيراً، خير لكم مني أميراً.

Leave me and seek someone else, for we are facing a matter which has multiple faces and colors, which neither hearts can

endure nor can intellects accept. The horizons have been covered by clouds and the right path is not discernable. Know that if I accept your request I will lead you according to what I know, and I will not care about whatever one may say or any admonishing of an admonisher. If you leave me I will be like one of you, and I might be the most listening and obedient among you to whom you put to rule over your affairs. I am better for you as a counselor than being a commander."¹

Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) words are so precise, illuminating and profound: "What we are facing will be of several aspects and layers: The torrents that are ahead of us, the storms that will begin, the justice that I will insist on, the shouts that will follow it, etc."

The Imām wanted to prepare the ground for sharing with people the criteria and standards of interaction and to restate the principal lines of the government and clarify the future so that the people would make conscious decisions and take wise stances.

The Imam's words in the above sermon and in his other sayings in regard to his refusal and then accepting the rulership include the following matters:

1. Asserting that he is not enamored or fascinated by leadership. If he has talked of himself, complained of deviations following the death of the Messenger of God, (ṣ.a.w.) or if he has stressed on his right of 'Imāmate' and leadership, it was all for the sake of clarifying the truths and emphasizing the interests (of the Ummah). Now that he is taking charge and accepting the caliphate, it is for implementing rights and laying the foundation for a government that he approves and cares for, so that no one in future would lay any claims or intend to impose any demands on him.
2. Asserting that certain changes had taken place in religious doctrines. After the passing away of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), the Divine doctrines underwent vicissitudes. Therefore, if he takes over the government, he will fight against the distortions and will make attempts toward revealing the genuine aspects of the religion and remove

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 92, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭalīb*, vol. 2, p. 110.

the dusts of distortion, which would inevitably lead to a lot of political and social tensions.

3. A careful study of the Imām's (a.s.) meticulous sociology, and psychology is bearing witness to the fact that he was not enamored by the people welcoming his allegiance in that particular political condition. He clearly saw the future of his government and knew that the ground was not prepared for his reforms and bringing the Islamic nation back to the *sīra* (conducts) and *sunna* of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.). He was also well-aware that the people's uprising against 'Uthmān was not to return the community back to Islamic values. Rather, some opportunists like 'Ā'isha, Talḥa, and Zubair engaged in this uprising with specific political and economic motivations. Therefore, their motivation for allegiance was not compatible with the Imām's (a.s.) government goals and any time they realized that 'Ali (a.s.) would not accompany them and would refuse to grant them unlawful and unfair privileges, they would stand up against his reforms and lead the community to disunity and confusion.

4. Pledging allegiance to him is pledging allegiance to Imām 'Ali's (a.s.) values. He who joins hands with 'Ali (a.s.) and swears allegiance to him must be ready to be at his side in the removing of distortions, spiritual reforming of the society, reinforcement of the real laws of religion, revival of what people have forgotten, clarifying the realities that have gone through changes, and so on.

Thus the Imām (a.s.) gives an ultimatum to the massive multitudes who clamorously demanded him to take over the caliphate, that by accepting caliphate he intends to spread justice, implement the truth and revive the Divine doctrines, and this is the (right) way and nothing else.

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دَوَافِعُ الْإِمَامِ عَلِيٍّ لِقَبُولِ الْحُكْمَةِ

12. الإمام عليّ: «أما والذي فلقَ الحَبَّةَ، وبرزَ النَّسَمَةَ، لولا حُضورُ الحاضِرِ، وقيامُ الحُجَّةِ بِوجودِ النَّاصِرِ، وما أخذَ اللهُ عَلَى الْعُلَمَاءِ أَلَّا يُقَارَوْا عَلَى كَيْفَةِ ظُلْمٍ، وَلَا سَعْبٍ^١ مَظْلُومٍ، لَأَلْقَيْتُ حَبْلَهَا عَلَى غَارِبِهَا، وَلَسَقَيْتُ آخِرَهَا بِكَاسِ أَوْلَهَا، وَلَأَلْفَيْتُمْ دُنْيَاكُمْ هَذِهِ أَرْهَدَ عِنْدِي مِنْ عَفْطَةٍ عَنَزِ^٢».

13. عنه: «- مِنْ كَلَامٍ لَهُ يُبَيِّنُ سَبَبَ طَلْبِهِ الْحُكْمَ -: أَيُّهَا النَّفُوسُ الْمُخْتَلِفَةُ، وَالْقُلُوبُ الْمُتَشَتِّتَةُ، الشَّاهِدَةُ أَبْدَانِهِمْ، وَالْغَائِبَةُ عَنْهُمْ عُقُوبُهُمْ، أَظَارُكُمْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ وَأَنْتُمْ تَنْفِرُونَ عَنْهُ نُفُورَ الْمِعْزَى مِنْ وَعْوَةِ الْأَسَدِ! هَيْهَاتَ أَنْ أَطْلَعَ بِكُمْ سَرَارَ الْعَدْلِ، أَوْ أُقِيمَ اعْوِجَاجَ الْحَقِّ».

اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّكَ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنِ الَّذِي كَانَ مِنَّا مُنَاقَسَةً فِي سُلْطَانٍ، وَلَا التَّيَاسَ شَيْءٍ مِنْ فُضُولِ الْخُطَامِ، وَلَكِنْ لِنَرِدَ الْمَعَالِمَ مِنْ دِينِكَ، وَنُظْهِرَ الْإِصْلَاحَ فِي بِلَادِكَ؛ فَيَأْمَنَ الْمَظْلُومُونَ مِنْ عِبَادِكَ، وَتُقَامَ الْمُعْطَلَةُ مِنْ حُدُودِكَ^٣.

١. قارؤه مُقَارَؤَةً: أي فُرِّعَ معه وسكن، وهو تفاعل من القرار (لسان العرب: ج 5 ص 85).

٢. الْكَيْفَةُ: الْبَيْعَةُ، كَفَّهَ الطَّعَامَ وَالشَّرَابَ بِكَيْفِهِ كَفَّأً: إِذَا مَلَأَ حَتَّى لَا يَطِيقَ النَّفْسَ (لسان العرب: ج 7 ص 457).
والمراد استئثار الظالم بالحقوق.

٣. سَبَبُ الرَّجُلِ يَسْعَبُ وَيَسْعَبُ يَسْعَبُ: حَامٍ (لسان العرب: ج 1 ص 468).

٤. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 3، على الشرائع: ص 151 ح 12، معاني الأخبار: ص 362 ح 1، الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 289 وفيه «أولياء الأمر» بدل «العلماء» والثلاثة الأخيرة عن ابن عباس، نشر القدر: ج 1 ص 275 نحوه، غرر الحكم: ح 110149 تذكرة الخواص: ص 125 وفيه إلى «حبليها».

٥. ظَارَنِي فَلَانٌ عَلَى أَمْرٍ كَذَا وَأَظَارَنِي وَظَانَنِي: أَي عَطَفَنِي (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 515).

٦. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 131، تحف العقول: ص 239، المعيار والموازنة: ص 277 كلاهما نحوه من «اللهم».

1 / 4

The Imām's Motives in Accepting the Rulership

12. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): Behold! By Him who split the grain (to grow) and created living beings, if people had not come to me and the argument had not been furnished through the presence of supporters, and if there had been no pledge taken from the learned to the effect that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony of the oppressor or the hunger of the oppressed, I would have cast its rope [of caliphate] on its own shoulders, and would have given the drink to the last one with the same cup as to the first one [have treated the last one the same treatment as the first one i.e. abandon it. And you would have seen that this world of yours for me is no better than the sneezing of a goat.¹
13. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) —explaining the reasons for his acceptance of the ruling: "O differing souls and divided hearts whose bodies are present but whose intellects are absent. I am leading you towards the truth, but you run away from it like sheep running away from the roaring of a lion. How hard it is for me to establish with you the foundations of justice or to correct the curves created in truthfulness.

O God! You know that what we did was neither to seek power nor to acquire anything from the vanities of the world. We rather wanted to restore the foundations of Your religion and to bring reform in Your land so that the oppressed among Your servants may be safe and Your forsaken commands might be established.²

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 3, 'Īlāl al-Sharā'ī', h. 12, p. 151, *Ma'ānī al-Akhhār*, vol.1, p. 362, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 289.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 131, *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 239, *al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzin*, p.277.

14. عنه: - في الحُكْمِ الْمُنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّكَ تَعْلَمُ أَنِّي لَمْ أُرِدِ الْإِمْرَةَ، وَلَا عَلُوَ الْمُلْكِ وَالرِّيَاسَةِ، وَإِنَّمَا أَرَدْتُ الْقِيَامَ بِحُدُودِكَ، وَالْأَدَاءَ لِشَرْعِكَ، وَوَضَعَ الْأُمُورِ فِي مَوَاضِعِهَا، وَتَوْفِيرَ الْحَقُوقِ عَلَى أَهْلِهَا، وَالْمُضِيَّ عَلَى مِنْهَاجِ نَبِيِّكَ، وَإِرْشَادَ الضَّالِّ إِلَى أَنْوَارِ هِدَايَتِكَ.^١

15. عنه: - لَمْ تَكُنْ بَيِّعْتُمْكُمُ إِنِّي قُلْتُهُ، وَلَيْسَ أَمْرِي وَأَمْرُكُمْ وَاحِدًا، إِنِّي أُرِيدُكُمْ لِلَّهِ، وَأَنْتُمْ تُرِيدُونَنِي لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ.

أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ أَعِينُونِي عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ، وَإِيَّاهُ اللَّهُ لِأَنْصِفَنَّ الْمَظْلُومَ مِنْ ظَالِمِهِ، وَلَا قُودَنَّ الظَّالِمَ بِخِزَامَتِهِ حَتَّى أُورِدَهُ مَنَهْلَ الْحَقِّ وَإِنْ كَانَ كَارِهًا.^٢

16. عنه: - عَدَا النَّاسُ عَلَى هَذَا الرَّجُلِ - وَأَنَا مُعْتَرِظٌ - فَقَتَلُوهُ، ثُمَّ وَلَّوْنِي وَأَنَا كَارِهٌ، وَلَوْ لَا خَشْيَةُ عَلَى الدِّينِ لَمْ أُجِبْهُمْ.^٣

17. عنه: - فِي كِتَابِهِ إِلَى أَهْلِ الْكُوفَةِ -: وَاللَّهِ يَعْلَمُ أَنِّي لَمْ أَجِدْ بُدَاً مِنَ الدُّخُولِ فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ، وَلَوْ عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ أَحَدًا أَوْلَى بِهِ مِنِّي مَا قَدِمْتُ عَلَيْهِ.^٤

18. عنه: - وَاللَّهِ مَا تَقَدَّمْتُ عَلَيْهَا [الْخِلَافَةِ] إِلَّا خَوْفًا مِنْ أَنْ يَنْزُوَ عَلَى الْأَمْرِ تَيْسٌ مِنْ بَنِي أُمَيَّةَ، فَيَلْعَبَ بِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ.^٥

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 2 ص 481 (إقامة العدل).

١. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 299 ح 1414 الدرجات الرفيعة: ص 38.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 136، الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 243 عن الشعبي وفيه إلى «لأنفسكم».

٣. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 491، فتح الباري: ج 13 ص 57 كلاهما عن كليب الجرمي.

٤. الجمل: ص 259.

٥. التيس: الذكر من المعز (لسان العرب: ج 6 ص 33).

٦. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 353 عن حبيب بن أبي ثابت.

14. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O God! You know that I had not been seeking authority or the loftiness of dominion and leadership. Rather, I want to uphold Your commands, implement Your law, put things in their right order, restore rights to its people, move according to the path of Your Prophet and guide the misled towards the lights of Your guidance."¹
15. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Your allegiance to me was not by accident, nor is my position and your position the same. I seek you for God's sake, but you seek me for your own benefits. O People! Assist me over your selves [despite your desires], and by God I will take revenge for the oppressed from the oppressor, and I will drag the oppressor from his nose until I bring him to the source of truth, even if he is reluctant."²
16. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "People revolted against this man ['Uthmān], and while I was secluded, they killed him. They then chose me to rule despite my reluctance, and had it not been for the fear for religion, I would have not accepted them."³
17. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in a letter to the Kūfans: "God knows that I did not have any choice but to enter this affair, and if I knew that there was someone more deserving than myself I would not enter it."⁴
18. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "By God, I did not undertake it [the caliphate] for other than the fear that a billy goat from the Umayyads would seize it and play with the Book of God Almighty."⁵

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 299, ḥ. 414, *al-Darajāt al-Rafī'a*, p.38.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 136, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 243.

3. *Tarikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 491, *Fath al-Bārī*, vol. 13, p. 57.

4. *al-Jamal*, p. 259.

5. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 353, narrating from Ḥabīb ibn Abi Thābit.

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أَوَّلُ مَنْ بَايَعَ

19. الكامل في التاريخ: لما قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ، اجْتَمَعَ أَصْحَابُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ وَفِيهِمْ طَلْحَةُ وَالزُّبَيْرُ، فَأَتَوْا عَلِيًّا، فَقَالُوا لَهُ: إِنَّهُ لَا بُدَّ لِلنَّاسِ مِنْ إِمَامٍ! قَالَ: لَا حَاجَةَ لِي [فِي] أَمْرِكُمْ؛ فَمَنْ اخْتَرْتُمْ رَضِيتُ بِهِ. فَقَالُوا: مَا نَخْتَارُ غَيْرَكَ. وَتَرَدَّدُوا إِلَيْهِ مِرَارًا، وَقَالُوا لَهُ فِي آخِرِ ذَلِكَ: إِنَّا لَا نَعْلَمُ أَحَدًا أَحَقَّ بِهِ مِنْكَ؛ لَا أَقْدَمَ سَابِقَةً، وَلَا أَقْرَبَ قَرَابَةً مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ. فَقَالَ: لَا تَفْعَلُوا، فَإِنِّي أَكُونُ وَزِيرًا خَيْرًا مِنْ أَنْ أَكُونَ أَمِيرًا. فَقَالُوا: وَاللَّهِ مَا نَحْنُ بِفَاعِلِينَ حَتَّى تُبَايَعَكَ. قَالَ: فَفِي الْمَسْجِدِ؛ فَإِنَّ بَيْعَتِي لَا تَكُونُ خَفِيَّةً، وَلَا تَكُونُ إِلَّا فِي الْمَسْجِدِ - وَكَانَ فِي بَيْتِهِ، وَقِيلَ: فِي حَائِطِ لَيْتِي عَمْرٍو بْنِ مَبْدُولٍ - .

فَخَرَجَ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ وَعَلَيْهِ إِزَارٌ وَطَاقٌ وَعِمَامَةٌ خَزْءٌ، وَنَعْلَاهُ فِي يَدَيْهِ، مُتَوَكِّنًا عَلَى قَوْسٍ، فَبَايَعَهُ النَّاسُ. وَكَانَ أَوَّلُ مَنْ بَايَعَهُ مِنَ النَّاسِ طَلْحَةُ بْنُ عُبَيْدٍ اللَّهِ. فَنَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ حَبِيبُ بْنُ ذُرَيْبٍ فَقَالَ: إِنَّا لِلَّهِ! أَوَّلُ مَنْ بَدَأَ بِالْبَيْعَةِ يَدٌ شَلَاءٌ، لَا يَتِمُّ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ! وَبَايَعَهُ الزُّبَيْرُ. وَقَالَ لَهَا عَلِيٌّ: إِنْ أَحْبَبْتُمَا أَنْ تُبَايَعَا، وَإِنْ أَحْبَبْتُمَا بَايَعْتُكُمَا! فَقَالَا: بَلْ تُبَايَعُكَ.^١

20. الجمل عن زيد بن أسلم: جَاءَ طَلْحَةُ وَالزُّبَيْرُ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ ﷺ وَهُوَ مُتَعَوِّذٌ بِحِيطَانِ الْمَدِينَةِ، فَدَخَلَا عَلَيْهِ وَقَالَا لَهُ: أُبْسُطْ يَدَكَ تُبَايَعُكَ، فَإِنَّ النَّاسَ لَا يَرْضَوْنَ إِلَّا بِكَ.

١. ما بين المعقوفين إضافة يقتضيهما السياق.

٢. الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 302، تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 428 عن أبي المليح نحوه، نهاية الأرب: ج 20 ص ١10 بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 7 ح 2 وراجع: البداية والنهاية: ج 7 ص 227.

1 / 5

The First Person to Swear Allegiance

19. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*: "When 'Uthmān was killed, the companions of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) from among the *Muhājirīn* and *Anṣār*, including Ṭalḥa and Zubair got together and went to 'Ali (a.s.) and said to him: "People must have a leader." 'Ali (a.s.) said: "I have no need to rule over you, so whoever you choose I will accept." They said: "We will not choose anybody other than you."

They would frequently go to him and in the last of their visits they said to him: "We know nobody more deserving of it [ruling] than you; someone who is more pioneering [in Islam] and closest in kinship to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.)."

The Imām then said: "Do not ask for this! I am better to you as a counselor than as a commander."

They said: "By God, we shall do nothing until we swear allegiance to you."

The Imām said: "So, let it be done in the mosque, as my allegiance will not be in secret, and would not be accomplished except in the mosque."

At this time, the Imām was at his home, and it is also said that he was in the garden of Banī 'Amr ibn Maḍdhul.

He then set out towards the mosque, wearing a robe over a long shirt, a fur turban on his head, holding his shoes in his hand and leaning on a bow. It was then that people swore allegiance to him.

The first person who swore allegiance was Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubaydullah. Ḥabīb ibn Dhu'ayb looked at him and said: "We belong to God! The first to swear allegiance is a feeble hand. This affair will not be settled!" Then Zubair swore allegiance.

'Ali (a.s.) said to the two: "If you wish you may swear allegiance to me, or if you wish, I will swear allegiance to you?"

They said: "We will swear allegiance to you."¹

20. *al-Jamal*—quoting from Zaid ibn Aslam: "Ṭalḥa and Zubair came to 'Ali (a.s.) who had then retreated to the outskirts of Madīna. They approached him and said: "Hold out your hand so that we

1. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 302, *Tārikh al-Ṭabari*, vol. 4, p. 428, *Nihāya al-'Arab*, vol. 20, p. 10.

فَقَالَ لَهُمَا: لَا حَاجَةَ لِي فِي ذَلِكَ، لَأَنْ أَكُونَ لَكُمَا وَزِيْرًا خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَنْ أَكُونَ لَكُمَا
أَمِيرًا، فَلْيَبْسُطْ مَنْ شَاءَ مِنْكُمَا يَدَهُ أَبَايَعُهُ.

فَقَالَا: إِنَّ النَّاسَ لَا يُؤْثِرُونَ غَيْرَكَ، وَلَا يَعْدِلُونَ عَنْكَ إِلَى سِوَاكَ، فَابْسُطْ يَدَكَ
تُبَايِعُكَ أَوَّلَ النَّاسِ.

فَقَالَ: إِنَّ بَيْعَتِي لَا تَكُونُ سِرًّا، فَأَمْهِلَا حَتَّى أَخْرُجَ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ.

فَقَالَا: بَلْ تُبَايِعُكَ هَاهُنَا، ثُمَّ تُبَايِعُكَ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ. فَبَايَعَاهُ أَوَّلَ النَّاسِ، ثُمَّ بَايَعَهُ
النَّاسُ عَلَى الْمِنْبَرِ، وَأَوَّلُهُمْ طَلْحَةُ بْنُ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ، وَكَانَتْ يَدُهُ سَلَاءً، فَصَعِدَ الْمِنْبَرَ إِلَيْهِ
فَصَفَّقَ عَلَى يَدِهِ، وَرَجُلٌ مِنْ بَنِي أَسَدٍ يَزْجُرُ الطَّيْرَ قَائِمٌ يَنْظُرُ إِلَيْهِ، فَلَمَّا رَأَى أَوَّلَ
يَدٍ صَفَّقَتْ عَلَى يَدِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عليه السلام يَدَ طَلْحَةَ وَهِيَ سَلَاءٌ، قَالَ: إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ
رَاجِعُونَ؛ أَوَّلَ يَدٍ صَفَّقَتْ عَلَى يَدِهِ سَلَاءً، يُوشِكُ أَلَّا يَتِمَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ. ثُمَّ نَزَلَ طَلْحَةُ
وَالزُّبَيْرُ وَبَايَعَهُ النَّاسُ بَعْدَهُمَا.^١

21. الإمامة والسياسة - في ذكر بَيْعَةِ الْإِمَامِ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام :- كَانَ أَوَّلَ مَنْ صَعِدَ الْمِنْبَرَ طَلْحَةُ،
فَبَايَعَهُ يَدِهِ، وَكَانَتْ أَصَابِعُهُ سَلَاءً، فَتَطَيَّرَ^٢ مِنْهَا عَلِيٌّ، فَقَالَ: مَا أَخْلَقَهَا^٣ أَنْ تُنَكِّتَ.
ثُمَّ بَايَعَهُ الزُّبَيْرُ، وَسَعْدٌ، وَأَصْحَابُ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله جَمِيعًا.^٤

22. العقد الفريد: لَمَّا قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ بْنُ عَفَّانَ، أَقْبَلَ النَّاسُ يُهْرَعُونَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ،
فَتَرَاكَمَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْجَمَاعَةُ فِي الْبَيْعَةِ، فَقَالَ: لَيْسَ ذَلِكَ إِلَيْكُمْ، إِنَّمَا ذَلِكَ لِأَهْلِ بَدْرٍ،
لِيُبَايَعُوا. فَقَالَ: أَيْنَ طَلْحَةُ وَالزُّبَيْرُ وَسَعْدٌ؟ فَأَقْبَلُوا فَبَايَعُوا، ثُمَّ بَايَعَهُ الْمُهَاجِرُونَ

١. الجمل: ص 130.

٢. تطيَّرت من الشيء، وبالشئ، والاسم منه الطَّيْرَةُ - وقد تسكن الباء - وهو ما يُشام به من الفأل الردي، (لسان
العرب: ج 4 ص 512).

٣. ما أخْلَقَهُ: أي ما أشبهه، ويقال: إنه خلِّق أي خَرَجَ (لسان العرب: ج 10 ص 91).

٤. الإمامة والسياسة: ج 1 ص 66.

swear allegiance to you, for the people do not accept anyone other than you." The Imām said to them: "I have no need for this. I am better to you as a counselor than as being your commander. So, whoever of you holds out his hand I will swear allegiance to him."

The two of them replied: "People prefer nobody other than you nor will they turn away from you; hold out your hand so that we can be the first of people to pledge allegiance to you."

The Imām said: "My allegiance would not be in secret. Give me some time to go forth to the mosque."

They said: "Rather, we will swear allegiance to you right here and then we will swear allegiance to you again in the mosque." They were the first of people to swear allegiance to him, and then the rest of the people swore allegiance to him on the pulpit. The first of them was Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubaydullah who had a feeble hand. He went up the pulpit and shook hands with 'Ali (a.s.).

A man from Banī Asad who used to spell bad omen was standing there watching them. When he noticed that the first person to swear allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) was Ṭalḥa whose hand was limping, he said: "*Indeed we belong to God, and to Him do we indeed return!*" The first hand swearing allegiance was a limping hand. It is likely that this affair will not be fulfilled."

Ṭalḥa and Zubair then came down from the pulpit, and after them the rest of the people swore allegiance to him.

21. *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa* –mentioning the pledge of allegiance to Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The first one to go up the pulpit was Ṭalḥa who swore allegiance to him by shaking his hand while his fingers were limping. 'Ali (a.s.) took it as bad omen and said: "How befitting would it be for this allegiance to be broken!" Then Zubair, Sa'd and all of the companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) swore allegiance."²
22. *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*: When 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān was killed, people rushed towards 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) and gathered around him in crowds to swear allegiance. He (a.s.) said: "This is not in your hand. Rather, it is the right of the people of Badr to swear allegiance." Then he asked: "Where are Ṭalḥa, Zubair and Sa'd?" They then came and pledged allegiance, and then the *Muhājirīn*

1. *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 66.

2. *al-Jamal*, p. 130.

والأنصار، ثُمَّ بَايَعَهُ النَّاسُ. وَذَلِكَ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ لِثَلَاثَ عَشْرَةَ خَلَّتْ مِنْ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ سَنَةً خَمْسٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ.

وَكَانَ أَوَّلُ مَنْ بَايَعَ طَلْحَةَ، فَكَانَتْ إِصْبَعُهُ سَلَاءً، فَتَطَيَّرَ مِنْهَا عَلِيٌّ، وَقَالَ: مَا أَخْلَقَهُ أَنْ يُنْكِتَ.^١

23. المناقب للخوارزمي عن سعيد بن المسيَّب: خَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ ﷺ فَأَتَى مَنَزِلَهُ، وَجَاءَ النَّاسُ كُلُّهُمْ يَهْرَعُونَ^٢ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ، وَأَصْحَابُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُونَ: أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيٌّ، حَتَّى دَخَلُوا عَلَيْهِ دَارَهُ، فَقَالُوا لَهُ: تُبَايِعُكَ، فَمَدَّ يَدَكَ؛ فَلَا بُدَّ مِنْ أَمِيرٍ.

فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: لَيْسَ ذَلِكَ إِلَيْكُمْ، إِنَّمَا ذَلِكَ لِأَهْلِ بَدْرٍ، فَمَنْ رَضِيَ بِهِ أَهْلُ بَدْرٍ فَهُوَ خَلِيفَةٌ. فَلَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْ أَهْلِ بَدْرٍ إِلَّا أَنِي عَلِيًّا، فَقَالُوا: مَا نَرَى أَحَدًا أَحَقَّ بِهَا مِنْكَ؛ مَدَّ يَدَكَ تُبَايِعُكَ. فَقَالَ: أَيْنَ طَلْحَةُ وَالزُّبَيْرُ؟ فَكَانَ أَوَّلُ مَنْ بَايَعَهُ طَلْحَةَ، فَبَايَعَهُ بِيَدِهِ، وَكَانَتْ إِصْبَعُ طَلْحَةَ سَلَاءً، فَتَطَيَّرَ مِنْهَا عَلِيٌّ وَقَالَ: مَا أَخْلَقَهُ أَنْ يُنْكِتَ. ثُمَّ بَايَعَهُ الزُّبَيْرُ، وَسَعْدُ، وَأَصْحَابُ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ جَمِيعًا.^٣

١. العقد الفريد: ج 3 ص 311.

٢. أَي يَسْعَوْنَ عِجَالًا (لسان العرب: ج 8 ص 369).

٣. المناقب للخوارزمي: ص 49 ح 11، أسد الغابة: ج 4 ص 107 ح 3789؛ كشف الغمّة: ج 1 ص 78 كلاهما نحوه.

and *Anṣār* swore allegiance, and after them the rest of the people. This took place on Friday, Dhil Hijja 13, 35 AH/June 12, 656 CE.

The first person who swore allegiance was Ṭalḥa. His fingers were limping. 'Ali (a.s.) took it as a bad omen and said: "How befitting is it for it to be broken!"¹

23. *al-Manāqib* –quoting from Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib: 'Ali (a.s.) left and went back home. People rushed towards him and the companions of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) were saying: "'Ali is the Commander of the Faithful", until they entered his house and said: "We swear allegiance to you, so extend your hand because there is no other choice but to have a commander."

At this moment 'Ali (a.s.) said: "This is not up to you. It is the right of the people of Badr. Whomever the people of Badr agree upon will be appointed as the caliph." All of the people of Badr came to 'Ali (a.s.) and said: "We do not know anyone more rightful for it than you. Hold out your hand to us to swear allegiance to you."

Then 'Ali (a.s.) said: "Where are Ṭalḥa and Zubair?" The first one who swore allegiance was Ṭalḥa who did so by shaking his hand, and his [Ṭalḥa's] fingers were limping then 'Ali (a.s.) took it as a bad omen, saying: "How befitting is it for it [caliphate] to be broken!" After that, Zubair, Sa'd and other companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) swore their allegiance to him.²

1. *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 311.

2. *al-Manāqib*, vol. 49, p. 11, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 107, ḥ 3789, *Kashf al-Ghumma*, vol. 1, p. 78.

Attributing the Expectation of 'Bad Omen' to Imām 'Ali

As previously mentioned, Ṭalḥa was the first to give his pledge of allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.). Ṭalḥa's hand was limping and it was thus taken as a bad omen (*taṭayyur/tafa'ul*) that the allegiance would not last long. There are different views as to the person who uttered the bad omen. Some have attributed it to a person called Ḥabīb ibn Dhu'ayb, while others say it was a man from Banī Asad who made the comment of bad omen, saying:

أَوَّلُ مَنْ بَدَأَ بِالْبَيْعَةِ يَدٌ شَلَالٌ، لَا يَتِمُّ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ.

"The first person who initiated the allegiance was a limping hand. [So] This affair will not be settled."

Some other traditions have attributed this statement of 'evil augury' to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and reported that at the time of allegiance he (a.s.) had said:

مَا أَخْلَقَهَا أَنْ تَنْكَثَ.

"How befitting it is for it [the allegiance] to be broken!"

However, it appears that such an attribution is not correct and this can be proven by the intellect and traditions.

There is no doubt that on such an occasion with all the multitude of people who came to pledge allegiance, no intellect would allow to expect bad omen [talk about failure]; no wise person would then do so. How would 'Ali (a.s.), an unrivaled person in his wisdom proclaim the breaking of allegiance from one of the most eminent political figures in front of the public and on the first day of allegiance, especially by resorting to augury and considering it as a bad omen?!

On one hand, such utterances would add fuel to the rumors that can lead to the weakening of the foundations of the government, and on the other hand, it would encourage the breaking of allegiance.

Moreover, there are many traditions that discourage the *expectation of bad omen*, and people have been prohibited from it. It is clearly stated that the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.) never see anything as a bad omen, and ...¹

Therefore, it is extremely unlikely that the Imām might have uttered such inappropriate words or acted in such a way.

1. See *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 58, p. 312, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 10, p. 111.

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إِقْبَالَ النَّاسِ عَلَى الْبَيْعَةِ

24. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في وَصْفِ بَيْعَتِهِ -: أَقْبَلْتُمْ إِلَيَّ إِقْبَالَ الْعُوذِ الْمَطَافِيلِ عَلَى أَوْلَادِهَا، تَقُولُونَ: الْبَيْعَةُ الْبَيْعَةُ! قَبِضْتُ كَفِّي فَبَسَطْتُموها، وَنَارَ عُنُكُم يَدِي فَجَاذَبْتُموها!!¹

25. عنه عليه السلام - في صِفَةِ النَّاسِ عِنْدَ بَيْعَتِهِ -: فَمَا رَاعَنِي إِلَّا وَالنَّاسُ كَعُرْفِ الضَّبُعِ² إِلَيَّ، يَنْتَالُونَ عَلَيَّ مِنْ كُلِّ جَانِبٍ، حَتَّى لَقَدْ وُطِئَ الْحَسَنَانِ، وَشُقَّ عِطْفَايَ، مُجْتَمِعِينَ حَوْلِي كَرَبِضَةِ الْغَنَمِ.³

26. عنه عليه السلام - في ذِكْرِ الْبَيْعَةِ⁴ -: فَتَدَاكُوا عَلَيَّ تَدَاكَ الْإِبِلِ الْهَيْمِ⁵ يَوْمَ وَرْدِهَا، وَقَدْ أَرْسَلَهَا رَاعِيهَا، وَخُلِعَتْ مَثَانِيهَا، حَتَّى ظَنَنْتُ أَنَّهُمْ قَاتِلِي، أَوْ بَعْضُهُمْ قَاتِلُ بَعْضٍ لَدَيَّ.⁶

١. العوذ: الإبل التي وضعت أولادها حديثاً، ويقال: أطفلت فهي مطلق. ويريد أنهم جازوا بأجمعهم صغارهم وكبارهم (لسان العرب: ج 11 ص 402).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 137، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 78 ح 51.

٣. أي يتبع بعضهم بعضاً (لسان العرب: ج 9 ص 240).

قال ابن أبي الحديد: عُرف الضبع نخين ويُضرب به المثل في الازدحام (شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 1 ص 200).

٤. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 3، معاني الأخبار: ص 361 ح 1، علل الشرائع: ص 151 ح 12، الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 289 والثلاثة الأخيرة عن ابن عباس، نشر الدرر: ج 1 ص 275 كلاهما نحوه وليس فيها من «مجتمعين...» وراجع: تذكرة الخواص: ص 125.

٥. كما في نسخة فيض الإسلام: الخطبة 53 وشرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 6 وهو الصحيح، وأما ما ورد في نسخة صحيحي الصالح وشرح ابن ميثم: الخطبة 53 «من خطبة له» وفيها يصف أصحابه بصفين حين طال منعهم له من قتال أهل الشام فهو غير صحيح، وإن كان آخر الخطبة يشعر بذلك. والظاهر أن السيد الرضي (قدس سره) جمع بين خطبتين. ولزيد التحقيق قارن بين ذيل هذه الخطبة والخطبة 43، وأيضاً صدر هذه الخطبة والخطبة 229. وراجع: بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 555 ح 463.

٦. الهيم: الإبل العطاش (الصحاح: ج 5 ص 2063).

٧. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 54.

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People's Welcoming the Allegiance

24. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –describing the pledge of allegiance to him: "You advanced towards me shouting 'allegiance, allegiance' the way she-camels who have delivered their newly born young ones leaping towards their young. I held back my hand, but you pulled it towards you. I refused to give my hand, but you dragged it."¹
25. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –describing the people at the time of his allegiance: "At that moment nothing took me by surprise but the people rushing to me like the mane of the hyena, advancing to me from every corner so much that Ḥasan and Ḥusain were getting crushed and both the ends of my garment were torn. They gathered around me like a herd of sheep."²
26. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –on mentioning the pledge of allegiance: "They leapt upon me as the camels leap upon each other on their arrival for drinking water, having been let loose and their legs unfastened by the shepherd to the extent that I thought they would either kill me or some will kill others in front of me."³

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 137, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 78, ḥ. 51.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 3, *Ma'ānī al-Akbbār*, vol. 1, p. 361, 'Ilal al-Sharā'i', vol. 12, p. 151, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 289.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 54.

27. عنه عليه السلام - في ذكر نكح طلحة والزبير ببعته -: أتيتهموني فقلتم: بايعنا، فقلت: لا أفعل، فقلتم: بل، فقلت: لا. وقبضت يدي فبسطتموها، ونازعتكم فجذبتموها، وتداككتم عليّ تذاك الإبل الهيم على جياضها يوم ورودها، حتى ظننت أنكم قاتلي، وأن بعضكم قاتل بعض، فبسطت يدي، فبايعتموني مختارين، وبايعني في أولكم طلحة والزبير طائعين غير مكرهين.¹
28. عنه عليه السلام - في وصف بعته -: بسطتم يدي فكففتها، ومددتموها فقبضتها، ثم تداككتم عليّ تذاك الإبل الهيم على جياضها يوم ورودها، حتى انقطعت النعل، وسقط الرداء، ووطئ الضعيف، وبلغ من شرو الناس ببعته إني أن ابتهج بها الصغير، وهذج إليها الكبير، وتحامل نحوها العليل، وحسرت إليها الكعاب.²
29. وقعة صفين عن خفاف بن عبد الله: تهاقت الناس على عليّ بالبيعة تهاقت الفراش، حتى صلت النعل وسقط الرداء، ووطئ الشيخ.³

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بَيْعَةُ عَامَةِ النَّاسِ

30. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد عن ابن عباس: لما دخل عليّ عليه السلام المسجد وجاء الناس ليُبايعوه، خفت أن يتكلم بعض أهل الشنآن لي عليّ عليه السلام؛ ممن قتل أباه أو أخاه أو ذا قرابته في حياة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، فیزهد عليّ في الأمر ويتركه، فكنْتُ أرصد ذلك

١. الإرشاد: ج ١ ص ٢٤٤، الاحتجاج: ج ١ ص ٣٧٥ ح ٦٨، الجمل: ص ٢٦٧ نحوه العقد الفريد: ج ٣ ص ١٢٣، شرح

نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج ١ ص ٣٠٩ عن زيد بن صوحان والثلاثة الأخيرة نحوه.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة ٢٢٩، بحار الأنوار: ج ٣٢ ص ٥١ ح ٣٥.

٣. وقعة صفين: ص ١٦٥ شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج ٣ ص ١١١، الإمامة والسياسة: ج ١ ص ١٠٥.

27. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –on Ṭalḥa and Zubair breaking their allegiance: "You came to me and told me to accept your pledge of allegiance and I refused. You said: "Yes [you will]." I said no, and pulled back my hand, but you pulled it towards you. I drew back my hand, but you dragged it. You leapt upon me as the camels leap upon each other on their arrival for drinking water to the extent that I thought you would either kill me or some will kill others. Then I extended out my hand and you swore allegiance to me willingly. The first among you was Ṭalḥa and Zubair who swore their allegiance to me willingly, but without any compulsion."¹
28. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –on his pledge of allegiance: "You opened my hand, but I closed it and you stretched it, but I pulled it to myself. Then you crowded over me as thirsty camels crowd on the watering pond when taken there, to the extent that shoes were torn, robes fell off and the weak got trampled. The happiness of people on their allegiance to me was so much that small children felt joyful, the old staggered for it, the sick reached towards it and the young girls ran for it without their veils."²
29. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* –quoting from Khafāf ibn 'Abdullah: "People gathered around 'Ali (a.s.), like moths, to swear allegiance, to the extent that shoes got lost, robes fell off and the old men got trampled."³

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Allegiance of the General Public

30. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* –narrating from Ibn 'Abbās: "When 'Ali (a.s.) entered the mosque and the people came forward to swear allegiance to him, I feared that some of 'Ali's enemies whose father, brother or relatives had been killed by him during the life time of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) might say something that would cause 'Ali to turn his face away from ruling and abandon it. I was constantly observing the situation while being apprehensive

1. *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 244, *al-Ihtijāj*, vol. 1, p. 375, ḥ. 68, *al-Jamal*, p. 267, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 123.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 229, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 51, ḥ. 35.

3. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 65, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 111, *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 105.

وَأَتَخَوَّفُهُ، فَلَمْ يَتَكَلَّمْ أَحَدٌ حَتَّى بَايَعَهُ النَّاسُ كُلُّهُمْ، رَاضِينَ مُسْلِمِينَ غَيْرَ مُكَرَّهِينَ.^١
31. الفتوح: قَالَتِ الْأَنْصَارُ [لِلنَّاسِ]: إِنَّكُمْ قَدْ عَرَفْتُمْ فَضْلَ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَسَابِقَتَهُ وَقَرَابَتَهُ وَمَنْزِلَتَهُ مِنَ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ، مَعَ عِلْمِهِمْ بِحِلَالِكُمْ وَحَرَامِكُمْ، وَحَاجَتِكُمْ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ بَيْنِ الصَّحَابَةِ، وَلَنْ يَأْلُوَكُمْ نُصْحًا، وَلَوْ عَلِمْنَا مَكَانَ أَحَدٍ هُوَ أَفْضَلُ مِنْهُ وَأَجَلُ لِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ وَأَوْلَى بِهِ مِنْهُ لَدَعَوْنَاكُمْ إِلَيْهِ. فَقَالَ النَّاسُ كُلُّهُمْ بِكَلِمَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ: رَضِينَا بِهِ طَائِعِينَ غَيْرَ كَارِهِينَ.

فَقَالَ لَهُمْ عَلِيٌّ: أَخْبِرُونِي عَنْ قَوْلِكُمْ هَذَا: «رَضِينَا بِهِ طَائِعِينَ غَيْرَ كَارِهِينَ»، أَحَقُّ وَاجِبٌ هَذَا مِنَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ، أَمْ رَأَيْي رَأَيْتُمُوهُ مِنْ عِنْدِ أَنْفُسِكُمْ؟
 قالوا: بَلْ هُوَ وَاجِبٌ أَوْجَبَهُ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ لَكَ عَلَيْنَا.^٢

32. الجمل عن عبد الحميد بن عبد الرحمن عن ابن أبيزى: أَلَا أُخَذْتُكَ مَا رَأَتْ عَيْنَايَ وَسَمِعَتْ أُذُنَايَ!! لَمَّا التَقَى النَّاسُ عِنْدَ بَيْتِ الْمَالِ قَالَ عَلِيٌّ لِبُطْلَحَةَ: أَبْسُطْ يَدَكَ أَبَايَعُكَ. فَقَالَ بُطْلَحَةُ: أَنْتَ أَحَقُّ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ مِنِّي، وَقَدْ اجْتَمَعَ لَكَ مِنْ أَهْوَاءِ النَّاسِ مَا لَمْ يَجْتَمِعْ لِي. فَقَالَ ﷺ لَهُ: مَا خَشِينَا غَيْرَكَ! فَقَالَ بُطْلَحَةُ: لَا تَخْشَ، فَوَاللَّهِ لَا تُؤْتَى مِنْ قِبَلِي.

وَقَامَ عَمَّارُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ، وَأَبُو الْهَيْثَمِ بْنُ التَّيْهَانِ، وَرَفَاعَةُ بْنُ رَافِعٍ بْنُ مَالِكِ بْنِ الْعَجْلَانِ، وَأَبُو أَيُّوبَ خَالِدُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ، فَقَالُوا لِعَلِيٍّ: إِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ قَدْ فَسَدَ، وَقَدْ رَأَيْتَ مَا صَنَعَ عُثْمَانُ، وَمَا أَنَا مِنْ خِلَافِ الْكِتَابِ وَالسُّنَّةِ، فَابْسُطْ يَدَكَ بُيَايَعُكَ؛ لِيُصْلِحَ مِنْ أَمْرِ الْأُمَّةِ مَا قَدْ فَسَدَ.

١. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 10. وفي هذا القول تأمل؛ لأنَّ عبد الله بن عباس كان عاملاً من جانب عثمان على الحجج وقدم المدينة وقد بويع لعلي. راجع: تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 439. ويمكن أن يكون الراوي عبيد الله أو قثم ابنا عباس.

٢. الفتوح: ج 2 ص 435.

about it, but nobody said anything until all people swore allegiance to him, willingly, without any compulsion."¹

31. *al-Futuḥ*: The *Anṣār* told the people: "You all know the excellence of 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib, his precedence, kinship and his status with the Prophet (s.a.w.), his knowledge about what is permissible and prohibited, and your need for him from among the companions. He has never stopped giving advice to you. If we were to know someone better than him and more appropriate for this affair, we would lead you to that person."

The people unanimously said: "We accept him willingly, without any compulsion."

'Alī (a.s.) then told them: "Tell me that when you say: 'We swear allegiance to him willingly, without any compulsion', is it a right incumbent upon you by God or is it your own opinion."

They replied: "It is incumbent enjoined upon us by God the Glorious."²

32. *al-Jamal* –quoting from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān from Ibn Abzī: "Shall I tell you what I saw by my own eyes and heard by my own ears? When people gathered near the Public Treasury, 'Alī (a.s.) said to Ṭalḥa: "Extend your hand so that I can swear allegiance to you." Then Ṭalḥa said: "You are more deserving for this affair [of ruling] than I am, since the people are gathered more in your favor than in mine."

'Alī (a.s.) said: "We do not fear anyone other than you."

Ṭalḥa said: "Have no fear, for by God no harm will come to you from me."

After that, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, Abū al-Haytham ibn al-Tayyāhān, Rifā'ah ibn Rāfi', and Abū Ayyūb Khālīd ibn Zaid stood up and addressed 'Alī (a.s.), saying: "This affair [the government] has become corrupt and you yourself saw 'Uthmān's actions which were contrary to the Book and the Traditions (*sunna*). Extend your hand, that we may pledge allegiance to you and you will correct from the affairs of the nation whatever has been corrupted."

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 4, p. 10. There is hesitance in the acceptance of this narration, as 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbās was 'Uthmān's agent in Ḥajj and when he reached Medina, the allegiance to 'Alī had been accomplished. See *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 439. The narrator may have been 'Abdullah or Qutham –the sons of 'Abbās.

2. *al-Futuḥ*, vol. 2, p. 435.

فَاسْتَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام وَقَالَ: قَدْ رَأَيْتُمْ مَا صُنِعَ بِي، وَعَرَفْتُمْ رَأْيَ الْقَوْمِ، فَلَا حَاجَةَ لِي فِيهِمْ.

فَاقْبَلُوا عَلَى الْأَنْصَارِ فَقَالُوا: يَا مَعَايِرَ الْأَنْصَارِ، أَنْتُمْ أَنْصَارُ اللَّهِ وَأَنْصَارُ رَسُولِهِ، وَبِرَسُولِهِ أَكْرَمَكُمْ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى، وَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ فَضْلَ عَلِيٍّ وَسَابِقَتَهُ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ، وَقَرَابَتَهُ وَمَكَائِنَتَهُ الَّتِي كَانَتْ لَهُ مِنَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله، وَإِنْ وَلِيَّيْنَاكُمْ خَيْرًا. فَقَالَ الْقَوْمُ: نَحْنُ أَرْضَى النَّاسِ بِهِ، مَا نُرِيدُ بِهِ بَدَلًا.

ثُمَّ اجْتَمَعُوا عَلَيْهِ، فَلَمْ يَزَالُوا بِهِ حَتَّى بَايَعُوهُ.^١

33. الإمام علي عليه السلام - مِنْ كِتَابِ لَهُ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ -: إِنَّهُ بَايَعَنِي الْقَوْمُ الَّذِينَ بَايَعُوا أَبَا بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ وَعُثْمَانَ عَلَى مَا بَايَعُوهُمْ عَلَيْهِ، فَلَمْ يَكُنْ لِلشَّاهِدِ أَنْ يَخْتَارَ، وَلَا لِلْغَائِبِ أَنْ يَرُدَّ، وَإِنَّمَا الشُّورَى لِلْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ؛ فَإِنْ اجْتَمَعُوا عَلَى رَجُلٍ وَسَمَّوْهُ إِمَامًا كَانَ ذَلِكَ لِلَّهِ رِضًا، فَإِنْ خَرَجَ عَنْ أَمْرِهِمْ خَارِجٌ - بَطْعَنٌ أَوْ بِدْعَةٌ - رَدَّوْهُ إِلَى مَا خَرَجَ مِنْهُ، فَإِنْ أَبَى قَاتَلُوهُ عَلَى اتِّبَاعِهِ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَوَلَاةِ اللَّهِ مَا تَوَلَّى.^٢

34. عنه عليه السلام - فِي جَوَابِ كِتَابِ مُعَاوِيَةَ -: أَمَا تَمَيِّزُكَ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ طَلْحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرِ، وَبَيْنَ أَهْلِ الشَّامِ وَأَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ، فَلَعَمْرِي مَا الْأَمْرُ فِيمَا هُنَاكَ إِلَّا سَوَاءٌ، لِأَنَّهَا بَيْعَةٌ شَامِلَةٌ؛ لَا يُسْتَنَى فِيهَا الْخِيَارُ، وَلَا يُسْتَأْنَفُ فِيهَا النَّظَرُ.^٣

١. الجمل: ص 128 وراجع: الكفائفة: ص 12 ح 8 والفتوح: ج 2 ص 434 و 435.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 6، وقعة صفين: ص 129؛ الإمامة والسياسة: ج 1 ص 113، العقد الفريد: ج 3 ص 329 وفي صدرها «أما بعد، فإن بيعتي بالمدينة لزمته وأنت بالشام...»، الفتوح: ج 2 ص 506 وفيه من «وإنما الشورى للمهاجرين...» وليس فيه «وولاه الله ما تولى»، الأخبار الطوال: ص 157 نحوه وراجع: الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 243.

٣. الكامل للمعتمد: ج 1 ص 428 وجمعة صفين: ص 58 نحوه، نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 7 وفيه «لأنها بيعة واحدة لا يثنى فيها النظر ولا يستأنف فيها الخيار، الخارج منها طاعن والمروى فيها مداهن».

'Ali (a.s.) turned it down and said: "You saw how I was treated and you know the opinion of the group. I have no need for them."

They then went to the *Anṣār* and said: "O Group of *Anṣār*! You are the supporters of God and His Messenger. God Almighty has graced you because of His Messenger and you know the excellence of 'Ali (a.s.), his precedence in Islam, his kinship and status that he had with the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and if he was to rule he will bring goodness to you."

Then the group [of *Anṣār*] said: "We are the most content people with him and we want nobody other than him."

After that they gathered around him and stayed with him until they all swore allegiance to him."¹

33. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in a letter to Mu'āwiya: "Verily, those who swore allegiance to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān have sworn allegiance to me on the same basis they swore allegiance to them. Therefore, those who were present had no choice to consider, and he who was absent had no right to reject (what was decided by the council). Indeed the council is confined to the *Muhājirīn* and the *Anṣār*. If they agree on one person and call him the leader (*imam*), it would be deemed to mean Allah's content. If anyone keeps out by way of objection or innovation, he must be brought back to the position from where he left, and if he refuses they must fight him for following a path other than that of the believers, and God will put him with those he deserves."²
34. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in response to Mu'āwiya's letter: "You should not consider yourself different from Ṭalḥa and Zubair, and the people of Shām from the people of Baṣra, by my life, all are equal in accepting this affair [of government], because it was an inclusive allegiance in which the elite were not excluded and in it there is no place for any revision in it."³

1. *al-Jamal*, p. 128. cf. *al-Kāfi'a*, vol. 12, p. 8, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 434-435.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, letter 6, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 29, *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 113, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 329.

3. *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 428, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 58. cf. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 7.

35. الفتح: بَايَعَتْ أَهْلُ الْكُوفَةِ عَلِيًّا (رضي الله عنه) بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ... فَبَايَعَتْ أَهْلُ الْحِجَازِ وَأَهْلُ الْعِرَاقِ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ (رضي الله عنه).^١

36. الطبقات الكبرى: لَمَّا قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ لِثَمَانِي عَشْرَةِ لَيْلَةٍ مَضَتْ مِنْ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ سَنَةَ خَمْسٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ، وَبُويعَ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ؛ بِالْمَدِينَةِ الْغَدَّ مِنْ يَوْمِ قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ، بِالْخِلَافَةِ، بَايَعَهُ طَلْحَةُ، وَالزُّبَيْرُ، وَسَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي وَقَاصٍ، وَسَعِيدُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ بِنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ نُفَيْلٍ، وَعَمَّارُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ، وَأَسَامَةُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ، وَسَهْلُ بْنُ حُنَيْفٍ، وَأَبُو أَيُّوبَ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ، وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مَسْلَمَةَ، وَزَيْدُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ، وَخُزَيْمَةُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ، وَجَمِيعُ مَنْ كَانَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ، وَغَيْرُهُمْ.^٢

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خِطَابُ طَائِفَةٍ مِّنْ أَصْحَابِهِ بَعْدَ الْبَيْعَةِ

37. تاريخ البعقوبي - بَعْدَ ذِكْرِ بَيْعَةِ النَّاسِ لِعَلِيِّ ؑ -: وَقَامَ قَوْمٌ مِنَ الْأَنْصَارِ فَتَكَلَّمُوا، وَكَانَ أَوَّلُ مَنْ تَكَلَّمَ ثَابِتُ بْنُ قَيْسٍ بْنِ شِمَاسٍ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ - وَكَانَ خَطِيبَ الْأَنْصَارِ - فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ، يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، لَئِنْ كَانُوا تَقَدَّمُوكَ فِي الْوِلَايَةِ فَمَا تَقَدَّمُوكَ فِي الدِّينِ، وَلَئِنْ كَانُوا سَبَقُوكَ أَمْسٍ فَقَدْ حَقَّقْتَهُمُ الْيَوْمَ، وَلَقَدْ كَانُوا وَكُنْتُ لَا يَخْفَى مَوْضِعُكَ، وَلَا يُجْهَلُ مَكَانُكَ، يَحْتَاجُونَ إِلَيْكَ فِيهَا لَا يَعْلَمُونَ، وَمَا احْتَجَّتْ إِلَى أَحَدٍ مَعِ عِلْمِكَ. ثُمَّ قَامَ خُزَيْمَةُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ - وَهُوَ ذُو الشَّهَادَتَيْنِ - فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، مَا أَصَبْنَا لَأَمْرِنَا هَذَا غَيْرَكَ، وَلَا كَانَ الْمُتَقَلِّبُ إِلَّا إِلَيْكَ، وَلَئِنْ صَدَقْنَا أَنْفُسَنَا فَيْكَ، فَلَأَنْتَ أَقْدَمُ النَّاسِ إِيْمَانًا، وَأَعْلَمُ النَّاسِ بِاللَّهِ، وَأَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ، لَكَ مَا لَهُمْ، وَلَيْسَ لَهُمْ مَا لَكَ.

١. الفتح: ج 2 ص 439.

٢. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 3 ص 31.

35. *al-Futūḥ*: "All the Kūfans swore allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.)...then the people of Hijāz and the people of Iraq swore allegiance to 'Ali ibn Abū Ṭālib (a.s.)."¹
36. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*: "Uthmān was killed on Friday the eighteenth of Dhil Hīja, 35 (AH) [June 17, 656], and the pledge of allegiance to caliphate was sworn to 'Ali (a.s.) in Medīna one day after the assassination of 'Uthmān. Ṭalḥa, Zubair, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Sa'id ibn Zaid, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, Usāma ibn Zaid, Sahl ibn Hanīf, Abū Ayūb al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad ibn Maslima, Zaid ibn Thābit, Khuzayma ibn Thābit and everyone else that was in Madīna from among the companions of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) swore their allegiance to him."²

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Statements of a Group of the Imām's Companions after the Pledge of Allegiance

37. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* –after mentioning the people's allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.): "A group of the Anṣār stood up and spoke. The first one to speak was Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās al-Anṣārī who was the orator of the Anṣār. He said: "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, if they preceded you in the rule (*wilāya*), they did not precede you in religion, and if they went before you yesterday, you have caught up to them today. They and you were not unaware of your status and they were not ignorant of your position. They were in need of you in what they did not know, and you with all your knowledge are in no need of anyone."

Khuzayma ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī who was also known as Dhul Shahādātayn³ then stood up and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! We find nobody for this affair other than you, and the affairs of the state will not settle except by you. If we are to be truthful to ourselves, about you, you are the most precedent of people in faith, the most knowledgeable among people about God and the closest among all believers to the Messenger of God. What they possess you possess, but they do not have what you have."

1. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 439.

2. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 31.

3. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) gave him this title when he took sides with the Messenger of God in an argument with a Bedouin, with the reasoning that "We believed in you with the bringing of the Divine Message, so how could we not believe in you against a Bedouin?" (*Mu'jam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth*, vol. 8, p. 52).

وَقَامَ صَعَصَعَةُ بْنُ صُوحَانَ فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ، يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، لَقَدْ رَزَيْتَ الْخِلَافَةَ وَمَا زَانَتْكَ، وَرَفَعَتْهَا وَمَا رَفَعَتْكَ، وَلَهِيَ إِلَيْكَ أَحْوَجُ مِنْكَ إِلَيْهَا.

ثُمَّ قَامَ مَالِكُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ الْأَشْثَرُ فَقَالَ: أَتَيْتُ النَّاسَ، هَذَا وَصِيُّ الْأَوْصِيَاءِ، وَوَارِثُ عِلْمِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ، الْعَظِيمِ الْبَلَاءِ، الْحَسَنُ الْعَنَاءِ،^١ الَّذِي شَهِدَ لَهُ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ بِالْإِيمَانِ، وَرَسُولُهُ بِجَنَّةِ الرُّضْوَانِ، مَنْ كُمَلَتْ فِيهِ الْفَضَائِلُ، وَلَمْ يَشْكُ فِي سَابِقَتِهِ وَعِلْمِهِ وَفَضْلِهِ الْأَوَائِلُ وَلَا الْآوَائِلُ.

ثُمَّ قَامَ عُقْبَةُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو فَقَالَ: مَنْ لَهُ يَوْمَ كَيَوْمِ الْعَقَبَةِ، وَيَبِيعَةُ كَبِيعَةِ الرُّضْوَانِ، وَالْإِمَامُ الْأَهْدَى الَّذِي لَا يُخَافُ جَوْرَهُ، وَالْعَالِمُ الَّذِي لَا يُخَافُ جَهْلُهُ.^٢

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب ﷺ: ج 4 ص 629 (حذيفة بن اليمان)

و ص 632 (خزيمة بن ثابت الأنصاري) و ج 5 ص 57 (أحمد بن حنبل).

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مَنْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنْ بَيْعَتِهِ

كانت بيععة الإمام ﷺ عامة شاملة، وقد اشترك فيها جميع المهاجرين والأنصار،^٢ وتما من كان في المدينة. وقد بايع الجميع عن اختيار كامل، وحرية تامة. ثم بايعه أهالي مكة والحجاز والكوفة.^٤

١. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «الغناء» وما أثبتناه من طبعة النجف (ج 2 ص 155). والعناء هنا: المدارة أو حسن السياسة (لسان العرب: ج 15 ص 106).

٢. تاريخ البغوي: ج 2 ص 179.

٣. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 437.

٤. الفتوح: ج 2 ص 439.

After him, Ṣa'ṣā'a ibn Ṣuḥān stood up and said: "By God, O Commander of the Faithful! You have adorned the caliphate, and it did not adorn you. You elevated it [the caliphate], and it did not elevate you. Indeed it is in need of you more than you are in need of it."

Then Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar stood up and said: "O People! This is the successor of the successors, the heir of the knowledge of the Prophets, he who has undergone great tests and possesses immense forbearance. The Book of God testifies to his faith and His Messenger testifies for him to be in the Heaven. All virtues have been perfected in him and no one of the past and the future has doubted his precedence, knowledge and virtue."

'Uqba ibn 'Amr also stood up and said: "Who has one day like the day of 'Aqaba and an allegiance like the allegiance of Ridwan [Good Pleasure]; who is the most guiding leader with no fear of his tyranny and a learned person with no fear of his ignorance."¹

See, *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, 'Ali in the words of the Prophet's companions: Khuzayma ibn Thābit Anṣārī, and Ḥudhayfa ibn Yamān and 'Ali in the words of scholars, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

1/9

Those Who Did not Pledge Allegiance to the Imām

The allegiance to Imām 'Ali (a.s.) was widespread and inclusive where all the *Muhājirīn* and *Anṣār*² participated in it along with everyone else that was in Madīna. Everyone swore allegiance by complete choice and absolute freedom, and then the people of Mecca, Ḥijāz and Kūfa pledged their allegiance.³

1. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 179.

2. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 437.

3. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 439.

وقد صرح الإمام عليه السلام بأن بيعته عامة شاملة،^١ كما صرّحت المصادر التاريخية الكثيرة باجتماع المهاجرين والأنصار على بيعة الإمام عليه السلام.^٢

لكن ذكرت بعض المصادر أخباراً تدلّ على تخلف أمثال: عبد الله بن عمر، وسعد بن أبي وقاص، ومحمد بن مسلمة، وأسماء بن زيد، وحسان بن ثابت، وكعب بن مالك، وعبد الله بن سلام، ومروان بن الحكم، وسعيد بن العاص، والوليد بن عتبة، عن البيعة.^٣

وفي تخلف هؤلاء عن البيعة نظريتان:

الأولى: إنّ هؤلاء تخلفوا عن بيعة الإمام، بل كانوا مخالفين لبيعته واقعاً.

الثانية: إنهم لم يخالفوا أصل البيعة، وأنّ ما ورد في النصوص مشعراً بذلك فهو بمعنى عدم مسأيرتهم للإمام في حروبه الداخلية.

قال الحاكم النيسابوري - بعد ذكر الأخبار الواردة في بيعة الناس للإمام -: «أما قول من زعم أنّ عبد الله بن عمر وأبا مسعود الأنصاري وسعد بن أبي وقاص وأبا موسى الأشعري ومحمد بن مسلمة الأنصاري وأسماء بن زيد قعدوا عن بيعته، فإنّ هذا قول من يحدد حقيقة تلك الأحوال»، ثم ذكر أنّ هؤلاء بايعوا الإمام لكن لم يسايروه في حروبه الداخلية؛ لأسباب دعتهم إلى ذلك، ممّا أوقع البعض في اعتقاد أنّهم مخالفين لبيعة الإمام عليه السلام.^٤

وقد ارتضى هذا الرأي ابن أبي الحديد، ونسبه إلى المعتزلة في كتابه شرح نهج البلاغة.^٥

١. الكامل للمبرّد: ج ١ ص ١٤٢٨ وقعة صفين: ص ٥٨، الإرشاد: ج ١ ص ٢٤٣.

٢. العقد الفريد: ج ٣ ص ٣١١، تاريخ الطبري: ج ٤ ص ٤٢٧، الكامل في التاريخ: ج ٢ ص ٣٠٢.

٣. الإرشاد: ج ١ ص ١٢٤٣، تاريخ دمشق: ج ٤٢ ص ٤٣٧، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج ٤ ص ٩.

٤. المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج ٣ ص ١٢٤ ح ١٢٧.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج ٤ ص ٩ و ١٠.

The Imām (a.s.) clearly stated that the allegiance to him was public and inclusive¹. Many historical sources have also asserted this gathering of all the *Muhājirīn* and *Anṣār* for pledging allegiance to the Imām.²

However, some sources quote reports which state that some of the companions did not pledge their allegiance to 'Alī (a.s.), such as: 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Muḥammad ibn Maslima, Usāma ibn Zaid, Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Ka'b ibn Mālik, 'Abdullah ibn Salām, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ and Walid ibn 'Uqba.³

There are two views about the refusal of these people to give allegiance to the Imām:

The first: They were against the pledge of allegiance to the Imam and hence did not participate in it.

The second: They did not oppose to the allegiance itself. What has been mentioned in the sources regarding their refusal of allegiance to the Imām is taken to mean that they did not participate with the Imām in his civil wars.

Al-Ḥakīm al-Nayshabūri after stating the traditions concerning the peoples pledging of allegiance to the Imām says:

أنا قول من زعم أنّ عبد الله بن عمرو أباً مسعود الأنصاري وسعد بن أبي وقاص وأبا موسى الأشعري ومحمد بن مسلمة الأنصاري وأسامة بن زيد قتلوا عن بيعته فإنّ هذا قول من يجهل حقيقة تلك الأحوال.

As for the view of those who claim that 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar, Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Muḥammad ibn Maslima al-Anṣārī and Usāma ibn Zaid refused to swear allegiance to the Imām, it is in fact a view of those who have no knowledge of the realities of those conditions.

He goes on to explain that they did swear allegiance to the Imām, but for some reasons they refused to keep his company in war. Their refusal to participate in war led some people to presume that they have opposed pledging the allegiance to him (a.s.).⁴

The Mu'tazilite Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd adopts this opinion and in his commentary on *Nahj al-Balāghah* has attributed it to the Mu'tazilites.⁵

1. *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 428, *Waq'at Siffin*, p. 58, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 243.

2. *al-'Iql al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 311, *Tārīkh al-Tabarī*, vol. 4, p. 427, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 302.

3. *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 243, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 437, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 4, p. 9.

4. *al-Mustadrik 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 124, h. 127.

5. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 4, p. 9-10.

وإذا تأملنا نصوص الباب نجد أن أكثر من عُرف بالتخلف عن البيعة قد بايع الإمام عليه السلام، لكن بيعة بعضهم - نظير: عبد الله بن عمر، وسعد بن أبي وقاص - لم تكن بمعنى الوفاء لقيادة الإمام؛ حيث أعلنوا صراحة عدم مرافقتهم للإمام في حروبه. كما أن بيعة بعض آخر منهم - نظير: مروان بن الحكم، وسعيد بن العاص، والوليد بن عقبة - كانت بدوافع سياسية.¹

ومن هنا يمكن عد هؤلاء في المتخلفين عن البيعة؛ لأن بيعتهم لم تكن حقيقية وكاملة، كما يكن عدّهم في المبايعين؛ لاشتراكهم من المراسم الرسمية للبيعة. وبهذا يمكن الجمع بين النظريتين.

وهنا احتمال ثالث، وهو: أنهم تخلفوا عن البيعة العامة الشاملة والتي كانت في المسجد، وقد اختلفوا أعذاراً لتبرير ذلك، لكن لما تمت البيعة واستحكمت خلافة الإمام عليه السلام رغبوا في البيعة.

ويؤيد ذلك أن مروان بن الحكم والوليد بن عقبة وسعيد بن العاص جاؤوا إلى الإمام - بعد انتهاء البيعة العامة - فبايعوه بعد نقاش.

كما يشهد له اعتراف عبد الله بن عمر وأسامه بن زيد وسعد بن أبي وقاص ببيعة الإمام علي عليه السلام، كما ورد في بعض النصوص.

38. الإمام علي عليه السلام - مِنْ كَلَامِهِ حِينَ تَخَلَّفَ عَنْ بَيْعَتِهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ، وَسَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي وَقَاصٍ، وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مَسْلَمَةَ، وَحَسَّانُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ، وَأُسَامَةُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ -: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! إِنَّكُمْ بَايَعْتُمُونِي عَلَى مَا بُويعَ عَلَيَّهِ مَنْ كَانَ قَبْلِي، وَإِنَّمَا الْخِيَارُ إِلَى النَّاسِ قَبْلَ أَنْ يُبَايَعُوا، فَإِذَا بَايَعُوا فَلَا

١. أراد مروان أن يبايع الإمام بعد الانكسار في حرب الجمل، لكن الإمام رد ذلك، وقال في رده: «أولم يبايعني بعد قتل عثمان؟ لا حاجة لي في بيعته، إنها كف يهودية» (نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 73، الخرائج والجرائع: ج 1 ص 197 ح 39).

If we contemplate on the sources in this chapter, we will find that the majority of those who are known for their refusal to swear allegiance to the Imām did in fact swear allegiance. However, the allegiance of some of them, like ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Umar and Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ did not mean that they were loyal to the Imām’s leadership, as they openly announced that they would not accompany him in his wars. The allegiance of another group, such as Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Sa’id ibn al-‘Āṣ and al-Walid ibn ‘Uqbah was for political motives.¹ Since the allegiance of this group was not true and complete, therefore, this group in a way can be considered as deviators from the allegiance to the Imām, but they can still be ranked among those who pledged allegiance to the Imām, as they performed the formal rite of pledging allegiance, and hence combining the two views is possible.

A third possibility is that they refused to participate in the public allegiance which took place in the mosque and made excuses for justifying their refusal; however, after the rite of allegiance was over and the caliphate of ‘Ali (a.s.) was firmly established, they became inclined to the allegiance.

This claim is confirmed by the presence of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, al-Walid ibn ‘Uqbah, and Sa’id ibn al-‘Āṣ who visited the Imām at the end of the public allegiance and pledge of allegiance to him after some discussions. The confessions made by ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Umar, Usāma ibn Zaid and Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ of their allegiance to ‘Ali (a.s.), as is mentioned in some sources, also confirms this claim.

38. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) –from his speech when ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Umar, Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Muḥammad ibn Maslima, Ḥassān ibn Thābit and Usāma refused to pledge allegiance: “O people! You swore allegiance to me on what you did to those before me. Verily, people have options before they swear allegiance; but after

1. After being defeated in the battle of Jamal, Marwān proposed to swear allegiance to Imām ‘Ali (a.s.). In rejecting his allegiance, the Imām said: “Did he not swear allegiance after the killing of ‘Uthmān? I have no need for his allegiance, because his is the hand of a Jew.” *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 73, *al-Kharā’ij wa al-Jarā’ih*, vol. 1, p. 197, h. 35.

خِيَارَهُمْ. وَإِنَّ عَلَى الْإِمَامِ الْإِسْتِقَامَةَ، وَعَلَى الرَّعِيَّةِ التَّسْلِيمَ. وَهَذِهِ بَيْعَةٌ عَامَّةٌ، مَنْ رَغِبَ عَنْهَا رَغِبَ عَنْ دِينِ الْإِسْلَامِ، وَاتَّبَعَ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ أَهْلِهِ، وَلَمْ تَكُنْ بَيْعَتُكُمْ إِنِّي فَلَئِنَّ، وَلَيْسَ أَمْرِي وَأَمْرُكُمْ وَاحِدًا. وَإِنِّي أُرِيدُكُمْ لِلَّهِ، وَأَنْتُمْ تُرِيدُونَنِي لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ، وَإِيَّاهُ اللَّهُ لَأَنْصَحَنَّ لِلْخَصْمِ، وَلَأَنْصِفَنَّ الْمَظْلُومَ.

وَقَدْ بَلَغَنِي عَنْ سَعْدِ وَابْنِ مَسْلَمَةَ وَأُسَامَةَ وَعَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَحَسَّانِ بْنِ ثَابِتٍ أُمُورٌ كَرِهْتُهَا، وَالْحَقُّ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُمْ.^١

39. مروج الذهب: كَانَ سَعْدٌ وَأُسَامَةُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مَسْلَمَةَ^٢ يَمْنَنُ قَعْدَ عَنْ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَأَبُوا أَنْ يُبَايَعُوهُ، هُمْ وَغَيْرُهُمْ^٣ يَمْنَنُ ذَكَرْنَا مِنَ الْقُعَادِ، وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُمْ قَالُوا: إِنَّهَا فِتْنَةٌ.

وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَالَ لِعَلِيٍّ: أَعْطِنَا سُيُوفًا نُقَاتِلُ بِهَا مَعَكَ، فَإِذَا ضَرَبْنَا بِهَا الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَمْ تَعْمَلْ فِيهِمْ وَتَبَتْ^٤ عَنْ أَجْسَادِهِمْ، وَإِذَا ضَرَبْنَا بِهَا الْكَافِرِينَ سَرَّتْ فِي أَعْيُنِهِمْ. فَأَعْرَضَ عَنْهُمْ عَلِيٌّ، وَقَالَ: (وَلَوْ عَلِمَ اللَّهُ فِيهِمْ خَيْرًا لَأَسْمَعَهُمْ وَلَوْ أَسْمَعَهُمْ لَتَوَلَّوْا وَهُمْ مُعْرِضُونَ)^٥.

40. تاريخ البعقوبي: بَايَعَ النَّاسُ إِلَّا ثَلَاثَةً نَفَرٍ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ: مَرْوَانَ بْنَ الْحَكَمِ، وَسَعِيدَ بْنَ الْعَاصِ، وَالْوَلِيدَ بْنَ عُقَبَةَ - وَكَانَ لِسَانَ الْقَوْمِ - فَقَالَ: يَا هَذَا، إِنَّكَ قَدْ وَثَرْتَنَا جَمِيعًا، أَمَا أَنَا فَقَتَلْتَ أَبِي صَبْرًا يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ، وَأَمَّا سَعِيدٌ فَقَتَلْتَ أَبَاهُ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ - وَكَانَ أَبُوهُ مِنْ نَوْرِ

١. الإرشاد: ج ١ ص 243، المعيار والموازنة: ص 205، الأخبار الطوال: ص 140 وفيه إلى «فلنة» وكلاهما نحوه وراجع: نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 136.

٢. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «سلمة» وهو تصحيف، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في طبعة دار الهجرة: ج 3 ص 15.

٣. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «هم غيرهم»، والتصحيف من طبعة دار الهجرة: ج 3 ص 15.

٤. نَبَا السِّيفِ عَنْ الضَّرْبَةِ: كُلُّ وَلَمْ يَحْكُ فِيهَا (لسان العرب: ج 15 ص 301).

٥. الأنفال: 23.

٦. مروج الذهب: ج 3 ص 24.

that they have no option. The leader (*imam*) must be steadfast and truthful, and the people must be obedient.

This is a public allegiance, so whoever turns away from it is turning away from the religion of Islam and is following a path other than that of the Muslims. Your allegiance to me was not without thinking [by accident] and your motives are not the same as mine. I want you for God, but you want me for your own interests. By God, I will be benevolent to the adversary and bring justice to the oppressed.

I have been informed about Sa'd, ibn Maslima, Usāma, 'Abdullah and Ḥassān ibn Thābit certain things that I do not approve and the Real [Almighty] will be the Judge between them and me."¹

39. *Murūj al-Dhahab*: "Sa'd, Usāma ibn Zaid, 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar and Muḥammad ibn Maslima were among those who refused to swear allegiance to 'Ali ibn Abū Ṭalib (a.s.) and as their argument said: It is a kind of sedition (*fītnah*)."

Another group said to 'Ali (a.s.): "Give us swords in order to use them to fight along with you. If we strike them upon the believers it will not hurt them, but if we strike the unbelievers, they will pierce their bodies!

'Ali (a.s.) turned away from them and recited: "*Had Allah known any good in them, surely He would have made them hear, and were He to make them hear, surely they would turn away, being disregarding.*"^{2 3}

40. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: "People swore allegiance, except for three men from Quraysh: "Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ and al-Walīd ibn 'Aqaba who was their spokesman. He said: "O you! You have cut all of us from our kin. As for me, you killed my father in the battle of Badr. As for Sa'id, you killed his father in the battle of Badr and his father was one of the greatest of

1. *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 243, *al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzīn*, p. 105, *al-Akhhār al-Tiwāl*, p. 140.
Also cf. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 136.

2. Qur'ān, 8:23

3. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 24.

قُرَيْش - وَأَمَّا مَرَوَانُ فَشَتَمَتْ أَبَاهُ وَعَبَتْ عَلَى عُثْمَانَ حِينَ ضَمَّهُ إِلَيْهِ... فَتَبَايَعَنَا عَلَى أَنْ نَضَعَ عَنَّا مَا أَصَبْنَا، وَنُعْفِيَ لَنَا عَمَّا فِي أَيْدِينَا، وَنَقْتُلَ قَتْلَةً صَاحِبِنَا.

فَغَضِبَ عَلِيٌّ وَقَالَ: أَمَّا مَا ذَكَرْتَ مِنْ وَتَرِي إِيَّاكُمْ، فَالْحَقُّ وَتَرَكُمُ. وَأَمَّا وَضَعِي عَنْكُمْ مَا أَصَبْتُمْ، فَلَيْسَ لِي أَنْ أَضَعَ حَقَّ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى. وَأَمَّا إِعْفَائِي عَمَّا فِي أَيْدِيكُمْ، فَمَا كَانَ لِلَّهِ وَلِلْمُسْلِمِينَ فَالْعَدْلُ يَسْعُكُمْ. وَأَمَّا قَتْلِي قَتْلَةَ عُثْمَانَ، فَلَوْ لَزِمَنِي قَتْلُهُمُ الْيَوْمَ لَزِمَنِي قِتَالُهُمْ غَدًا، وَلَكِنْ لَكُمْ أَنْ أَحِلَّكُمْ عَلَى كِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ، فَمَنْ ضَاقَ عَلَيْهِ الْحَقُّ فَالْبَاطِلُ عَلَيْهِ أَضْيَقُ، وَإِنْ شِئْتُمْ فَالْحَقُّوا بِمَلَا حِقِّكُمْ.

فَقَالَ مَرَوَانُ: بَلْ تُبَايِعُكَ، وَتُقِيمُ مَعَكَ، فَتَرَى وَتَرَى.^١

41. تاريخ الطبري عن عبد الله بن الحسن: لما قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ بَايَعَتِ الْأَنْصَارُ عَلِيًّا إِلَّا ثَقِيفًا يَسِيرًا؛ مِنْهُمْ حَسَّانُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ، وَكَعْبُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ، وَمَسْلَمَةُ بْنُ عُثَلَيْدٍ، وَأَبُو سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيُّ، وَعُمْدَةُ بْنُ مَسْلَمَةَ، وَالنُّعْمَانُ بْنُ بَشِيرٍ، وَزَيْدُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ، وَرَافِعُ بْنُ خَدِيجٍ، وَفَضَالَةُ بْنُ عُبَيْدٍ، وَكَعْبُ بْنُ عُجْرَةَ؛ كَانُوا عُثْمَانِيَّةً.

فَقَالَ رَجُلٌ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ حَسَنِ: كَيْفَ أَبِي هَؤُلَاءِ بَيْعَةَ عَلِيٍّ! وَكَانُوا عُثْمَانِيَّةً؟
قَالَ: أَمَّا حَسَّانُ فَكَانَ شَاعِرًا لَا يُبَالِي مَا يَصْنَعُ. وَأَمَّا زَيْدُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ فَوَلَّاهُ عُثْمَانُ الدِّيَّانَ وَبَيْتَ الْمَالِ، فَلَمَّا حُصِرَ عُثْمَانُ قَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الْأَنْصَارِ كُونُوا أَنْصَارًا لِلَّهِ... مَرَّتَيْنِ. فَقَالَ أَبُو أَيُّوبَ: مَا تَنْصُرُهُ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ أَكْثَرُ لَكَ مِنَ الْعِضْدَانِ. فَأَمَّا كَعْبُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ فَاسْتَعْمَلَهُ عَلَى صَدَقَةِ مُزَيْنَةَ، وَتَرَكَ مَا أَخَذَ مِنْهُمْ لَهُ.^٢

42. وقعة صفين عن عمر بن سعد: دَخَلَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ وَسَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ وَالْمُغِيرَةُ بْنُ شُعْبَةَ مَعَ أَنَاسٍ مَعَهُمْ، وَكَانُوا قَدْ تَخَلَّفُوا عَنْ عَلِيٍّ، فَدَخَلُوا عَلَيْهِ، فَسَأَلُوهُ أَنْ

١. تاريخ اليعقوبي: ج 2 ص 178؛ الفتن: ج 2 ص 442 و 443 نحوه.

٢. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 429، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 303 وفيه «العبدان» بدل «العُضْدَان».

Quraysh, and as for Marwān, you insulted his father and mocked 'Uthmān when he brought his father close to him. We have therefore taken an oath between ourselves that [we swear allegiance to you on the condition that] you forgive the punishment of what we have done, leave us with what is in our possession and kill the murderers of our friend ('Uthmān)."

'Ali (a.s.) got angry and said: "As for what you said that I have cut you from your kin, it was the Truth that has cut you. As for me forgiving what you have done [of wrong doings], I have no right to forgive the right of God Almighty, as for me disregarding what is in your possession, justice will apply to you in that which belongs to God and the Muslims."

"As for killing the murderers of 'Uthmān, if I must kill them today, I must fight against them tomorrow. However, it is to your benefit that I force you to accept the Book of Allah and tradition of his Prophet. He who feels confined by the truth, then falsehood will be more confining, and if you wish you may join along with your predecessors"

Marwān then said: "Rather, we swear allegiance to you and will stay with you until you see and we see [what will happen]."

41. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* –narrating from 'Abdullah ibn al-Ḥasan: "When 'Uthmān was killed, the *Anṣār* swore allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.), except for a few people such as: Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Ka'b ibn Mālik, Muslima ibn Mukhallad, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Muḥammad ibn Maslama, al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, Zaid ibn Thābit, Rāfi' ibn Khadij, Faḍāla ibn 'Ubayd and Ka'b ibn 'Ujra. They were the followers of 'Uthmān."

Then a man said to 'Abdullah ibn Ḥasan: "How could they refuse to swear allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.) and (when we know that) they were followers of 'Uthmān?"

He replied: "As for Ḥassān, he is a poet who does not care what he does; as for Zaid ibn Thābit, 'Uthmān had appointed him as the head of the state council and Public Treasury and when 'Uthmān was besieged, he said: "O group of *Anṣār*, assist God Almighty", repeating it twice. Abū Ayyūb answered: "You will only assist him because he has put countless palm trees at your disposal"! As for Ka'b ibn Mālik, 'Uthmān had used him to collect the alms tax of Muzayna and granted him what he had collected from them."²

42. *Waq'at Sifīn* –narrating from 'Amr ibn Sa'd: "'Abdullah ibn 'Umar, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and al-Mughayra ibn Shu'ba with a group of people went to visit 'Ali (a.s.) and they had not participated in swearing the allegiance to him. They asked him to

1. *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 178, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 442-443.

2. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 429, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 303.

يُعْطِيهِمْ عَطَاءَهُمْ - وَقَدْ كَانُوا تَخَلَّفُوا عَنْ عَلِيٍّ حِينَ خَرَجَ إِلَى صِفِّينَ وَالْجَمَلِ - .

فَقَالَ لَهُمْ عَلِيٌّ: مَا خَلَّفَكُمْ عَنِّي؟

قالوا: قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ، وَلَا نَدْرِي أَحَلَّ دَمُهُ أَمْ لَا، وَقَدْ كَانَ أَحَدَثَ أَحْدَانًا ثُمَّ اسْتَبَبْتُمُوهُ فَنَابَ، ثُمَّ دَخَلْتُمْ فِي قَتْلِهِ حِينَ قُتِلَ، فَلَسْنَا نَدْرِي أَصَبْتُمْ أَمْ أَخْطَأْتُمْ! مَعَ أَنَا عَارِفُونَ بِفَضْلِكَ - يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ - وَسَابَقَتِكَ وَهَجَرَتِكَ.

فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَلَسْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ قَدْ أَمَرَكُمْ أَنْ تَأْمُرُوا بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَتَنْهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ، فَقَالَ: «إِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلَحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ؟»^١

قَالَ سَعْدٌ: يَا عَلِيُّ، أَعْطِنِي سَيْفًا يَعْرِفُ الْكَافِرَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِ؛ أَخَافُ أَنْ أَقْتُلَ مُؤْمِنًا فَأَدْخُلَ النَّارَ.

فَقَالَ لَهُمْ عَلِيٌّ: أَلَسْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّ عُثْمَانَ كَانَ إِمَامًا، بَايَعْتُمُوهُ عَلَى السَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ، فَعَلَّامٌ خَذَلْتُمُوهُ إِنْ كَانَ مُحْسِنًا!! وَكَيْفَ لَمْ تُقَاتِلُوهُ إِذْ كَانَ مُسِيئًا؟! فَإِنْ كَانَ عُثْمَانُ أَصَابَ بِهَا صَنْعَ فَقَدْ ظَلَمْتُمْ؛ إِذْ لَمْ تَنْصُرُوا إِمَامَكُمْ، وَإِنْ كَانَ مُسِيئًا فَقَدْ ظَلَمْتُمْ؛ إِذْ لَمْ تُعِينُوا مَنْ أَمَرَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَى عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ، وَقَدْ ظَلَمْتُمْ إِذْ لَمْ تَقُومُوا بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ عَدُوِّنَا بِمَا أَمَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِهِ، فَإِنَّهُ قَالَ: «قَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ».

فَرَدُّهُمْ وَلَمْ يُعْطِهِمْ شَيْئًا.^٢

43. المستدرك على الصحيحين - بعد ذكر الأخبار الواردة في بيعته الناس أمير المؤمنين :-

أَمَّا قَوْلُ مَنْ زَعَمَ أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عُمَرَ وَأَبَا مَسْعُودٍ الْأَنْصَارِيَّ وَسَعْدَ بْنَ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ

١. الحجرات: ٩.

٢. وقعة صفين: ص 551.

give them their share of the spoils, even though they did not take part in the battles of Šiffin and Jamal.

‘Ali (a.s.) said to them: “What made you keep away from me?”

They said: “‘Uthmān was killed and we do not know whether his blood was shed rightfully or not. He had committed some things and you made him repent and he did so. Then at the time of his killing, you contributed to it, so we do not know whether you acted rightfully or went wrong, even though we know of your excellence, O Commander of the Faithful, and your precedence [in Islam] and your migration (*hijra*).”

‘Ali (a.s.) then said: “Do you not know that God Almighty has commanded you to enjoin the good and forbid the wrong. He said: *“If two groups of the faithful fight one another, make peace between them. But if one party of them aggresses against the other, fight the one which aggresses until it returns to Allah’s ordinance.”*¹

Sa’d said: “O ‘Ali! Give me a sword that distinguishes the unbeliever from the believer. I fear that I may kill a believer and be taken to Hellfire.”

‘Ali (a.s.) told them: “Do you not know that ‘Uthmān was a leader to whom you swore allegiance to out of obedience? If he was righteous, why did you let him down? And if he was a wrongdoer, why did you not fight against him? If he was righteous, you did wrong since you did not help your leader, and if he was a wrongdoer, still you did wrong, as you did not help the person who asked others to practice good acts and refrained them from committing bad; and you did wrong, for you did not act between us and our enemy according to what you were commanded by God, as He said: *“fight the one [party] which aggresses until it returns to Allah ordinances.”*² He then turned the group away and gave them nothing

43. *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Šaḥīḥain* –after mentioning some reports regarding the people’s allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.): “As for the view that claims that ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Umar, Abū Mas‘ūd al-Anṣārī, Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Mūsā

1. Qur’ān, 49:9.

2. *Waq‘at Šiffin*, p. 551.

وأبا موسى الأشعريّ ومحمّد بن مسلمة الأنصاريّ وأسامة بن زيد قعدوا عن بيعتي، فإنّ هذا قول من يجحد حقيقة تلك الأحوال....

[ثمّ قال - بعد أن ذكر أسباب اعتزالهم]: في هذه الأسباب وما جائسها كان اعتزال من اعتزل عن القتال مع عليّ (رضي الله عنه)، وقاتل من قاتله.^١

44. الجمل عن أبي مخنف: إنّ أمير المؤمنين ﷺ لما همّ بالمسير إلى البصرة، بلغه عن سعد بن أبي وقاصٍ وابن مسلمة وأسامة بن زيد وابن عمر ثناقل عنه، فبعث إليهم. فلما حضروا قال لهم: قد بلغني عنكم هنأت كرهتها، وأنا لا أكرهكم على المسير معي، ألستم على بيعتي؟ قالوا: بلى.

قال: فما الذي يقعدكم عن صحبتي؟ فقال له سعد: إني أكره الخروج في هذا الحرب؛ لئلا أصيب مؤمناً، فإن أعطيتني سيفاً يعرف المؤمن من الكافر، قاتلت معك! وقال له أسامة: أنت أعز الحلق عليّ، ولكنني عاهدت الله أن لا أقاتل أهل لا إله إلا الله....

وقال عبد الله بن عمر: لست أعرف في هذا الحرب شيئاً، أسألك ألا تحملي علي ما لا أعرف.

فقال لهم أمير المؤمنين ﷺ: ليس كلّ مفتون معاتباً، ألستم على بيعتي؟ قالوا: بلى. قال: انصروا فسيغني الله تعالى عنكم.^٢

١. المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج 3 ص 124 ح 4596 و ص 127 ح 4605.

٢. الجمل: ص 95.

al-Ash'arī, Muḥammad ibn Maslima al-Anṣārī and Usāma ibn Zaid withdrew from the allegiance, this view is of he who denies the realities of those events" [Then after explaining the reasons for their withdrawal, said]: "It was for these and other similar reasons that some refused to fight along with 'Alī (a.s.) against his enemies."¹

44. *al-Jamal* –narrating from Abū Mikhnaḥ: "The Commander of the Faithful was informed at the time of his departure toward Baṣra that Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Ibn Maslima, Usāma ibn Zaid, and ibn 'Umar have stopped moving on. He sent for them, and when they returned to him, he said to them: "I have heard unpleasant news about you that I do not like. I do not force you to go to Baṣra, but are you not holding your allegiance to me?"

They replied: "Yes."

He said: "So why do you refuse to accompany me?"

Sa'd said: "I do not like going to this war, lest a believer may be killed. If you give me a sword that distinguishes a believer from an unbeliever, I will fight alongside you!"

Usāma said: "You are the noblest of Allah's creation to me, but I have pledged to Allah not to fight against the faithful...."

And 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar said: "I know nothing about this war and I request from you not to force me to do something I have no knowledge about."

Then the Commander of the Faithful said to them: "Not every deceived person is reproached. Are you still holding your allegiance to me?"

They said: "Yes."

He said: "Go back, God Almighty shall make me needless of you."²

1. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 124, ḥ. 4596, Ibid, p. 127, ḥ. 4605.

2. *al-Jamal*, p. 95.

45. تاريخ الطبري عن أبي المليح - في ذكر بعض ما جرى عند بيعة الإمام عليه السلام -: خَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ، فَصَعِدَ الْمِنْبَرَ وَعَلَيْهِ إِزَارٌ وَطَاقٌ وَعِمَامَةٌ خَزٌّ وَنَعْلَاهُ فِي يَدَيْهِ، مُتَوَكِّنًا عَلَى قَوْسٍ، فَبَايَعَهُ النَّاسُ.

وجاؤوا يسعد، فقال علي: بايع. قال: لا أبايع حتى يبايع الناس، والله ما عليك مني بأس. قال: خلوا سبيله.

وجاؤوا بابن عمر، فقال: بايع. قال: لا أبايع حتى يبايع الناس. قال: إني بحميل^١. قال: لا أرى حميلاً. قال الأشتر: خل عني أضرب عنقه! قال علي: دعوهُ؛ أنا حميله، إنك - ما علمت - لستى الخلق صغيراً وكبيراً^٢.

46. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ذَكَرَ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ فِي كِتَابِ الْجَمَلِ أَنَّ الْأَنْصَارَ وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ اجْتَمَعُوا فِي مَسْجِدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ؛ لِيَنْظُرُوا مَنْ يُؤَلِّقُهُ أَمْرُهُمْ، حَتَّى غَضَّ الْمَسْجِدُ بِأَهْلِهِ، فَاتَّفَقَ رَأْيُ عَمَّارٍ وَأَبِي الْهَيْثَمِ بْنِ التَّيْهَانِ وَرَفَاعَةَ بْنِ رَافِعٍ وَمَالِكِ بْنِ عَجَلَانَ وَأَبِي أَيُّوبَ خَالِدِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ عَلَى إِقْعَادِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ فِي الْخِلَافَةِ. وَكَانَ أَشَدَّهُمْ تَهَالُكاً عَلَيْهِ عَمَّارٌ، فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: أَيُّهَا الْأَنْصَارُ، قَدْ سَارَ فِيكُمْ عُثْمَانُ بِالْأَمْسِ بِمَا رَأَيْتُمُوهُ، وَأَنْتُمْ عَلَى شَرَفٍ مِنَ الْوُقُوعِ فِي مِثْلِهِ إِنْ لَمْ تَنْظُرُوا لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ، وَإِنَّ عَلِيًّا أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ؛ لِفَضْلِهِ، وَسَابِقِيَّتِهِ! فَقَالُوا: رَضِينَا بِهِ حِينِيذ.

وقالوا بأجمعهم لبيقة الناس من الأنصار والمهاجرين: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّا لَن نَأْلُوكُمْ

١. الحمل: الكفيل (النهاية: ج ١ ص 442).

٢. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 428.

٣. في المصدر: «يزيد»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في كتب الرجال.

45. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* –narrating from Abū Malīḥ reporting some of the events that took place at the time of allegiance to the Imām: “‘Ali (a.s.) went to the mosque and went up the pulpit, wearing a long robe and garment, a turban made of fur and holding his sandals in his hand. The people swore allegiance to him while he was leaning on a bow.

Sa’d was brought in and ‘Ali (a.s.) said to him: “Swear allegiance.”

He said: “I will not swear allegiance until the people swear their allegiance. By God, I will bring you no harm.”

‘Ali (a.s.) said: “Let him go.”

Ibn ‘Umar was brought in and the Imām said: “Swear allegiance!”

Ibn ‘Umar replied: “I will not swear allegiance until the people swear their allegiance.

He said: “Bring a guarantor.”

He replied: “I do not see a guarantor around here.”

[Mālik] al-Ashtar said: “Let me cut off his head.”

‘Ali (a.s.) said: “Let him go. I will be his guarantor myself.”

And then said to Abdullah: “As much as I know, you have been indeed an ill-mannered person when you were young and now that you are old.”¹

46. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*: “Abū Mikhnaḥ says in his book *‘al-Jamal*’ that the *Mubājirīn* and the *Anṣār* gathered in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) to decide whom to choose as a leader and the mosque was full of people.

‘Ammār, Abū Haytham, Rafā‘a ibn Rāfi‘, Mālik ibn ‘Ajlān, and Abū Ayyūb Khālid ibn Zaid agreed to persuade the Commander of the Faithful to accept the caliphate, and ‘Ammār was more insistent than the others, addressing the people and saying: “O group of Anṣār! You saw how ‘Uthmān treated you yesterday, and now you are about to see it repeated if you do not assist yourselves. In truth, ‘Ali (a.s.) is the most deserving person for leadership on account of his excellence and precedence.”

The people said: “Therefore, we now consent to him.”

All of them then said to the rest of the *Mubājirīn* and *Anṣār*: “O people! We spare no efforts in doing good to you and

1. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 428.

خَيْرًا وَأَنْفُسَنَا إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ، وَإِنْ عَلَيَّا مَنْ قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ، وَمَا نَعْرِفُ مَكَانَ أَحَدٍ أَحْمَلَ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مِنْهُ، وَلَا أُولَى بِهِ.

فَقَالَ النَّاسُ بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ: قَدْ رَضِينَا، وَهُوَ عِنْدَنَا مَا ذَكَّرْتُمْ وَأَفْضَلُ. وَقَامُوا كُلُّهُمْ، فَأَتَوْا عَلِيًّا، فَاسْتَخَرُوا جُوهَ مِنْ دَارِهِ، وَسَلَّوْهُ بِسَطِّ يَدِهِ، فَقَبَضَهَا، فَتَدَاكُوا عَلَيْهِ تَدَاكَ الْإِبِلِ الْهَيْمِ عَلَى وَرْدِهَا، حَتَّى كَادَ بَعْضُهُمْ يَقْتُلُ بَعْضًا، فَلَمَّا رَأَى مِنْهُمْ مَا رَأَى سَأَلَهُمْ أَنْ تَكُونَ بَيْعَتُهُ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ ظَاهِرَةً لِلنَّاسِ، وَقَالَ: إِنْ كَرِهَنِي رَجُلٌ وَاحِدٌ مِنَ النَّاسِ لَمْ أَدْخُلْ فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ.

فَنَهَضَ النَّاسُ مَعَهُ حَتَّى دَخَلَ الْمَسْجِدَ، فَكَانَ أَوَّلُ مَنْ بَايَعَهُ طَلْحَةَ. فَقَالَ قَيْصَةُ ابْنُ دُؤَيْبِ الْأَسَدِيِّ: تَخَوَّفْتُ أَنْ لَا يَتِمَّ لَهُ أَمْرُهُ؛ لِأَنَّ أَوَّلَ يَدٍ بَايَعَتْهُ سَلَاةٌ. ثُمَّ بَايَعَهُ الزُّبَيْرُ، وَبَايَعَهُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ، إِلَّا مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ مَسْلَمَةَ، وَعَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عُمَرَ، وَأَسَامَةَ بْنَ زَيْدٍ، وَسَعْدَ بْنَ أَبِي وَقَاصٍ، وَكَعْبَ بْنَ مَالِكٍ، وَحَسَنَ بْنَ ثَابِتٍ، وَعَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ سَلَامٍ.

فَأَمَرَ بِإِحْضَارِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: بَايِعْ. قَالَ: لَا أَبَايِعُ حَتَّى يُبَايِعَ جَمِيعُ النَّاسِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ: فَأَعْطِنِي حِمْلًا أَنْ لَا تَبْرَحَ. قَالَ: وَلَا أُعْطِيكَ حِمْلًا. فَقَالَ الْأَشْترُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّ هَذَا قَدْ آمَنَ سَوْطَكَ وَسَيْفَكَ، فَدَعْنِي أَضْرِبَ عُنُقَهُ! فَقَالَ: لَسْتُ أُرِيدُ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُ عَلَى كُرْهِهِ، خَلَوْا سَبِيلَهُ. فَلَمَّا انْصَرَفَ قَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: لَقَدْ كَانَ صَغِيرًا وَهُوَ سَيِّئُ الْخُلُقِ، وَهُوَ فِي كِبَرِهِ أَسْوَأُ خُلُقًا.

ثُمَّ أَتَى سَعْدَ بْنَ أَبِي وَقَاصٍ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: بَايِعْ. فَقَالَ: يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ خَلْنِي، فَإِذَا لَمْ يَبْقَ غَيْرِي بَايَعْتُكَ، فَوَاللَّهِ لَا يَأْتِيكَ مِنْ قِبَلِي أَمْرٌ تَكْرَهُهُ أَبَدًا. فَقَالَ: صَدَقَ، خَلَوْا سَبِيلَهُ.

ثُمَّ بَعَثَ إِلَى مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مَسْلَمَةَ، فَلَمَّا أَنَاهُ قَالَ لَهُ: بَايِعْ. قَالَ: إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ أَمَرَنِي إِذَا اخْتَلَفَ النَّاسُ وَصَارُوا هَكَذَا - وَشَبَّكَ بَيْنَ أَصَابِعِهِ - أَنْ أَخْرُجَ بِسَيْفِي فَأَضْرِبَ بِهِ عَرَضَ أَحَدٍ فَإِذَا تَقَطَّعَ أَتَيْتُ مَنْزِلِي، فَكُنْتُ فِيهِ لَا أَبْرَحُهُ حَتَّى تَأْتِيَنِي يَدُ خَاطِنَتِهِ، أَوْ مَنِيَّةٌ قَاضِيَةٌ. فَقَالَ لَهُ: فَاَنْطَلِقْ إِذَا، فَكُنْ كَمَا أَمَرْتُ بِهِ.

ourselves, God Willing. Indeed, 'Ali is the one whom you know, and we do not know anyone more capable and competent than him to take charge of this affair."

Then all the people said: "We consent. He is to us as you have described and even better."

They all stood up, went to 'Ali (a.s.) and called him out of his house and asked him to hold out his hand for the pledge of allegiance. 'Ali (a.s.) held his hand back. Then the people crowded around him like thirsty camels flocking around a watering pond, to the extent that some were about to kill others. When he saw this, he asked the allegiance to be pledged in front of the people in the mosque, and said: "Even if a single person does not consent, I will not get involved in this affair."

People accompanied him into the mosque. The first person who swore allegiance was Ṭalḥa. Qabiṣa ibn Dhu'ayb al-Asadī said: "I fear that his affair may not be settled, since the first hand that pledged allegiance to him was limping."

After Ṭalḥa, Zubair swore allegiance and so did all the Muslims of Madina except Muḥammad ibn Maslama, 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar, Usāma ibn Zaid, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqāṣ, Ka'b ibn Mālik, Ḥassān ibn Thābit and 'Abdullah ibn Salām.

'Ali (a.s.) commanded 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar to be brought to him. He told him to swear allegiance. He said: "I will not swear allegiance until all the people swear their allegiance." He (a.s.) then said: "Bring a guarantor [to secure] that you will not disobey. He said: "I will not bring a guarantor."

[Mālik] Ashtar said: "O Commander of the Faithful! He sees himself secure of your whip and sword. Let me cut off his head."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "I do not want his allegiance by force. Let him go."

When 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar went away, the Commander of the Faithful said: "When he was a child he was ill-mannered and now in his old age he is more ill-mannered."

Then Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqāṣ was brought in and the Imām said: "Swear allegiance."

He said: "O Abū al-Ḥasan, Let me be free! When there shall be no one left but me, then I will swear allegiance. By God, I will bring no harm to you."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "He is telling the truth. Let him go."

Then he sent for Muḥammad ibn Maslama. When they brought him in, the Imām said: "Swear allegiance!"

He replied: "Indeed, the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) commanded me that whenever people disagree and become like this –interlocking his fingers– I must go forth with my sword and strike it across mount Uhud, then if it breaks into pieces, I must go back home and not leave until the hand of a wrong-doer comes to me or I will be taken by death."

'Ali (a.s.) said to him: "Then go and do as you have been ordered."

ثُمَّ بَعَثَ إِلَى أُسَامَةَ بْنِ زَيْدٍ، فَلَمَّا جَاءَ قَالَ لَهُ: بَايِعْ. فَقَالَ: إِنِّي مَوْلَاكَ، وَلَا خِلَافَ مِنِّي عَلَيْكَ، وَمَسْتَانِيكَ بِيَعْتِي إِذَا سَكَنَ النَّاسُ. فَأَمَرَهُ بِالْإِنْصِرَافِ، وَلَمْ يَبْعَثْ إِلَى أَحَدٍ غَيْرِهِ. وَقِيلَ لَهُ: أَلَا تَبْعَثُ إِلَى حَسَّانِ بْنِ ثَابِتٍ، وَكَعْبِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ، وَعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ سَلَامٍ؟ فَقَالَ: لَا حَاجَةَ لَنَا فِيْمَنْ لَا حَاجَةَ لَهُ فِينَا.

فَأَمَّا أَصْحَابُنَا فَإِنَّهُمْ يَذْكُرُونَ فِي كُتُبِهِمْ أَنَّ هَؤُلَاءِ الرَّهْطِ إِنَّمَا اعْتَذَرُوا بِمَا اعْتَذَرُوا بِهِ لَمَّا نَذَبَهُمْ إِلَى الشُّخُوصِ مَعَهُ لِحَرْبِ أَصْحَابِ الْجَمَلِ، وَأَنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَتَخَلَّفُوا عَنِ الْبَيْعَةِ، وَإِنَّمَا تَخَلَّفُوا عَنِ الْحَرْبِ.

وَرَوَى شَيْخُنَا أَبُو الْحُسَيْنِ فِي كِتَابِ الْغُرَرِ أَنَّهُمْ لَمَّا اعْتَذَرُوا إِلَيْهِ بِهَذِهِ الْأَعْذَارِ، قَالَ لَهُمْ: مَا كُلُّ مَفْتُونٍ يُعَاتِبُ، أَعِنْدَكُمْ شَكٌّ فِي بِيْعَتِي؟ قَالُوا: لَا. قَالَ: فَإِذَا بَايَعْتُمْ فَقَدْ قَاتَلْتُمْ، وَأَعْفَاهُمْ مِنْ حُضُورِ الْحَرْبِ.^١

10 / 1

هُوَئِلَاءِ الَّذِينَ تَخَلَّفُوا عَنْ بَيْعَتِهِ

1-10 / 1

عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب

ولد في السنة الثانية بعد البعثة^٢ وأسلم منذ نعومة أظفاره مع أبيه في مكة^٣، وهاجر

١. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 8.

٢. استنتاج من الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 143، تهذيب الكمال: ج 15 ص 340 الرقم 3441، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 172 ح 13، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 81 الرقم 1630.

٣. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 142، تهذيب الكمال: ج 15 ص 333 الرقم 3441، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 171 ح 13، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 84، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 81 الرقم 1630، أسد الغابة: ج 3 ص 337 الرقم 3082 وزاد فيها «قد قيل: إن إسلامه كان قبل إسلام أبيه»، المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج 3 ص 647 ح 6377 وفيه «أسلم عبد الله بن عمر قبل أبيه» وفيه تأمل، لأن إسلام عمر في السنة السادسة من البعثة وفي هذه السنة كان لعبد الله بن عمر أربع أو خمس سنين.

Then he sent for Usāma ibn Zaid. When he arrived, the Imām said: "Swear allegiance."

He said: "I am your supporter, and there will be no opposition from me to you. Once the people calm down, I will swear allegiance to you."

He commanded him to go back and sent for no one else.

They asked the Imām: "Will you not send for Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Ka'b ibn Mālik, and 'Abdullah ibn Salām?"

He said: "We are in no need of those who do not need us."

[Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says:] Our followers (the Mu'tazilites) mention in their books that this group gave excuses when they were called to fight in the battle of the Camel (*al-Jamal*), and refused to participate in the war they did not refuse to swear allegiance.

Our master Abū al-Ḥusain narrates in his book '*al-Ghurar*' that when this group expressed their excuses, 'Ali (a.s.) told them: "Not everyone who is deceived will be reproached. Do you have doubt in your allegiance to me?"

They said: "No."

He said: "If you have sworn allegiance, then [it is as if] you are present in war." And he exempted them from being present in the war.¹

1/10

A Biography of Those Who Refused to Swear Allegiance

1/10-1

'Abdullah ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

'Abdullah was born two years after the *Bi'tha* [beginning of Prophethood] of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).² He embraced Islam together

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 4, p. 8.

2. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 143, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 15, p. 340, ḥ. 3441, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 1, p. 172, ḥ. 13.

إلى المدينة المنورة قبل أبيه^١ أو معه^٢.

ولصغر سنه^٣ لم يشترك في حربي بدر^٤ وأحد، نعم التحق بعسكر المسلمين في حرب الخندق وما بعدها من الحروب.^٥ كما روى أحاديث كثيرة في كتب أهل السنة^٦. وقد استشير عمر - أواخر أيام حياته - في جعله أحد أعضاء الشورى، لكنه خالف ذلك وقال: ليس له أهلية الخلافة، بل ليس له القدرة على طلاق زوجته!^٧ بيد أنه ذكر في بعض الروايات أنه صار أحد أعضاء الشورى بأمر أبيه على أن لا يكون له من الأمر شيء^٨.

ولما تسلم عثمان الخلافة ابتعد عن الساحة السياسية، فلم يشترك في التيارات السياسية الحاكمة آنذاك، كما اعتزل الساحة السياسية والاجتماعية أيام خلافة الإمام علي^٩، بل جعل العزلة قوام سياسته الاجتماعية، فلم يشترك مع الإمام^{١٠} في شيء من حروبه أيام الخلافة.

١. الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 81 الرقم 1630، أسد الغابة: ج 3 ص 337 الرقم 3082.
٢. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 142، تهذيب الكمال: ج 15 ص 333 الرقم 3441، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 171 ح 13، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 85، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 204 الرقم 45.
٣. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 143، تهذيب الكمال: ج 15 ص 333 الرقم 3441، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 172 ح 13، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 5 ص 454 الرقم 199، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 83.
٤. المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج 3 ص 644 ح 6362، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 143، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 81 الرقم 1630، أسد الغابة: ج 3 ص 337 الرقم 3082، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 210 الرقم 45.
٥. تهذيب الكمال: ج 15 ص 333 الرقم 3441، المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج 3 ص 644 ح 6362، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 143، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 172 ح 13، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 5 ص 454 الرقم 199، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 79، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 81 الرقم 1630، أسد الغابة: ج 3 ص 338 الرقم 3082.
٦. سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 204 الرقم 45، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 5 ص 455 الرقم 199، تهذيب الكمال: ج 15 ص 333 الرقم 3441، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 79 و 80، البداية والنهاية: ج 9 ص 5.
٧. تاريخ اليعقوبي: ج 2 ص 160، تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 228، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 219.
٨. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 229، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 220، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 179، الإمامة والسياسة: ج 1 ص 158.

with his father in Mecca in his childhood¹, and migrated to Madīna prior to his father² or along with him.³ He did not participate in the battles of Badr and Uhud⁴ due to his young age,⁵ but from the battle of Khandaq onward he accompanied the troops of Islam.⁶ Many reports mentioned in Sunni books of traditions have been narrated from him.⁷

When 'Umar was on his deathbed, he was consulted to allocate his son as one of the members of the electoral council, but 'Umar objected to the proposal, saying: "He does not deserve caliphate. He is not even able to divorce his own wife."⁸

It is mentioned in some narrations that 'Abdullah became a member of the council by the order of 'Umar on the condition that he would not have the right to be elected [as a caliph].⁹

During the reign of 'Uthmān, he kept away from political issues and did not partake in the ruling political trends. In the caliphate of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), he also isolated himself and did not participate in any of them rather he chose this isolation as the cornerstone of his social policy.

In the battles during the government of 'Ali (a.s.), 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar also secluded himself from politics and kept withdrawn, not participating in any of the Imām's battles during his caliphate.

1. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 142, *Tabdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 15, p. 333, ḥ. 3441, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 1, p. 171, ḥ. 13.

2. *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 81, ḥ. 1630, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 337, ḥ. 3082.

3. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 142, *Tabdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 15, p. 333, ḥ. 3441, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 1, p. 171, ḥ. 13.

4. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 143, *Tabdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 15, p. 333, ḥ. 3441, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 1, p. 171, ḥ. 13.

5. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 644, ḥ. 6362, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 143.

6. *Tabdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 15, p. 333, ḥ. 3441, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 644, ḥ. 6362.

7. *Siyar A'lam al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 204, ḥ. 45, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 5, p. 455, ḥ. 199.

8. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 160, *Tārīkh al-Jabari*, vol. 4, p. 228, *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tarikh*, vol. 2, p. 219.

9. *Tārīkh al-Jabari*, vol. 4, p. 229, *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tarikh*, vol. 2, p. 220, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 31, p. 179.

ومن الواضح أنَّ هذه السيرة كانت قائمة على أسس واهية لا على أساس متين، ولهذا لم يتخذها منهجاً إلا هذه البرهة من حياته؛ فلم يعتزل الساحة أيام الخلفاء الثلاث، كما لم يعتمد هذه السياسة زمن الحكام الذين تقلدوا زمام الأمور بعد أمير المؤمنين^١؛ حيث بايع معاوية^٢ ويزيد^٣ مع تحلف عدد كبير من الصحابة والوجوه البارزة من الأمة - ومنهم الحسين بن علي^٤ - عن بيعته. وكذا بايع عبد الملك^٥، بل حث محمد ابن الحنفية على البيعة له لما امتنع منها وشرط لها بيعة جميع الناس^٦.

والعجب أنه ذهب ليلاً إلى الحجاج بن يوسف ليمد له يد البيعة لعبد الملك؛ لئلا يبقى ليلة بلا إمام، لأنه روى عن رسول الله ﷺ: «مَنْ مَاتَ وَلَا إِمَامَ لَهُ مَاتَ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً»، فاحتقره الحجاج - ذلك الحاكم المتكبر الظالم - ومدَّ له رجله من تحت الفراش ليصفق عليها يد البيعة؛ لعلمه بأن منشأ هذه البيعة هو الخوف والضعف والعجز^٧.

مع أنه لم يصحب الإمام في شيء من حروبه أيام خلافته^٨. نعم لم يكن من المعادين له أيضاً، بل كان من جملة الذين وصفهم الإمام^٩ بأنهم «خَذَلُوا الْحَقَّ، وَلَمْ يَنْصُرُوا الْبَاطِلَ»^{١٠}.

نعم أشارت بعض النصوص التاريخية إلى أنه تأسف نهاية عمره أسفاً عميقاً على تساهله وعدم نصرته للإمام^{١١}، وكان يقول: «ما آسى على شيء إلا أنني لم أقاتل مع

١. الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 472 الرقم 2464.

٢. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 182، مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 361.

٣. صحيح البخاري: ج 6 ص 2634 ح 6777 وح 6779، الموطأ: ج 2 ص 983 ح 3، السنن الكبرى: ج 8 ص 254 ح 16564، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 183، مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 361.

٤. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 5 ص 111، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 4 ص 128 الرقم 36.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 13 ص 1242، الفصول المختارة: ص 245، الإيضاح: ص 73.

٦. الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 83 الرقم 1630، أسد الغابة: ج 3 ص 339 الرقم 3082.

٧. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 18، الاستيعاب: ج 2 ص 173 الرقم 968.

٨. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 18، الاستيعاب: ج 2 ص 173 الرقم 968.

It is evident that such a kind of an attitude throughout the life of 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar was based on weak foundations, and this is why he did not act so during the time of the previous caliphs nor did he do so in the time of rulers after 'Ali (a.s.). He swore allegiance to Mu'āwiyah¹ and Yazīd² (whom a great number of eminent figures among the nation and the companions, including Husain ibn 'Ali (a.s.) refused to pledge allegiance to). He also swore allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik.³ Moreover, when Muḥammad ibn Ḥanīfa refused to swear allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik, saying that he would swear allegiance only on the condition that all people do the same,⁴ 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar pledged allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik and encouraged Muḥammad to follow in doing so.

It is indeed strange that it was during the night that 'Abdullah went to Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf to give his hand for allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik lest he might not remain without allegiance even for a single night, as he had heard that the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) has been quoted as saying: "He who dies while having no leader (*imām*) dies the death of the period of ignorance." He was humiliated by Ḥajjāj [the arrogant tyrannical ruler] who stretched out his foot from his bed for 'Abdullah to swear his allegiance to, because he knew that the reason for this allegiance was based on fear, weakness and incompetence.⁵

Even though he did not partake with the Imām in any of his battles during his caliphate,⁶ he was not one of the Imām's enemies either. He was described by Imām 'Ali (a.s.) as one of those who:

خللوا الحق ولم ينصروا الباطل.

*"They abandoned the truth and did not support the falsehood."*⁷

Some historical documents indicate that towards the end of his life, 'Abdullah deeply regretted his negligence and failing to help 'Ali (a.s.), saying:

ما آتيت علي شي الا اني لم اقاتل مع علي الله الباغية.

I do not regret anything except that I did not fight along with 'Ali (a.s.) against the 'rebel group'.⁸

1. *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 472, ḥ. 2464.

2. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 182, *Murāj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 361.

3. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2634, ḥ. 6777 & 6779, *al-Muwatta'*, vol. 2, p. 983, ḥ. 3.

4. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 111, *Siyar A'ālām al-Nubalā*, vol. 8, p. 36.

5. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 13, p. 242, *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtāra*, p. 245, *al-Īdāh*, p. 73.

6. *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 83, ḥ. 1630, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 339, ḥ. 3082.

7. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 18, *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 2, p. 173, ḥ. 968.

8. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 643, ḥ. 6360, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 143.

عليّ الفتنّة الباغية»^١.

نعم في بعض المصادر أنّ المراد بـ «الفتنة الباغية» في كلامه هو الخوارج،^٢ أو الحجاج،^٣ أو ابن الزبير.^٤ وإذا لاحظنا قوله: «مع عليّ» في النصّ الذي أشرنا إليه لا يبقى مجال لاحتمال آخر.

وكان يقول: كلّ من يدعوني إلى الصلاة أفتدي به؛ من أيّ فرقة كان، ولا أتبع من يدعوني إلى القتال.^٥

وكان يعتقد أنّ الحكومة وطاعة الحاكم قائمان على أساس «قانون القهر»، فكان يقول: الحقّ لمن غلب وتسلّط على رقاب الناس وقهرهم.^٦

ولما كان الإمام عليّ عليه السلام يؤكّد حرّية الناس واختيارهم في البيعة ويقول: «لا أجبر أحداً على طاعتي» تخلف عن بيعته، ولم يتخلف عن البيعة ليزيد بن معاوية! وقد عرّف انتفاضة أهل المدينة - حين اشتهر فسق يزيد وفجوره وعدم تورّعه عن فعل أيّ محرم، وبعد قتله أبا عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام - بأنها غدر للبيعة، ولذا منع أهله عن الاشتراك فيها.^٧

١. المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3 ص 643 ح 6360، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 83 الرقم 1630، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 232 الرقم 45، أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 404، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 187، أسد الغابة: ج 3 ص 339 الرقم 3082 وليس فيها «مع عليّ».

٢. فتح الباري: ج 12 ص 286.

٣. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 185 و ص 187، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 197، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 232 الرقم 45، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 5 ص 465 الرقم 199.

٤. السنن الكبرى: ج 8 ص 298 ح 16706، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 193، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 229 الرقم 45، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 5 ص 465 الرقم 199.

٥. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 169، حلية الأولياء: ج 1 ص 309، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 191، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 228 الرقم 45، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 5 ص 465 الرقم 199.

٦. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 149، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 472 الرقم 2464.

٧. مستدرك ابن حنبل: ج 2 ص 412 ح 5713 و ص 304 ح 5088، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 183.

Of course, some sources have interpreted 'the rebel group' in his words as the Khārijīs,¹ or Ḥajjāj² or Ibn Zubair.³ If we consider the expression 'with 'Ali' in the statement, then there would be no room for other possibilities (Mu'āwiya is meant).

He used to say: "Whoever calls me to prayer, I will follow him whosoever he may be, but I do not follow the one who calls me to war."⁴

Similarly, he believed that the government and obedience to the ruler are based on the foundation of 'the law of dominance'. He used to say: "The right is for him who overcomes and has power over the people and dominates them."⁵

That was why when 'Ali (a.s.) stressed on the people's freedom and their choice in the pledge of allegiance, saying, "I do not compel anyone to obey me", 'Abdullah refused to obey him, but he did not refuse to pledge allegiance to Yazid ibn Mu'āwiya.

When the corruption, debauchery and crimes of Yazid who did not refrain from committing any forbidden act were disclosed – following the murder of Imām Ḥusain – (a.s), he called the uprising of the people of Madīna as a betrayal to the allegiance and therefore prevented his family from participating in it.⁶

1. *Fath al-Bārī*, vol. 12, p. 286.

2. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 185 & 187, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 31, p. 197, *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 232, h. 45.

3. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 298, h. 16706, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 31, p. 193, *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 229, h. 45.

4. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 169, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 31, p. 191, *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 228, h. 45.

5. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 149, *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 472, h. 2464.

6. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 2, p. 412, h. 5713, *Ibid.* p. 304, h. 5088, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 183.

وأخيراً، فمع أن عبد الله كثير الرواية، بل هو في عداد كبار محدثي أهل السنة لكنه قليل المعرفة، ضيق الرؤية، متحجراً، لا يملك تحليلاً متيناً للتيارات السياسية والاجتماعية القائمة آنذاك. وقد أعانه ضعف شخصيته وطلبه للحياة على ارتكاب ذلك الموقف القبيح.

توفي سنة (74 هـ) عن عمر يناهز (84) سنة.^١

47. تاريخ الطبري: بَعَثَ [عَلِيٌّ] * إِلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ كُمَيْلاً النَّخَعِيَّ، فَجَاءَ بِهِ، فَقَالَ: إِنَّهُنَّ مَعِي. فَقَالَ: أَنَا مَعَ أَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ؛ إِنَّمَا أَنَا رَجُلٌ مِنْهُمْ، وَقَدْ دَخَلُوا فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ فَدَخَلْتُ مَعَهُمْ لَا أُفَارِقُهُمْ، فَإِنْ يَخْرُجُوا أَخْرُجْ، وَإِنْ يَقْعُدُوا أَقْعُد. قَالَ: فَأَعْطَنِي رَعِيماً بِأَنْ لَا تَخْرُجَ. قَالَ: وَلَا أُعْطِيكَ رَعِيماً. قَالَ: لَوْ مَا أَعْرِفُ مِنْ سُوءِ خُلُقِكَ صَغِيراً وَكَبِيراً لَأَنْكَرْتَنِي، دَعَوُهُ؛ فَأَتَانِي بِهِ رَعِيماً.^٢

48. تاريخ الطبري عن محمد وطلحة: خَرَجَ الزُّبَيْرُ وَطَلْحَةُ حَتَّى لَقِيَا ابْنَ عُمَرَ، وَدَعَاوُهُ إِلَى الْخُفُوفِ، فَقَالَ: إِنِّي أَمْرٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ، فَإِنْ يَجْتَمِعُوا عَلَى النَّهْضِ أَنْهَضُ، وَإِنْ يَجْتَمِعُوا عَلَى الْقُعُودِ أَقْعُد. فَتَرَكَاهُ وَرَجَعَا.^٣

49. الطبقات الكبرى عن أبي حصين: إِنَّ مُعَاوِيَةَ قَالَ: وَمَنْ أَحَقُّ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ مِنَّا؟ فَقَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ: فَأَرَدْتُ أَنْ أَقُولَ: أَحَقُّ مِنْكَ مَنْ صَرَبَكَ وَأَبَاكَ عَلَيْهِ!! ثُمَّ ذَكَرْتُ مَا فِي الْجَنَانِ، فَخَشِيتُ أَنْ يَكُونَ فِي ذَلِكَ فَسَادًا.^٤

١. المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج 3 ص 642 ح 6355 وح 6358، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 187، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 173 ح 13. وفيه أقوال أخرى، منها: «مات سنة 73 وكان عمره 87 سنة»، التاريخ الكبير: ج 5 ص 2 الرقم 4، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 83 الرقم 87، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 173 ح 13، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 5 ص 467.

٢. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 446، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 312 نحوه.

٣. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 460، وراجع: الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 314.

٤. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 182 وأيضاً في نفس الصفحة عن الزهري نحوه، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 183 وفيه «ما أعذ الله في الخلاف» بدل «ما في الجنان»، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 225 الرقم 45 وليس فيه «ثم ذكرت ما في الجنان».

Finally, even though 'Abdullah narrated many traditions and is regarded as one of the great narrators of the Sunni School, but he was weak in knowledge, short sighted and dogmatic, not able to give a strong analysis of the political and social currents existing during that time. This weak personality and desire for a worldly life helped him to take such a vile position. 'Abdullah died in 74 AH/ 703 CE at the age of eighty four.¹

47. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*: "Ali (a.s.) sent Kumayl al-Nakha'i for 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar. He brought him. 'Ali (a.s.) said to him: "Rise with me." 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar said: "I am with the people of Madīna. I am but only one man from among them. When they enter into this affair I will also enter with them and I will not separate from them, so if they leave [for war] I will leave and if they stay, I will stay."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "Then give me someone to guarantee that you will not rise [against me]." He said: "I will not give you anyone."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "If I did not know of your bad manners when you were young and at your old age, I would not have accepted. Let him go. I myself will vouch for him."²

48. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* –narrating from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥa: "Zubair and Ṭalḥa went out and met 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar and discouraged him [in accompanying 'Ali (a.s.)]. 'Abdullah said: "I am one of the people of Madīna. If they agree to rise, I will rise and if they stay I will stay." So, they [Zubair and Ṭalḥa] left him and returned."³
49. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* –narrating from Abū Ḥaṣīn: "Mu'āwiya said: "Who is more deserving than we are for this affair [of ruling]?" 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar said: "I wanted to say: "The more deserving than you is the person who fought against you and your father over it", but I remembered what I had in mind, so I feared that this might create a problem."⁴

1. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 642, ḥ. 6355 & 6358, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 187.

2. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 446, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 312.

3. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 460, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 314.

4. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 182, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 31, p. 183, *Siyar A'ālām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 225, ḥ. 45.

50. الاستيعاب: قِيلَ لِنَافِعٍ: مَا بَالُ ابْنِ عُمَرَ بَايَعَ مُعَاوِيَةَ، وَلَمْ يُبَايِعْ عَلِيًّا؟ فَقَالَ: كَانَ ابْنُ عُمَرَ [لَا] يُعْطِي يَدًا فِي فُرْقَةٍ، وَلَا يَمْنَعُهَا مِنْ جَمَاعَةٍ، وَلَمْ يُبَايِعْ مُعَاوِيَةَ حَتَّى اجْتَمَعُوا عَلَيْهِ.^١

51. مسند ابن حنبل عن نافع: إِنَّ ابْنَ عُمَرَ جَمَعَ بَنِيهِ - حِينَ انْتَرَى أَهْلَ الْمَدِينَةِ مَعَ ابْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ، وَخَلَعُوا يَزِيدَ بْنَ مُعَاوِيَةَ - فَقَالَ: إِنَّا قَدْ بَايَعْنَا هَذَا الرَّجُلَ بِبَيْعِ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ، وَإِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: الْغَادِرُ يُنْصَبُ لَهُ لُؤَاءُ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ، فَيَقَالُ: هَذِهِ عُذْرَةُ فُلَانٍ، وَإِنَّ مِنْ أَعْظَمِ الْغَدْرِ - إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ الْإِشْرَاكُ بِاللَّهِ تَعَالَى - أَنْ يُبَايَعَ الرَّجُلُ رَجُلًا عَلَى بَيْعِ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ ثُمَّ يَنْكُثَ بَيْعَتَهُ، فَلَا يَخْلَعَنَّ أَحَدٌ مِنْكُمْ يَزِيدَ، وَلَا يُسْرِفَنَّ أَحَدٌ مِنْكُمْ فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ، فَيَكُونَ صَيْلًا فِيمَا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكُمْ!!^٢

52. فتح الباري: كَانَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ فِي تِلْكَ الْمُدَّةِ [مُدَّةَ حُكُومَةِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ] امْتَنَعَ أَنْ يُبَايَعَ لِابْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ أَوْ لِعَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ، كَمَا كَانَ امْتَنَعَ أَنْ يُبَايَعَ لِعَلِيٍّ أَوْ مُعَاوِيَةَ، ثُمَّ بَايَعَ لِمُعَاوِيَةَ لَمَّا اصْطَلَحَ مَعَ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ وَاجْتَمَعَ عَلَيْهِ النَّاسُ، وَبَايَعَ لِابْنِهِ يَزِيدَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِ مُعَاوِيَةَ؛ لِاجْتِمَاعِ النَّاسِ عَلَيْهِ، ثُمَّ امْتَنَعَ مِنَ الْمُبَايَعَةِ لِأَحَدٍ حَالَ الْإِخْتِلَافِ إِلَى أَنْ قُتِلَ ابْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ وَانْتَضَمَ الْمُلْكُ كُلُّهُ لِعَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ، فَبَايَعَ لَهُ حِينَئِذٍ.^٣

53. صحيح البخاري عن عبد الله بن دينار: لَمَّا بَايَعَ النَّاسُ عَبْدَ الْمَلِكِ، كَتَبَ إِلَيْهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ: إِلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنِّي أَقْرُ بِالسَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ

١. ما بين المعقوفين إضافة يقتضيها السياق.

٢. الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 472 الرقم 2464.

٣. الانتزاع والتترى: تسرع الإنسان إلى الشر (لسان العرب: ج 15 ص 320).

٤. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «ينصب» بدل «أن» وهو تصحيف، والتصحيح من طبعة دار صادر: ج 2 ص 96.

٥. مسند ابن حنبل: ج 2 ص 412 ح 5713 و ص 304 ح 5088، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 183 كلاهما نحوه.

٦. فتح الباري: ج 13 ص 195.

50. *al-Istī'āb*: "Nāfi' was asked: "Why did 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar swear allegiance to Mu'āwiya but not to 'Ali (a.s.)?"

Nāfi' replied: "Ibn 'Umar would not stretch a hand at a time of disunity, nor would he restrain it when there was unanimity. He did not swear allegiance to Mu'āwiya until all others agreed to pledge allegiance to him."¹

51. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal* –narrating from Nāfi': "When the people of Madīna rose up with Ibn Zubair and dethroned Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya, Ibn 'Umar called his children and said: "We swore allegiance to this man on the basis of allegiance to God and His Messenger, and verily I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say:

"For the treacherous there will rise a banner on the Day of Resurrection and it will be said: 'this is the treachery of so-and-so', and the greatest treachery, other than sharing a partner with God [polytheism] is that one pledges allegiance to another on the basis of allegiance to God and His Messenger and then abandon it. Therefore, let no one among you dethrone Yazīd and exceed the limits of this affair [of ruling], or else a sword will lie between me and you!"²

52. *Fath al-Bārī*: "During that period [the period of the government of 'Abdullah ibn Zubair], 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar refused to swear allegiance to Ibn Zubair or to 'Abd al-Malik, as he also refused to swear allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.) or Mu'āwiya. But later on, he swore allegiance to Mu'āwiya when he made peace with Ḥasan ibn 'Ali (a.s.) and when people agreed on him. After the death of Mu'āwiya, he ['Abdullah Ibn 'Umar] also swore allegiance to his son Yazīd as the people had agreed upon him. After that, during the time of disagreements, he did not swear allegiance to anyone until Ibn Zubair was killed and the government was entirely handed over to 'Abd al-Malik, and ['Abdullah] then swore allegiance to him."³

53. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* –narrating from 'Abdullah ibn Dīnār: "When people swore allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar wrote a letter to him:

1. *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 472, ḥ. 2464.

2. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 2, p. 412, ḥ. 5713 & p. 304, ḥ. 5088, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 183.

3. *Fath al-Bārī*, vol. 13, p. 195.

عَبْدُ الْمَلِكِ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، عَلَى سُنَّةِ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةِ رَسُولِهِ فِيمَا اسْتَطَعْتُ، وَإِنْ بَنِي قَدْ أَقْرَأُوا بِذَلِكَ.^١

54. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: إِنَّهُ [ابن عُمَرَ] امْتَنَعَ عَنْ بَيْعَةِ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام، وَطَرَقَ عَلَى الْحِجَاجِ بِأَنَّهُ لَيْلًا لِيُبَايِعَ لِعَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ؛ كَيْ لَا يَبِيتَ تِلْكَ اللَّيْلَةَ بِإِمَامٍ، رَعَمَ، لِأَنَّهُ رَوَى عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله أَنَّهُ قَالَ: «مَنْ مَاتَ وَلَا إِمَامَ لَهُ مَاتَ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً»، وَحَتَّى بَلَغَ مِنْ احْتِقَارِ الْحِجَاجِ لَهُ وَاسْتِزْذَالِهِ حَالَهُ أَنْ أَخْرَجَ رَجُلُهُ مِنَ الْفِرَاشِ، فَقَالَ: إَصْفِقْ بِيَدِكَ عَلَيْهَا.^٢

55. الطبقات الكبرى عن نافع: قِيلَ لِابْنِ عُمَرَ - رَمَزَ ابْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ وَالْحَوَارِجِ وَالْحُسَيْنِيَّةِ -: أَتُصَلِّي مَعَ هَؤُلَاءِ وَمَعَ هَؤُلَاءِ وَبَعْضُهُمْ يَقْتُلُ بَعْضًا؟ قَالَ: فَقَالَ: مَنْ قَالَ: «حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ» أَجَبْتُهُ، وَمَنْ قَالَ: «حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ» أَجَبْتُهُ، وَمَنْ قَالَ: «حَيَّ عَلَى قَتْلِ أَخِيكَ الْمُسْلِمِ وَأَخَذِ مَالِهِ»، قُلْتُ: لَا.^٣

56. الطبقات الكبرى عن سيف المازني: كَانَ ابْنُ عُمَرَ يَقُولُ: لَا أَقَاتِلُ فِي الْفِتْنَةِ، وَأُصَلِّي وَرَاءَ مَنْ غَلَبَ.^٤

57. المستدرك على الصحيحين عن عبد الله بن عمر: مَا آسَى عَلَى شَيْءٍ، إِلَّا أَنِّي لَمْ أَقَاتِلْ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) الْفِتْنَةُ الْبَاغِيَّةَ.^٥

١. صحيح البخاري: ج 6 ص 2634 ح 6779 و ج 6777 و ص 2654 ح 6844، الموطأ: ج 2 ص 983 ح 3، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 183، السنن الكبرى: ج 8 ص 254 ح 16565 و 16564 كلُّها نحوه وراجع: العقد الفريد: ج 3 ص 381.

٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 13 ص 242، الفصول المختارة: ص 245 وفيه «فقال له الحجاج: بالأمس تناخروا عن بيعته علي بن أبي طالب مع روايتك هذا الحديث ثم تأتيني الآن لأبايعك لعبد الملك، أنا يدي فمشغولة عنك، ولكن هذه رجلي قبايعها».

٣. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 169، حلبة الأولياء: ج 1 ص 309، تاريخ دمشق: ج 31 ص 191، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 3 ص 228 الرقم 45، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 5 ص 465 ح 199 والثلاثة الأخيرة نحوه.

٤. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 149.

٥. المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3 ص 643 ح 6360، أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 404، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 83 ح 1630، أسد الغابة: ج 4 ص 109 ح 3789، على الشرائع: ص 222 نحوه.

"To the servant of God 'Abd al-Malik, the commander of the faithful, I truly confess my obedience and heedfulness to the servant of God 'Abd al-Malik, the commander of the faithful, according to the teachings of God and the traditions of His Messenger as much as I am capable, and my children have also confessed to that."¹

54. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*: "He ['Abdullah ibn 'Umar] refused to swear allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.), but knocked the door of Ḥajjāj's house at night to swear allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik in order that he would not sleep that night without having a leader, as he heard that it had been narrated that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had said: "He who dies not having a leader dies the death of the age of ignorance.", and the humiliation of Ḥajjāj to him was so extreme that he stretched his foot out of his bed and said: "Lay your hand on this [for allegiance]."²
55. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* –narrating from Nāfi': "During the time of Ibn Zubair, the Khawārij and the Khashabiya,³ Ibn 'Umar was told: "You perform your prayers with these people and those people and they are killing each other?" Ibn 'Umar answered: "Whoever says 'make haste to the prayer' (*ḥayya 'alā' al-ṣalāh*) and whoever says 'make haste to righteousness' (*ḥayya 'alā' al-falāḥ*), I will answer to him, and whoever says 'make haste to the killing of your Muslim brother and seizing of his wealth', I will say 'no'. "⁴
56. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* –narrating from Sayf al-Māzinī: "Ibn 'Umar used to say: "I will not fight during the time of sedition (*fitnah*), but I will pray behind whoever is victorious."⁵
57. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥain* –narrating from 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar: "I do not regret anything except that I did not fight along with 'Ali (a.s.) against the rebel group."⁶

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2634, ḥ. 6779 & 6777 & p. 2654, ḥ. 6844, *al-Muwattaʿ*, vol. 2, p. 983, ḥ. 3.

2. In *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtāra*, this tradition is mentioned as follows: Ḥajjāj told him, "Yesterday you refused to swear allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.) although you yourself narrated this tradition [of being left without a leader (Imam)] and now you have come to me to accept your allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik? My hand is busy. Here is my foot, so swear your allegiance to it!" (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 13, p. 242. Also cf. *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtāra*, p. 245.

3. A branch of Jahmiya who believed in predestination.

4. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 169, *Ḥilya al-Awliyā*, vol. 1, p. 309, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 31, p. 191.

5. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 149.

6. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 643, ḥ. 6360, *Anṣāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 404.

58. الطبقات الكبرى عن حبيب بن أبي ثابت: بَلَغَنِي عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ فِي مَرَضِهِ الَّذِي مَاتَ فِيهِ قَالَ: مَا أَجِدُنِي آسَى عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِنْ أَمْرِ الدُّنْيَا، إِلَّا أَنِّي لَمْ أَقَاتِلِ الْفِتْنَةَ الْبَاغِيَّةَ.¹

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 4 ص 650 (عبد الله بن عمر).

2-10 / 1

سَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ

أسلم في التاسعة عشرة من عمره،² وشهد حروب النبي ﷺ،³ عدّه أهل السنة في «العشرة المبشرة»⁴. تولى قيادة جيش القادسية في خلافة عمر.⁵ من هنا ذاع صيته في التاريخ الإسلامي. ثم ولي الكوفة.⁶ وبعد ذلك عزله عمر لأن أهلها شكوه إليه.⁷

1. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 4 ص 187، أسد الغابة: ج 3 ص 339 ح 3082 نحوه.

2. المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3 ص 567 ح 6103، تهذيب الكمال: ج 10 ص 311 الرقم 2229، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 144 ح 4، المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص 242، الاستيعاب: ج 2 ص 171 الرقم 968.

3. المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3 ص 569 ح 6111، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 3 ص 142، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 144 ح 4، تهذيب الكمال: ج 10 ص 310 الرقم 2229، تهذيب التهذيب: ج 3 ص 422 الرقم 2352، تاريخ دمشق: ج 20 ص 280، الاستيعاب: ج 2 ص 171 الرقم 968، نسب قريش: ص 263.

4. تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 144 ح 4، تهذيب الكمال: ج 10 ص 310 الرقم 2229، تاريخ دمشق: ج 20 ص 280، المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص 241، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 1 ص 93 الرقم 5، الاستيعاب: ج 2 ص 171 الرقم 968، نسب قريش: ص 263.

5. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 6 ص 12، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 144 ح 4، المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص 241، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 1 ص 115 الرقم 5، الاستيعاب: ج 2 ص 172 الرقم 968، تهذيب التهذيب: ج 2 ص 288 الرقم 2654، نسب قريش: ص 263.

6. الاستيعاب: ج 2 ص 172 الرقم 968، التاريخ الصغير: ج 1 ص 134، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 6 ص 12، تاريخ بغداد: ج 1 ص 144 ح 4، المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص 241، تهذيب التهذيب: ج 2 ص 288 الرقم 2654.

7. المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص 242، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 1 ص 117 الرقم 5، تهذيب التهذيب: ج 2 ص 288 الرقم 2654، الاستيعاب: ج 2 ص 172 الرقم 968.

58. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* –narrating from Ḥabīb ibn Abi Thābit: “I heard that Ibn ‘Umar said [in his illness that led to his death] on his deathbed, “I do not regret over anything in the world except that I did not fight against the rebel group.”¹

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu‘minīn*, ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Umar.

1/10-2

Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ

He embraced Islam at the age of nineteen² and he was present in the battles of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)³ The Sunnis consider him as one of ‘the ten promised to enter paradise’.⁴ He was chosen as the commander of the Qādisiyya army during the caliphate of ‘Umar,⁵ and it was here that he became famous in the history of Islam. He then became the governor of Kūfa,⁶ and when the people of Kūfa complained about him, ‘Umar discharged him.⁷

1. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 187, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 339, ḥ. 3082.

2. *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 567, ḥ. 6103, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 10, p. 311, ḥ. 2229.

3. *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 569, ḥ. 6111, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 142.

4. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 1, p. 144, ḥ. 4, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 10, p. 310, ḥ. 2229. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 20, p. 280.

5. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 12, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 1, p. 144, ḥ. 4, *al-Ma‘ārif* by Ibn Qutayba, p. 241.

6. *al-Istī‘āb*, vol. 2, p. 172, ḥ. 968, *al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, p. 134, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 12.

7. *al-Ma‘ārif* by Ibn Qutayba, p. 242, *Siyar al-Nubalā*, vol. 1, p. 117, ḥ. 5, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 288, ḥ. 2654.

وكان سعد أحد أعضاء الشورى السداسية^١، ثم اعتزل لصالح عبد الرحمن ابن عوف^٢، وولي الكوفة مرة أخرى في عهد عثمان^٣ وظلّ والياً عليها برهة، ثم عزله عثمان وعين الوليد بن عقبة مكانه^٤.

لم يبايع الإمام أمير المؤمنين ﷺ بالخلافة أول الأمر^٥، واعتزل جانباً، ولم يشهد حروبه، ولم ينصره^٦.

وحين ملك معاوية أننى سعد على الإمام عليّ ﷺ أمامه، وعدّ شيئاً من مناقبه وفضائله^٧، فكبر ذلك على معاوية، وشتمه، وقال له: إذا كنت تقرّ بهذا كله، فلم لم تنصره^٨؟ فاعترف سعد بتقصيره في حق الإمام عليّ ﷺ، وببيعته ومرافقته له^٩. مات سعد سنة (55 هـ).^{١٠} وابنه عمر بن سعد هو الذي قاد الجيش الأمويّ لحرب الحسين ﷺ في كربلاء^{١١}.

١. تاريخ بغداد: ج ١ ص ١٤٤ ح ٤، حلية الأولياء: ج ١ ص ٩٤، المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص ٢٤١، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج ١ ص ٩٣ الرقم ٥، الاستيعاب: ج ٢ ص ١٧١ الرقم ٩٦٨، تهذيب التهذيب: ج ٢ ص ٢٨٨ الرقم ٢٦٥٤، نسب قریش: ص ٢٦٣.
٢. صحيح البخاري: ج ٣ ص ١٣٥٦ ح ٣٤٩٧.
٣. التاريخ الصغير: ج ١ ص ١٣٤، الطبقات الكبرى: ج ٦ ص ١٢، المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص ٢٤٢، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج ١ ص ١١٨ الرقم ٥، الاستيعاب: ج ٢ ص ١٧٢ الرقم ٩٦٨.
٤. التاريخ الصغير: ج ١ ص ١٣٤، الطبقات الكبرى: ج ٦ ص ١٢، المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص ٢٤٢، الاستيعاب: ج ٢ ص ١٧٢ الرقم ٩٦٨.
٥. أنساب الأشراف: ج ٣ ص ٩، تاريخ الطبري: ج ٤ ص ٤٣١، الكامل في التاريخ: ج ٢ ص ٣٠٣، تاريخ دمشق: ج ٤٢ ص ٤٣٧، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج ٤ ص ٩.
٦. سير أعلام النبلاء: ج ١ ص ١٢٢ الرقم ٥.
٧. المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج ٣ ص ١١٧ ح ٤٥٧٥، مروج الذهب: ج ٣ ص ٢٣.
٨. مروج الذهب: ج ٣ ص ٢٤.
٩. المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج ٣ ص ١٢٦ ح ٤٦٠١، المناقب للكويتي: ج ٢ ص ٤٠١ ح ٨٧٨.
١٠. التاريخ الصغير: ج ١ ص ١٢٦، الطبقات الكبرى: ج ٣ ص ١٤٩، المعجم الكبير: ج ١ ص ١٣٩ ح ٣٠١، تاريخ بغداد: ج ١ ص ١٤٦ ح ٤، المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص ٢٤٢، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج ١ ص ١٢٣ الرقم ٥.
١١. المعارف لابن قتيبة: ص ٢٤٣.

Sa'd was a member of the six member council (to elect the Caliph)¹ who then left it in favor of 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn 'Awf.² In the caliphate of 'Uthmān, he once again took office as the governor of Kūfa for a while.³ After some time, 'Uthmān dismissed him and designated Walīd ibn 'Uqaba in his place.⁴

After the caliphate of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), Sa'd in the beginning did not swear allegiance to the Imām⁵ and he secluded himself from the battles led by 'Ali (a.s.) and did not support him.⁶

He admired Imām 'Ali (a.s.) and enumerated his excellence during the reign of Mu'āwiya and in his presence.⁷ It was too heavy for Mu'āwiya, so he insulted him and said to him: "If you admit to all this, why didn't you help him?"⁸ [Later on] He admitted to his own failure in observing the rights of Imām 'Ali (a.s.), swearing allegiance to him, and accompanying him.⁹

Sa'd died in 55 AH/ 674 CE.¹⁰ His son, 'Umar ibn Sa'd was the commander of the 'Umayyad army that fought against Ḥusain (a.s.) in Karbalā.¹¹

1. *Tārikh Baghdād*, vol. 1, p. 144, ḥ. 4, *Ḥiliya al-Awliya*, vol. 1, p. 94, *al-Ma'arif* by Ibn Qutayba, p. 241.

2. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3, p. 1356, ḥ. 3497.

3. *al-Tārikh al-Ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, p. 134, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 12, *al-Ma'arif* by Ibn Qutayba, p. 242.

4. *al-Tārikh al-Ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, p. 134, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 12, *al-Ma'arif* by Ibn Qutayba, p. 242.

5. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 3, p. 9, *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 431, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 303.

6. *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 1, p. 122, ḥ. 5.

7. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 117, ḥ. 4575, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 23.

8. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 24.

9. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 126, ḥ. 4601, *Manāqib 'Ali Amīr al-Mu'minin*, vol. 2, p. 401, ḥ. 878.

10. *al-Tārikh al-Ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, p. 126, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 149, *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 1, p. 139, ḥ. 301.

11. *al-Ma'arif*, by Ibn Qutayba, p. 243.

59. المستدرك على الصحيحين عن خيثمة بن عبد الرحمن: سَمِعْتُ سَعْدَ بْنَ مَالِكٍ وَقَالَ لَهُ رَجُلٌ: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا يَقَعُ فِيكَ، إِنَّكَ تَخْلَفْتَ عَنْهُ! فَقَالَ سَعْدٌ: وَاللَّهِ إِنَّهُ لَرَأْيِي رَأْيَتُهُ، وَأَخْطَأَ رَأْيِي، إِنَّ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أُعْطِيَ ثَلَاثًا، لَأَنْ أَكُونَ أُعْطِيتُ إِحْدَاهُنَّ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَمَا فِيهَا.^١

60. مُرُوجُ الذَّهَبِ عَنْ ابْنِ عَائِشَةَ وَغَيْرِهِ - بَعْدَ أَنْ مَدَحَ سَعْدٌ عَلِيًّا ﷺ وَذَكَرَ لَهُ خِصَالًا، وَنَمَى أَنْ تَكُونَ وَاحِدَةً مِنْ هَذِهِ الْخِصَالِ لَهُ -: قَالَ [مُعَاوِيَةُ] لَهُ: أَقْعُدْ حَتَّى تَسْمَعَ جَوَابَ مَا قُلْتَ، مَا كُنْتُ عِنْدِي قَطُّ أَلَأَمَ مِنْكَ الْآنَ، فَهَلَّا نَصَرْتُهُ، وَلِمَ قَعَدْتَ عَنْ بَيْعَتِهِ؟! فَإِنِّي لَوِ سَمِعْتُ مِنَ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ مِثْلَ الَّذِي سَمِعْتَ فِيهِ لَكُنْتُ خَادِمًا لِعَلِيِّ مَا عِشْتُ. فَقَالَ سَعْدٌ: وَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لَأَحَقُّ بِمَوْضِعِكَ مِنْكَ. فَقَالَ مُعَاوِيَةُ: يَا أَبَى عَلِيكَ ذَلِكَ بَنُو عُدْرَةَ، وَكَانَ سَعْدٌ - فِيمَا يُقَالُ - لِرَجُلٍ مِنْ بَنِي عُدْرَةَ.^٢

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب ﷺ: ج 4 ص 633 (سعد بن أبي وقاص).

3-10 / 1

مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مَسْلَمَةَ

من أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ، وقد شهد حروبه كلها،^٣ إلا تبوك.^٤ وبعد النبي ﷺ كان مع عمر لما دخلوا بيت فاطمة رضي الله عنها. وهو الذي كسر سيف الزبير.^٥ ويقال: إنه اشترك في قتل سعد بن عباد.^٦

١. المستدرك على الصحيحين: ج 3 ص 126 ح 4601، المناقب للكويتي: ج 2 ص 401 ح 878 عن حبة بن جوين نحوه.

٢. مروج الذهب: ج 3 ص 24.

٣. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 3 ص 443، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 369 الرقم 77، أسد الغابة: ج 5 ص 107 الرقم 4768، الإصابة: ج 6 ص 28 الرقم 7822، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 433 الرقم 2372.

٤. أسد الغابة: ج 5 ص 107 الرقم 4768، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 3 ص 443، الإصابة: ج 6 ص 28 الرقم 7822.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 6 ص 48، السنن الكبرى: ج 8 ص 263 ح 16587، قاموس الرجال: ج 8 ص 388.

٦. الاحتجاج: ج 1 ص 180 ح 36.

59. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* –narrating from Khaythama ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān: "I heard someone say to Sa'd ibn Mālik: "Truly, 'Ali (a.s.) will reprimand you. Why did you shun allegiance to him?" Sa'd replied: "By God, that was what I concluded and [I admit that] I made a mistake. Truly, 'Ali (a.s.) possesses three features that if one of them belonged to me, it was more favorable to me than the whole world and what it contains."¹
60. *Murūj al-Dhahab* –narrating from Ibn 'Ā'isha and others: "After Sa'd praised 'Ali (a.s.), mentioned some of his virtues and wished that he had one of them, Mu'āwiya told him: 'Be seated in order to listen to the reply to what you have said. You have never been more reproachable to me than you are now. Why didn't you help him then? Why did you refuse to swear allegiance to him? For indeed if I had heard from the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) what you have heard about 'Ali (a.s.), I would have been a servant to him as long as I lived."

Sa'd said: "By God, I deserve this position [serving 'Ali (a.s.)] more than you." Then Mu'āwiya went on to say: "The people of the Banī 'Udhra tribe would not accept this from you (Sa'd is said to belong to the Banī 'Udhra tribe)."²

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minin*, -Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.

1/10-3

Muḥammad ibn Maslama

He was one the companions of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) who was present in all his battles³ except in the Battle of Tabūk.⁴ After [the death of] the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), he accompanied 'Umar when they entered the house of Fātima (a.s.) and he is the one who is said to have broken Zubair's sword⁵ and was an accomplice in the killing of Sa'd ibn 'Ubāda.⁶

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1. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 126, ḥ. 4601, *Manāqib Amīr al-Mu'minin*, vol. 2, p. 401, ḥ. 878.
2. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 24.
3. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 443, *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 369, ḥ. 77, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 5, p. 107, ḥ. 4768.
4. *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 5, p. 107, ḥ. 4768, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 443, *al-Isāba*, vol. 6, p. 28, ḥ. 7822.
5. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghab*, vol. 6, p. 48, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 263, ḥ. 16587, *Qāmūs al-Rijāl*, vol. 8, p. 388.
6. *al-Ihtijāj*, vol. 1, p. 180, ḥ. 36.

وكان صاحب العمّال أيام عمر. كان عمر إذا شكّي إليه عاملٌ أرسل محمّداً
يكشف الحال.^١

وبعد قتل عثمان أبى عن بيعته الإمام عليّ عليه السلام وسماه «فتنة»، واعتزل، واتخذ سيفاً
من خشب.^٢

قُتل بيد رجل من أهل الأردن، لعوده عن الإمام عليّ عليه السلام ومعاوية.^٣

4-10 / 1

أسامة بن زيد

مولى رسول الله ﷺ، وأمه أم أيمن حاضنة رسول الله ﷺ. استعمله النبي ﷺ في
آخر أيام حياته وهو ابن ثمانٍ عشرة سنة، وفي جيشه أبو بكر وعمر وأبو عبيدة.
وكان مكرماً معزّزاً في زمن الخلفاء، ففرض عمر بن الخطّاب له خمسة آلاف، في
الوقت الذي فرض لابنه عبد الله بن عمر ألفين.^٤
لكنّه لم يبايع الإمام عليّاً عليه السلام، واعتذر عن ذلك بمعاذير.^٥ وقد ورد في بعض
النصوص أنّ الإمام عليه السلام قبل عذره.^٦

وقد ورد عن الإمام الباقر عليه السلام أنّه قال: قَدْ رَجَعَ؛ فَلَا تَقُولُوا إِلَّا خَيْراً.^٧

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١. أسد الغابة: ج 5 ص 107 الرقم 4768، الإصابة: ج 6 ص 29 الرقم 7822.
 ٢. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 3 ص 445، سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 369 الرقم 77، أسد الغابة: ج 5 ص 107 الرقم 4768، الإصابة: ج 6 ص 29 الرقم 7822، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 434 الرقم 2372.
 ٣. سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 373 الرقم 77، الإصابة: ج 6 ص 29 الرقم 7822.
 ٤. رجال الطوسي: ص 21 الرقم 1؛ سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 497 الرقم 104، أسد الغابة: ج 1 ص 195 الرقم 84.
 ٥. سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 498 الرقم 104، أسد الغابة: ج 1 ص 195 الرقم 84.
 ٦. سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 500 الرقم 104، أسد الغابة: ج 1 ص 195 الرقم 84، الطبقات الكبرى: ج 2 ص 190.
 ٧. أسد الغابة: ج 1 ص 195 و 196 الرقم 84.
 ٨. أسد الغابة: ج 1 ص 196 الرقم 84.
 ٩. رجال الكشي: ج 1 ص 197 الرقم 82.
 ١٠. رجال الكشي: ج 1 ص 195 ح 81.

He was in charge of inspecting state administrators during the government of 'Umar and whenever a complaint was brought against one of the administrators, 'Umar would dispatch him to investigate.¹

After the assassination of 'Uthmān, [Muḥammad] refused to swear allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.) and called it a 'sedition'. Therefore he secluded himself and took up a wooden sword [remained indifferent].²

He was killed by a man from Jordan due to his disobedience to 'Ali (a.s.) and Mu'āwiya.³

1/10-4

Usāma ibn Zaid

Usāma⁴ was a *mawla* of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.),⁵ and his mother, Umm Ayman, was one of the Prophet's nursemaids.⁶

In the last days of his life, the Holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) appointed him as the commander of the army⁷ while he was only eighteen years of age and there were people like Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda in his army.

He was highly respected and honored during the time of the caliphs. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb allocated a salary of five thousand dinārs for him, while his own son would receive only two thousand dinārs.⁸

He refused to swear allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.) and gave excuses,⁹ and in some historical sources it is mentioned that Imām 'Ali (a.s.) accepted his excuses.¹⁰

It is mentioned that Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) has said: "He had repented, so do not speak but well about him."¹¹

1. *Usd al-Ghāba*: 5/107/4768, *al-Iṣāba*: 6/29/7822.

2. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 445, *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 369, ḥ. 77, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 5, p. 107, ḥ. 4768.

3. *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 373, ḥ. 77, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 6, p. 29, ḥ. 7822.

4. He was the son of Zaid, who was freed by the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

5. *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, p. 21, ḥ. 1, *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 497, ḥ. 104 *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 195, ḥ. 84.

6. *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 498, ḥ. 104, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 195, ḥ. 84.

7. *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 500, ḥ. 104, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 195-196, ḥ. 84, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 190.

8. *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 195 & 196, ḥ. 84.

9. *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 196, ḥ. 84.

10. *Rijāl al-Kaṣhī*, vol. 1, p. 197, ḥ. 82.

11. *Ibid*, p. 195, ḥ. 81.

مات أسامة، وكفنه الإمام الحسن^{عليه السلام} في بُرد أحمر حبرة.^١

5-10 / 1

حَسَّانُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ

صاحب الرسول الأعظم^{عليه السلام}، وشاعره^٢ الذي قال له: «لَا تَزَالُ يَا حَسَّانُ مُؤَيَّدًا بِرُوحِ الْقُدُسِ مَا نَصَرْتَنَا بِلِسَانِكَ»^٣. ومن شعراء الأنصار الذين هجوا مشركي قريش، وهو الذي نظم حديث الغدير.^٤

وكان من أجبن الناس، فلم يشهد حرباً من حروب النبي^{عليه السلام}.^٥

وكان عثمانياً، منحرفاً عن الإمام علي^{عليه السلام}.^٦

لم يشهد بيعة الإمام^{عليه السلام} ولا حرباً من حروبه، ولم يقل شعراً في مدحه بعد خلافته.

عاش ستين في الجاهلية، وستين في الإسلام.^٧

61. المستدرك على الصحيحين عن عُرْوَةَ عن صفية بنت عبد المطلب: أَنَا أَوَّلُ امْرَأَةٍ

قَتَلْتُ رَجُلًا؛ كُنْتُ فِي فَارَعٍ^٨ حِصْنِ حَسَّانِ بْنِ ثَابِتٍ وَكَانَ حَسَّانٌ مَعَنَا فِي النِّسَاءِ

١. الكافي: ج 3 ص 149 ح 9، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 1 ص 296 ح 868، رجال الكشي: ج 1 ص 193 ح 80.

وعل هذا ما جاء في أسد الغابة (ج 1 ص 196 الرقم 84) من أن أسامة مات في سنة 54 أو 58 أو 59 ليس بصحيح لأن الإمام الحسن^{عليه السلام} استشهد في سنة 50 بعد الهجرة.

٢. سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 512 الرقم 106.

٣ و 4. الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 177، خصائص الأئمة: ص 42، إعلام الوري: ج 1 ص 262 و 263.

٥. سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 513 - 521 الرقم 106، أسد الغابة: ج 2 ص 6 - 9 الرقم 1153.

٦. مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 356، أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 164، الفهارس: ج 1 ص 221.

٧. سير أعلام النبلاء: ج 2 ص 512 الرقم 106، أسد الغابة: ج 2 ص 9 الرقم 1153.

٨. فارع: هو حصن بالمدينة (معجم البلدان: ج 4 ص 228).

When Usāma died, Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) shrouded him in red cloth from Yemen.¹

1/10-5

Ḥassān ibn Thābit

Ḥassān was a companion of the great Messenger (ṣ.a.w.) and his poet² about whom the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said : "O Ḥassān! You will continue to be assisted by the Holy Spirit as long as you give assistance to us by your tongue." He was a poet from among the *Anṣār*s who used to satire the polytheists of Quraysh. He was also the one who versified the event of Ghadīr al-Khumm in a poem.³

Ḥassān was a very coward, so he did not attend any of the battles of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).⁴ He was a follower of 'Uthmān and deviated away from Imām 'Ali (a.s.).⁵ He did not participate in the pledge of allegiance to 'Ali (a.s.) nor did he participate in any of the Imām's battles, and he did not write any poems in honor of Imām 'Ali (a.s.) after his caliphate.

Ḥassān lived for sixty years in the pre-Islamic era (*al-jāhiliya*) and sixty years after the advent of Islam.⁶

61. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* –narrating from 'Urwa on the authority of Ṣafiya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib: "I was the first woman to kill a man. I was in the shelter of Ḥassān ibn Thābit

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 3, p. 149, ḥ. 9, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 1, p. 296, ḥ. 868, *Rijāl al-Kasbi*, vol. 1, p. 193, ḥ. 80.

2. *Siyar A'ālām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 512, ḥ. 106.

3. *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 177, *Khaṣā'is al-A'imma*, p. 42, *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 262 & 263.

4. *Siyar A'ālām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 513-521, ḥ. 106, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 6-9, ḥ. 1153.

5. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 356, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 3, p. 164, *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 221.

6. *Siyar A'ālām al-Nubalā*, vol. 2, p. 512, ḥ. 106, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 9, ḥ. 1153.

وَالصَّبِيَّانِ حِينَ خَنَدَقَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ، قَالَتْ صَفِيَّةٌ: فَمَرَّ بِنَا رَجُلٌ مِنْ يَهُودَ، فَجَعَلَ يَطِيفُ بِالْحِصْنِ، فَقُلْتُ لِحَسَّانٍ: إِنَّ هَذَا الْيَهُودِيَّ بِالْحِصْنِ كَمَا تَرَى وَلَا آمِنُهُ أَنْ يَدُلَّ عَلَى عَوْرَاتِنَا، وَقَدْ شُغِلَ عَنَّا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ وَأَصْحَابُهُ فَقُمِ إِلَيْهِ فَاقْتُلْهُ. فَقَالَ: يَغْفِرُ اللَّهُ لَكَ يَا بِنْتَ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ، وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ عَرَفْتِ مَا أَنَا بِصَاحِبِ هَذَا! قَالَتْ صَفِيَّةٌ: فَلَمَّا قَالَ ذَلِكَ وَلَمْ أَرْ عِنْدَهُ شَيْئاً إِحْتَجَزْتُ، وَأَخَذْتُ عَمُوداً مِنَ الْحِصْنِ، ثُمَّ نَزَلْتُ مِنَ الْحِصْنِ إِلَيْهِ فَضَرَبْتُهُ بِالْعَمُودِ حَتَّى قَتَلْتُهُ، ثُمَّ رَجَعْتُ إِلَى الْحِصْنِ، فَقُلْتُ: يَا حَسَّانُ انْزِلْ فَاسْتَلْبِ، فَإِنَّهُ لَمْ يَمْنَعْنِي أَنْ أَسْلُبَهُ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ رَجُلٌ! فَقَالَ: مَا لِي بِسَلْبِهِ مِنْ حَاجَةٍ.^١

١. المشترك على الصحابين: ج 4 ص 56 ح 6867، السنن الكبرى: ج 6 ص 502 ح 12772، المعجم الكبير: ج 24 ص 322 ح 809، المعجم الأوسط: ج 4 ص 116 ح 3754، السيرة النبوية لابن هشام: ج 3 ص 239، كنز العمال: ج 13 ص 632 ح 37600 نقلا عن ابن عساکر وكلها نحوه.

and he stayed with the children and women while the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was digging the ditch."

Ṣafiya said: "A Jewish man passed nearby and wandered around our fort. I said to Ḥassān: "This Jewish man is approaching the shelter as you see and our women are not safe while the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and his companions are unaware of us. Go and kill him."

Ḥassān said: "May God bless you, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib! By God, you know I am not a man for this."

Ṣafiya said: "When Ḥassān said so and I found that he was not going to do anything, I prepared myself then picked up a pole from the shelter and went down to that person and beat him with the pole until I killed him. I then returned to the shelter and said: "O Ḥassān! Get out and take his clothes off. I would have done it myself had I not been a woman."

Ḥassān said: "I have no need to ransack him."¹

1. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 4, p. 56, ḥ. 6867, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 502, ḥ. 12772.

الفصل الثاني

الإصلاحات العلوية

1 / 2

صَوْنُ الْعَدَالَةِ صَدَاها

62. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد عن أبي جعفر الإسكافي: صَعِدَ [عَلِيٌّ] [الْمِنْبَرَ فِي الْيَوْمِ الثَّانِي مِنْ يَوْمِ الْبَيْعَةِ وَهُوَ يَوْمُ السَّبْتِ لِإِحْدَى عَشْرَةِ لَيْلَةٍ بَقِيْنَ مِنْ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ، فَحَمِدَ اللَّهُ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ، وَذَكَرَ مُحَمَّدًا فَصَّلَى عَلَيْهِ، ثُمَّ ذَكَرَ نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَى أَهْلِ الْإِسْلَامِ، ثُمَّ ذَكَرَ الدُّنْيَا فَزَهَّدَهُمْ فِيهَا، وَذَكَرَ الْآخِرَةَ فَرَغَّبَهُمْ إِلَيْهَا، ثُمَّ قَالَ:

أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّهُ لَمَّا قُبِضَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ اسْتَخْلَفَ النَّاسُ أَبَا بَكْرٍ، ثُمَّ اسْتَخْلَفَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ عُمَرَ فَعَمِلَ بِطَرِيقِهِ، ثُمَّ جَعَلَهَا شُورَى بَيْنَ سِتَّةٍ، فَأَفْضَى الْأَمْرَ مِنْهُمْ إِلَى عُثْمَانَ، فَعَمِلَ مَا أَنْكَرْتُمْ وَعَرَفْتُمْ، ثُمَّ حُصِرَ وَقُتِلَ، ثُمَّ جِئْتُمُونِي طَائِعِينَ فَطَلَبْتُمْ إِلَيَّ، وَإِنَّمَا أَنَا رَجُلٌ مِنْكُمْ، لِي مَا لَكُمْ وَعَلَيَّ مَا عَلَيْكُمْ، وَقَدْ فَتَحَ اللَّهُ الْبَابَ بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَ أَهْلِ الْقِبْلَةِ، وَأَقْبَلَتِ الْفِتْنُ كَقَطْعِ اللَّيْلِ الْمُظْلِمِ، وَلَا يَحْمِلُ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ إِلَّا أَهْلُ الصَّبْرِ وَالْبَصْرِ وَالْعِلْمِ بِمَوَاقِعِ الْأَمْرِ، وَإِنِّي حَامِلُكُمْ عَلَى مَنَهِجِ نَبِيِّكُمْ ﷺ وَتُنْفِذُ فِيكُمْ مَا أَمَرْتُ بِهِ، إِنْ اسْتَقَمْتُمْ لِي وَبِاللَّهِ الْمُسْتَعَانُ. أَلَا إِنَّ مَوْضِعِي مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ بَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ كَمَوْضِعِي مِنْهُ أَيَّامَ حَيَاتِهِ، فَاْمَضُوا لِمَا تُؤْمَرُونَ بِهِ وَاقْفُوا عِنْدَ مَا تُنْهَوْنَ عَنْهُ، وَلَا تَعْجَلُوا فِي أَمْرِ حَتَّى تُبَيِّنَهُ لَكُمْ، فَإِنْ لَنَا عَنْ كُلِّ أَمْرٍ تُنْكِرُونَهُ عُذْرًا.

Chapter Two

The Reforms of Imām 'Ali (a.s.)

2/1

The Voice of Justice and Its Reverberation

62. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* –narrating from Abū Ja'far al-Iskāfi: "On the second day of his allegiance, which was Monday 19th of Dhil Hajj, he [Imām 'Ali (a.s.)] ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified God Almighty and mentioned Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) and sent blessings to him. He then enumerated the bounties of God Almighty over the Muslims and mentioned this world and called people to be ascetic [adopt a life of asceticism], and he mentioned the Hereafter and encouraged people towards it. He then said:

"Verily when the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) passed away, people elected Abū Bakr as their caliph; and then Abū Bakr appointed 'Umar as the caliph [after himself], he followed the way of Abū Bakr. Then he consigned the caliphate to the six person council which led to the election of 'Uthmān. He committed things that you disapproved of and you knew so. Then he was besieged and murdered. After that you came to me willingly and asked me to accept your leadership. I am one of you whose benefit and loss are the same as yours; and God has opened up the door between you and the people of the *Qibla* [the Muslims]. Evils have assailed like the pieces of a dark night; and the weight of the government cannot be borne except by a man of forbearance, insight and aware of the affairs of this matter. If you stay straight by my side, I will carry you on the path of your Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and will implement among you what I am assigned to provided you remain steadfast, and God is the Helper.

Let it be known that my position in relation to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) after his death is the same as my position during his lifetime. So be committed to what you are commanded to and stop what you are forbidden to do. Do not make haste in anything until I clarify it for you, for we have reasons to present for whatever you do not like.

ألا وإن الله عالمٌ من فوق سَمَائِهِ وَعَرْشِهِ آتِي كُنْتُ كَارِهاً لِلْوِلَايَةِ عَلَى أُمَّةٍ مُحَمَّدٍ حَتَّى اجْتَمَعَ رَأْيُكُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ؛ لِأَنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: «أَيُّهَا الْوَالِي وَلِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْ بَعْدِي أَقِيمَ عَلَى حَدِّ الصُّرَاطِ، وَتَشَرَّتِ الْمَلَائِكَةُ صَحِيفَتَهُ؛ فَإِنْ كَانَ عَادِلًا أَنْجَاهُ اللَّهُ بِعَدْلِهِ، وَإِنْ كَانَ جَائِرًا انْتَقَصَ بِهِ الصُّرَاطُ حَتَّى تَنْزِيلَ مَفَاصِلُهُ، ثُمَّ يَهْوِي إِلَى النَّارِ؛ فَيَكُونُ أَوَّلَ مَا يَنْقُيْهَا بِهِ أَنْفُهُ وَحَرٌّ وَجْهِهِ» وَلِكِنِّي لَمَّا اجْتَمَعَ رَأْيُكُمْ لَمْ يَسْعَنِي تَرْكُكُمْ.

ثُمَّ التَفَتَ ۖ يَمِينًا وَشِمَالًا فَقَالَ:

ألا لا يَقُولَنَّ رِجَالٌ مِنْكُمْ غَدًا قَدْ غَمَرَتْهُمْ الدُّنْيَا فَاتَّخَذُوا الْعِقَارَ، وَفَجَرُوا الْأَنْهَارَ، وَرَكَّبُوا الْحَبُولَ الْفَارِهَةَ، وَاتَّخَذُوا الْوَصَائِفَ الرَّوْقَةَ فَصَارَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ عَارًا وَسُنَّارًا، إِذَا مَا مَنَعَتْهُمْ مَا كَانُوا يَخْوَضُونَ فِيهِ وَأَصْرَتْهُمْ إِلَى حُقُوقِهِمْ الَّتِي يَعْلَمُونَ، فَيَقِيمُونَ ذَلِكَ وَيَسْتَنْكِرُونَ وَيَقُولُونَ: حَرَمَنَا ابْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ حُقُوقَنَا.

ألا وأَيُّهَا رَجُلٌ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَرَى أَنَّ الْفَضْلَ لَهُ عَلَى مَنْ سِوَاهُ لِصُحْبَتِهِ، فَإِنَّ الْفَضْلَ النَّبِيُّ غَدًا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ، وَثَوَابُهُ وَأَجْرُهُ عَلَى اللَّهِ، وَأَيُّهَا رَجُلٌ اسْتَجَابَ لِلرَّسُولِ فَصَدَّقَ مِلَّتَنَا وَدَخَلَ فِي دِينِنَا وَاسْتَقْبَلَ قِبَلَتَنَا، فَقَدْ اسْتَوْجَبَ حُقُوقَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَخُدُودَهُ، فَأَنْتُمْ عِبَادُ اللَّهِ، وَالْمَالُ مَالُ اللَّهِ يُقَسَّمُ بَيْنَكُمْ بِالسُّوِّيَّةِ، لَا فَضْلَ فِيهِ لِأَحَدٍ عَلَى أَحَدٍ، وَلِلْمُتَّقِينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ غَدًا أَحْسَنُ الْجَزَاءِ وَأَفْضَلُ الثَّوَابِ، لَمْ يَجْعَلِ اللَّهُ الدُّنْيَا لِلْمُتَّقِينَ أَجْرًا وَلَا ثَوَابًا وَمَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ خَيْرٌ لِلْأَبْرَارِ.

وَإِذَا كَانَ غَدًا إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ فَاعْدُوا عَلَيْنَا فَإِنَّ عِنْدَنَا مَا لَا نَقْسِمُهُ فِيكُمْ، وَلَا يَتَخَلَّفَنَّ أَحَدٌ مِنْكُمْ عَرَبِيٌّ وَلَا عَجَمِيٌّ، كَانَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْعَطَاءِ أَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ إِلَّا حَضَرَ إِذَا كَانَ مُسْلِمًا حُرًّا. أَقُولُ قَوْلِي هَذَا وَأَسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ لِي وَلَكُمْ. ثُمَّ نَزَلَ.

God from above His heavens and Throne knows that I was reluctant to rule over the nation of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) until you all agreed unanimously upon it, because I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say: "Any ruler who rules the government after me will be stopped at the edge of the Path (*ṣirāṭ*) and the angels will open his book of deeds. If he is a just ruler, God will save him for his justice, and if he was a tyrant the Path will shake him so violently that his joints will break apart and he will fall down to Hellfire. The first thing that will hit the fire will be his nose and then the scorching of his face." But now that you have agreed upon my rule, I cannot leave you."

Then he turned his face to his right and left and said:

"Be aware, tomorrow, when your men are enticed by the world, acquire gardens, make rivers gush out, ride on light-footed horses, and take their own fair looking maids, if I prevent them from what they are involved in and make them observe their rights that they know well, no men of yours should disapprove, criticize, take it as shame and disgrace upon himself and say: "The son of Abū Ṭālib has deprived us of our rights".

Anyone of the *Mubājirīn* and the *Anṣār* among the companions of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) who thinks that he has merit and virtue more than anyone else because of his companionship must know that the real virtue tomorrow is with God and his reward will be by God. Anyone who responds to the call of God and His Messenger, confirms our doctrine, enters our religion and faces towards our *qibla* will enjoy the rights of Islam and its laws.

You are the servants of Allah, and wealth belongs to God, and it will be equally divided among you. Nobody has superiority in it over others, and God will reward the virtuous tomorrow with the best of rewards and greatest of blessings. God has not put the world as rewards for the pious, and what is with God is best for the good doers.

By the will of God, when tomorrow comes, you must come to us so that we can divide among you the wealth that is with us, and no Muslim should fail in showing up, Arab or non-Arab, rich or poor. This was what I had to say. I ask God's forgiveness for myself and you."

He then descended the pulpit.

قَالَ شَيْخُنَا أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ: وَكَانَ هَذَا أَوَّلَ مَا أَنْكَرُوهُ مِنْ كَلَامِهِ عليه السلام، وَأَوْرَثَهُمُ الضُّغْنَ عَلَيْهِ، وَكَرِهُوا إِعْطَاءَهُ وَقَسَمَهُ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ. فَلَمَّا كَانَ مِنَ الْعَدِ غَدَا وَغَدَا النَّاسُ لِقَبْضِ الْمَالِ، فَقَالَ لِعُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي رَافِعٍ كَاتِبِهِ: ائِدْ بِالْمُهَاجِرِينَ فَنَادِهِمْ وَأَعْطِ كُلَّ رَجُلٍ مِنْ حَضَرَ ثَلَاثَةَ دَنَانِيرَ، ثُمَّ ثَنِّ بِالْأَنْصَارِ فَافْعَلْ مَعَهُمْ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ، وَمَنْ يَحْضُرُ مِنَ النَّاسِ كُلُّهُمْ الْأَحْمَرِ وَالْأَسْوَدِ فَاصْنَعْ بِهِ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ.

فَقَالَ سَهْلُ بْنُ حُنَيْفٍ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، هَذَا غُلَامِي بِالْأَمْسِ وَقَدْ أَعْتَقْتُهُ الْيَوْمَ، فَقَالَ: تُعْطِيهِ كَمَا تُعْطِيكَ، فَأَعْطَى كُلَّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهَا ثَلَاثَةَ دَنَانِيرَ، وَلَمْ يُفَضِّلْ أَحَدًا عَلَى أَحَدٍ، وَتَخَلَّفَ عَنْ هَذَا الْقَسَمِ يَوْمَئِذٍ طَلْحَةُ وَالزُّبَيْرُ وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ وَسَعِيدُ بْنُ الْعَاصِ وَمُرْوَانُ بْنُ الْحَكَمِ وَرِجَالٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ وَغَيْرِهَا.

قَالَ: وَسَمِعَ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ أَبِي رَافِعٍ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ الزُّبَيْرِ يَقُولُ لِأَبِيهِ وَطَلْحَةَ وَمُرْوَانَ وَسَعِيدَ: مَا خَفِيَ عَلَيْنَا أَمْسٍ مِنْ كَلَامٍ عَلَيَّ مَا يُرِيدُ، فَقَالَ سَعِيدُ بْنُ الْعَاصِ وَالتَّقَتْ إِلَى زَيْدِ بْنِ ثَابِتٍ: إِنَّا كُفِّرْنَا بِأَسْمَعِي يَا جَارَةَ، فَقَالَ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ أَبِي رَافِعٍ لِسَعِيدٍ وَعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَقُولُ فِي كِتَابِهِ: ﴿وَلَكِنْ أَكْثَرُكُمْ لِلْحَقِّ كَرِهُونَ﴾^١.

ثُمَّ إِنَّ عُبَيْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ أَبِي رَافِعٍ أَخْبَرَ عَلِيًّا عليه السلام بِذَلِكَ فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ، إِنْ بَقِيَتْ وَسَلِمَتْ هُمْ لَا قِيَمَتَهُمْ عَلَى الْمَحَجَّةِ الْبَيْضَاءِ وَالطَّرِيقِ الْوَاضِحِ. قَاتَلَ اللَّهُ ابْنَ الْعَاصِ، لَقَدْ عَرَفَ مِنْ كَلَامِي وَنَظَرِي إِلَيْهِ أَمْسٍ أَنِّي أُرِيدُهُ وَأَصْحَابَهُ يَمْنُ هَلْكَ فِيمَنْ هَلَكَ.

قَالَ: فَبَيْنَا النَّاسُ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ بَعْدَ الصُّبْحِ إِذْ طَلَعَ الزُّبَيْرُ وَطَلْحَةُ فَجَلَسَا نَاجِيَةً عَنْ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام، ثُمَّ طَلَعَ مُرْوَانُ وَسَعِيدُ وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ فَجَلَسُوا إِلَيْهَا، ثُمَّ جَاءَ قَوْمٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ فَانْضَمُّوا إِلَيْهِمْ، فَتَحَدَّثُوا نَجِيًّا سَاعَةً، ثُمَّ قَامَ الْوَلِيدُ بْنُ عُقْبَةَ بْنِ أَبِي مُعَيْطٍ

[Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says:] "Our master Abū Ja'far says: "This was the first speech of his (a.s.) that some did not like and they started to hate him and disapproved of distributing the wealth in equal shares.

The next day, 'Ali (a.s.) came and the people gathered to receive their portion. He then said to his secretary 'Ubaydullah ibn Abī Rāfi': "Begin with the *Muhājirīn*. Call them and give three dinārs to each person, then call the *Anṣār* and give them the same amount. After that, call all the present people, Arabs and non-Arabs and give them their portion."

Sahl ibn Ḥunayf said: "O Commander of the Faithful! This man was my servant yesterday and I freed him just today." 'Ali said: "We will give him the same portion as yours." And he gave everyone three dinārs and did not give anyone superiority over another. Ṭalḥa, Zubair, 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar, Sa'd ibn al-'Āṣ, Marwān ibn Ḥakam and some men from Quraysh and other tribes refused [to accept] such division.

Abū Ja'far said: "'Ubaydullah ibn Abī Rāfi' heard 'Abdullah ibn Zubair say to his father, Ṭalḥa, Marwān and Sa'id: "We know what 'Ali meant by his words yesterday." Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ turned toward Zaid ibn Thābit and quoting the proverb: "It is you I am speaking to, but listen O neighbor!"¹ Then 'Ubaydullah ibn Abī Rāfi' said to Sa'id and 'Abdullah ibn Zubair: "God said in His Book: *"But most of you were averse to the truth."*²

Then 'Ubaydullah ibn Abī Rāfi' reported the event to 'Ali (a.s.). He said: "By God, if I remain safe and sound I will take them to the bright path. May God kill ibn al-'Āṣ! He found out from the words I said yesterday that I meant him and his companions—the ones who are among the perished."

He [Abū Ja'far] said: "While people gathered in the mosque after dawn, Ṭalḥa and Zubair entered and sat in a corner away from 'Ali (a.s.). Then Marwān, Sa'id and Ibn Zubair arrived and sat next to the two. Later on, a group of Quraysh joined them, and they whispered together for a while.

1. i.e., he was indirectly addressing us.

2. Qur'ān, 43:78.

فَجَاءَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ ع فَقَالَ: يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ، إِنَّكَ قَدْ وَثَرْتَنَا^١ جَمِيعاً، أَمَا أَنَا فَقَتَلْتَ أَبِي يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ صَبْرًا، وَخَذَلْتَ أَخِي يَوْمَ الدَّارِ بِالْأَمْسِ، وَأَمَا سَعِيدٌ فَقَتَلْتَ أَبَاهُ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ فِي الْحَرْبِ وَكَانَ ثَوْرَ قُرَيْشٍ، وَأَمَا مَرْوَانُ فَسَخَّفْتَ أَبَاهُ عِنْدَ عُثْمَانَ إِذْ ضَمَّهُ إِلَيْهِ، وَنَحْنُ إِخْوَتُكَ وَنُظَرَاؤُكَ مِنْ بَنِي عَبْدِ مَنَافٍ، وَنَحْنُ نُبَايِعُكَ الْيَوْمَ عَلَى أَنْ تَضَعَ عَنَّا مَا أَصَبْنَا مِنْ الْمَالِ فِي أَيَّامِ عُثْمَانَ، وَأَنْ تَقْتُلَ قَتْلَتَهُ، وَإِنَّا إِنْ خِفْنَاكَ تَرَكْنَاكَ فَالْتَحَقْنَا بِالشَّامِ.

فَقَالَ: أَمَا مَا ذَكَّرْتُمْ مِنْ وَثَرِي إِيَّاكُمْ فَالْحَقُّ وَتَرَكْتُمْ، وَأَمَا وَضَعِي عَنْكُمْ مَا أَصَبْتُمْ فَلَيْسَ لِي أَنْ أَضَعَ حَقَّ اللَّهِ عَنْكُمْ وَلَا عَنْ غَيْرِكُمْ، وَأَمَا قَتَلِي قَتْلَةَ عُثْمَانَ فَلَوْ لَزِمَنِي قَتْلُهُمْ الْيَوْمَ لَقَتَلْتُهُمْ أَمْسٍ، وَلَكِنْ لَكُمْ عَلَيٌّ إِنْ خِفْتُمُونِي أَنْ أُؤْمِنُكُمْ وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ أَنْ أُسِيرَكُمْ.

فَقَامَ الْوَلِيدُ إِلَى أَصْحَابِهِ فَحَدَّثَهُمْ، وَافْتَرَقُوا عَلَى إظهارِ الْعَدَاوَةِ وَإِسَاعَةِ الْخِلَافِ. فَلَمَّا ظَهَرَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ، قَالَ عَمَّارُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ لِأَصْحَابِهِ: قَوْمُوا بِنَا إِلَى هَؤُلَاءِ النَّفَرِ مِنْ إِخْوَانِكُمْ فَإِنَّهُ قَدْ بَلَغَنَا عَنْهُمْ وَرَأَيْنَا مِنْهُمْ مَا نَكْرَهُ مِنَ الْخِلَافِ وَالطَّعْنِ عَلَى إِمَامِهِمْ، وَقَدْ دَخَلَ أَهْلُ الْجَفَاءِ بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَ الزُّبَيْرِ وَالْأَعْرَبِ الْعَاقُ - يَعْنِي طَلْحَةَ -.

فَقَامَ أَبُو الْهَيْثَمِ وَعَمَّارٌ وَأَبُو أَيُّوبَ وَسَهْلُ بْنُ حُنَيْفٍ وَجَمَاعَةٌ مَعَهُمْ، فَدَخَلُوا عَلَى عَلِيٍّ ع فَقَالُوا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ انْظُرْ فِي أَمْرِكَ وَعَاتِبْ قَوْمَكَ هَذَا الْحَيَّ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ، فَإِنَّهُمْ قَدْ نَقَضُوا عَهْدَكَ وَأَخْلَفُوا وَعْدَكَ، وَقَدْ دَعَوْنَا فِي السَّرِّ إِلَى رَفْضِكَ، هَذَاكَ اللَّهُ لِرُشْدِكَ، وَذَلِكَ لِإِنَّهُمْ كَرِهُوا الْأَسْوَةَ وَفَقَدُوا الْأَثَرَةَ، وَلَمَّا آسَبَتْ بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَ الْأَعَاجِمِ أَنْكَرُوا وَاسْتَشَارُوا عَدُوَّكَ وَعَظَمُوهُ، وَأَظْهَرُوا الطَّلَبَ بِدَمِ عُثْمَانَ فُرْقَةً لِلْجَمَاعَةِ وَتَأْ لِنَا لِأَهْلِ الضَّلَالَةِ، فَرَأَيْكَ!

١. وَثَرَتِ الرَّجُلُ: إِذَا قَتَلَتْ لَهُ قِتِيلًا وَأَخَذَتْ لَهُ مَالًا (لسان العرب: ج ٥ ص ٢٧٤).

After that, Walid ibn 'Aqaba stood up, went close to 'Ali (a.s.) and said: "O Abū al-Hasan! You cut us from our near of kin (ruined us all). As for me, you killed my father in the battle of Badr so painfully and humiliated my brother in the event of *Yatam al-Dār*. As for Sa'id, you killed his father in the battle of Badr while he was a warrior of the tribe of Quraysh. As for Marwān, you humiliated his father in front of 'Uthmān when 'Uthmān called and joined him to himself, even though we are your brothers and peers from among the children of 'Abd Manāf. Today, we swear allegiance to you on the condition that you let us keep the possessions left to us from the time of 'Uthmān and that you kill the murderers of 'Uthmān. In truth, if we fear you, we will abandon you and join the people of Shām."

Then 'Ali (a.s.) said: "As for your saying that I have killed your near of kin (ruined you all), the Truth [God] did so to you (you deserved it); as for letting you keep your possessions, it is not permissible for me to dispense to you and others with the rights of God; as for killing the murderers of 'Uthmān, if it were incumbent on me to do it, I would kill them yesterday. However, it is your right upon me that if you fear me I will provide you with security, and if I fear you I should send you away."

Walid stood up and talked to his companions. Then they scattered around with the intention to express their hostility and to spread opposition. Once their hostility became evident, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir said to his companions: "Make a move to go to these few brothers of yours, as we heard their opposition and accusations toward their leader. Verily, the tyrants have penetrated among them and Zubair and the left-handed rebel, i.e., Ṭalḥa."

Abū Haytham, 'Ammār, Abū Ayyūb, Sahl ibn Hunaif and another group with them stood up and went to 'Alī (a.s.) and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! See into your affair and reprimand this group from Quraysh, since they have broken up their allegiance and promise to you and they have secretly called us to abandon you—may God make you successful on your path. The reason is that they do not like leadership and have no longer the spirit of following. When you treated the Arabs and the non-Arabs equally, they turned their back on you, maintained a liaison with your enemy and revered him, bringing up the vengeance for the murder of 'Uthmān in order to create disunity among Muslims and coalition among the misguided. Now, whatever you say!"

فَخَرَجَ عَلَيَّ ۞ فَدَخَلَ الْمَسْجِدَ وَصَعِدَ الْمِنْبَرَ مُرْتَدِيًا بِطَاقٍ مُؤْتَرَرًا يَبْرِدُ قَطْرِي،
مُتَقَلِّدًا سَيْفًا مُتَوَكِّنًا عَلَى قَوْسٍ، فَقَالَ:

أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّا نَحْمَدُ اللَّهَ رَبَّنَا وَإِلَهَنَا وَوَلِيَّنَا وَوَلِيَّ النِّعَمِ عَلَيْنَا، الَّذِي أَصْبَحَتْ نِعْمُهُ
عَلَيْنَا ظَاهِرَةً وَبَاطِنَةً، إِمْتِنَانًا مِنْهُ بِغَيْرِ حَوْلٍ مِنَّا وَلَا قُوَّةٍ، لِيَبْلُوَنَا أَتَشْكُرُ أَمْ نَكْفُرُ فَمَنْ
شَكَرَ زَادَهُ وَمَنْ كَفَرَ عَذَّبَهُ، فَأَفْضَلُ النَّاسِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مَنَزَلَةً وَأَقْرَبُهُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَسِيلَةً
أَطَوْعُهُمْ لِأَمْرِهِ، وَأَعْمَلُهُمْ بِطَاعَتِهِ، وَأَتَّبَعُهُمْ لِسُنَّةِ رَسُولِهِ، وَأَحْيَاهُمْ لِكِتَابِهِ، لَيْسَ
لِأَحَدٍ عِنْدَنَا فَضْلٌ إِلَّا بِطَاعَةِ اللَّهِ وَطَاعَةِ الرَّسُولِ. هَذَا كِتَابُ اللَّهِ بَيْنَ أَظْهُرِنَا، وَعَهْدُ
رَسُولِ اللَّهِ وَسِرُّهُ فِينَا، لَا يَجْهَلُ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا جَاهِلٌ عَانِدٌ عَنِ الْحَقِّ مُنْكَرٌ، قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى:
﴿يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَى وَجَعَلْنَكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ
أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَىكُمْ﴾.^١

ثُمَّ صَاحَ بِأَعْلَى صَوْتِهِ: أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ فَإِنْ تَوَلَّيْتُمْ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ
الْكَافِرِينَ.

ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ، أَعْتَمُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ بِإِسْلَامِكُمْ بَلِ اللَّهُ
يَمُنُّ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ هَدَاكُمْ لِلْإِيمَانِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ.^٢

ثُمَّ قَالَ: أَنَا أَبُو الْحَسَنِ - وَكَانَ يَقُولُهَا إِذَا غَضِبَ - ثُمَّ قَالَ: أَلَا إِنَّ هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا الَّتِي
أَصْبَحْتُمْ تَمْكُونُهَا وَتَرْغَبُونَ فِيهَا، وَأَصْبَحَتْ تُغَضِبُكُمْ وَتُرْضِيكُمْ، لَيْسَتْ بِدَارِكُمْ وَلَا
مَنْزِلِكُمْ الَّذِي خُلِقْتُمْ لَهُ، فَلَا تَغُرَّنَّكُمْ فَقَدْ حَذَرْتُكُمْوهَا، وَاسْتَيْمُوا نِعَمَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ
بِالصَّبْرِ لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ عَلَى طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ وَالذَّلِّ لِحُكْمِهِ جَلَّ ثَنَاؤُهُ، فَأَمَّا هَذَا الْفِيءُ فَلَيْسَ
لِأَحَدٍ عَلَى أَحَدٍ فِيهِ أَثَرَةٌ، وَقَدْ فَرَّغَ اللَّهُ مِنْ قَسَمَتِهِ فَهُوَ مَالُ اللَّهِ، وَأَنْتُمْ عِبَادُ اللَّهِ

١. الحجرات: ١٣.

٢. إشارة إلى الآية ٣٢ من سورة آل عمران.

'Ali (a.s.) came out [of his house] and ascended the pulpit, wearing a colorless shirt, clad in a Qatari coverlet with a sword fastened on his waist and leaning on a bow. He said: "We praise God, our Lord, our God, our Protector, and our Benefactor; the One who granted us His apparent and unseen blessings as His favor to us without our power and ability, in order to test us [to see] whether we are grateful or ungrateful. He who is grateful will receive more [blessings], and the one who is ungrateful will be punished. [Thus] The best of people in the sight of Allah in status and the closest of them to Him through their deeds are the most submissive to His commands, the most committed to obeying Him, the most obedient to the *sunna* of His Messenger, and the most active in reviving the Qur'ān. Nobody is superior in our view except by obedience to God and His Messenger. Here is the Book of God among us, and the covenant and the *ṣīra* [conduct and teachings] of the Messenger of God before us. No one is unaware of this fact but the ignorant defiant and denier of Truth. God Almighty says: "*O mankind! Indeed we created you from a male and a female, and made you nations and tribes that you may identify with one another. Indeed the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most Godwary among you.*"¹

He then called out in a loud voice: "*Obey Allah and the Apostle, but if they turn away, indeed Allah does not like the faithless.*"²

He then said: "*O group of Muhājirīn and Anṣār! Do you count it as a favor to Allah that you have embraced Islam. Say, 'Do not count it as a favor to me your embracing of Islam. Rather it is Allah who has done you a favor in that He has guided you to faith, should you be truthful.'*"³

After that he said "I am Abū al-Ḥasan!" (He would utter this statement when in a fury.) Then he said: "Let it be known that this world that you desire and seek after and is the cause of your anger and happiness is not your home or your station for which you were created. So let it not deceive you! I have warned you against it. Seek the completion of God's favor on you by exercising endurance in His obedience and humility before His commands, glorified be His praise."

"In these assets, there is no superiority for any person over the other. These are the assets of God who has commanded to be divided and you are Muslims the servants of God, and this is the

1. Qur'ān, 49:13.

2. Qur'ān, 3:32.

3. Qur'ān, 49:17.

المُسلمونَ، وهذا كتابُ اللهِ بِهِ أَقَرَرْنَا وَلَهُ أَسْلَمْنَا، وَعَهْدُ نَبِيِّنَا بَيْنَ أَظْهَرِنَا، فَمَنْ لَمْ يَرْضَ بِهِ فَلْيَتَوَلَّ كَيْفَ شَاءَ، فَإِنَّ الْعَامِلَ بِطَاعَةِ اللَّهِ وَالْحَاكِمَ بِحُكْمِ اللَّهِ لَا وَحْشَةَ عَلَيْهِ.
ثُمَّ نَزَلَ عَنِ الْمُنْبَرِ فَصَلَّى رَكَعَتَيْنِ، ثُمَّ بَعَثَ بِعَمَّارِ بْنِ يَاسِرٍ وَعَبِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ حِجْلٍ الْقُرَيْشِيِّ إِلَى طَلْحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرِ وَهُمَا فِي نَاحِيَةِ الْمَسْجِدِ، فَأَتَيَاهُمَا فَدَعَاَهُمَا فَقَامَا حَتَّى جَلَسَا إِلَيْهِ.

فَقَالَ لَهُمَا: نَشَدْتُكُمَا اللَّهَ هَلْ جِئْتُمَايَ طَائِعِينَ لِلْبَيْعَةِ، وَدَعَوْتُمَايَ إِلَيْهَا وَأَنَا كَارِهِ هَا؟
قَالَا: نَعَمْ.

فَقَالَ: غَيْرَ مُجْبَرَيْنِ وَلَا مَقْسُورَيْنِ، فَأَسْلَمْتُمَا لِي بَيْعَتِكُمَا وَأَعْطَيْتُمَايَ عَهْدَكُمَا.
قَالَا: نَعَمْ.

قَالَ: فَمَا دَعَاكُمَا بَعْدُ إِلَى مَا أَرَى؟

قَالَا: أَعْطَيْنَاكَ بَيْعَتَنَا عَلَى أَلَّا تَقْضِيَ الْأُمُورَ وَلَا تَقْطَعَها دُونَنَا، وَأَنْ تَسْتَشِيرَنَا فِي كُلِّ أَمْرٍ، وَلَا تَسْتَبِدَّ بِذَلِكَ عَلَيْنَا، وَلَنَا مِنَ الْفَضْلِ عَلَى غَيْرِنَا مَا قَدْ عَلِمْتَ، فَأَنْتَ تَقْسِمُ الْقَسَمَ وَتَقْطَعُ الْأَمْرَ، وَتَمْضِي الْحُكْمَ بِغَيْرِ مُشَاوَرَتِنَا وَلَا عِلْمِنَا.
فَقَالَ: لَقَدْ نَقَمْتُمَا يَسِيرًا، وَأَرْجَأْتُمَا كَثِيرًا، فَاسْتَغْفِرَا اللَّهَ يَغْفِرَ لَكُمَا. أَلَا تُخْبِرَانِي، أَدَفَعْتُمَا عَنْ حَقٍّ وَجَبَ لَكُمَا فَظَلَمْتُمَا إِيَّاهُ؟

قَالَا: مَعَاذَ اللَّهِ!

قَالَ: فَهَلِ اسْتَأْثَرْتُ مِنْ هَذَا الْمَالِ لِنَفْسِي بِشَيْءٍ؟

قَالَا: مَعَاذَ اللَّهِ!

قَالَ: أَوْ قَوَّعَ حُكْمٌ أَوْ حَقٌّ لِأَحَدٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فَجَهِلْتُهُ أَوْ ضَعُفْتُ عَنْهُ؟

قَالَا: مَعَاذَ اللَّهِ!

قَالَ: فَمَا الَّذِي كَرِهْتُمَا مِنْ أَمْرِي حَتَّى رَأَيْتُمَا خِلَافِي؟

Book of God to which we have admitted and surrendered. It is the covenant of our Prophet among us. Whoever is not content with it then let him go to wherever he wishes, for there is no fear for him who practices obedience to God and who judges according to God's commands."

He then descended from the pulpit and performed two *rak'as* of prayers. He then sent 'Ammār ibn Yāsir and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hishl al-Qurashī for Ṭalḥa and Zubair who were sitting in a corner of the mosque. They went to Ṭalḥa and Zubair and called them to 'Ali (a.s.). They rose, went to 'Ali (a.s.) and sat next to him.

'Ali (a.s.) told them: "I swear you by God, did you not come to me obediently for allegiance and asked me for it, whereas I was reluctant towards it?"

They said: "Yes."

He said: "Wasn't it that you swore your allegiance to me and entrusted your covenant to me without force and compulsion?"

They said: "Yes."

He said: "So what has made you to do such things?"

They said: "We swore allegiance to you on the condition that you do not do anything without our view, consult with us in all affairs and do not rule over us arbitrarily. Our superiority over others is evident to you. Then why do you divide properties, make decisions and do all these without consulting and informing us?"

'Ali (a.s.) said: "You protested against minor things but left out many other things. Seek God's forgiveness and He will forgive you. Tell me whether I prevented you from a right that was yours and wronged you thereby?"

They said: "God forbid!"

He said: "Did I choose anything for myself from these assets?"

They said: "God forbid!"

He said: "Has anything happened concerning the rights of any of the Muslims or a precept [of the Faith] that I am unaware of or failed in?"

They said: "God forbid!"

He said: "So what work of mine do you dislike that made you decide to oppose me?"

قالا: خِلافُكَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فِي الْقَسَمِ، إِنَّكَ جَعَلْتَ حَقَّنَا فِي الْقَسَمِ كَحَقِّ غَيْرِنَا، وَسَوَّيْتَ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ مَنْ لَا يُبَايِلُنَا فِيمَا أَفَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَيْنَا بِأَسْيَافِنَا وَرِمَاحِنَا، وَأَوْجَفْنَا عَلَيْهِ بِخَيْلِنَا وَرَجُلِنَا، وَظَهَرَتْ عَلَيْهِ دَعْوَتُنَا، وَأَخَذْنَاهُ قَسْرًا قَهْرًا يَمُنُّ لَا يَرَى الْإِسْلَامَ إِلَّا كَرَهًا.

فَقَالَ: فَأَمَّا مَا ذَكَرْتُمَاهُ مِنَ الْإِسْتِشَارَةِ بِكُمْ، فَوَاللَّهِ مَا كَانَتْ لِي فِي الْوِلَايَةِ رَغْبَةٌ، وَلَكِنَّكُمْ دَعَوْتُمُونِي إِلَيْهَا وَجَعَلْتُمُونِي عَلَيْهَا، فَخِفْتُ أَنْ أَرُدَّكُمْ فَتَخْتَلِفَ الْأُمَّةُ، فَلَمَّا أَفْضَتْ إِلَيَّ نَظَرْتُ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةِ رَسُولِهِ فَأَمْضَيْتُ مَا ذَلَانِي عَلَيْهِ وَاتَّبَعْتُهُ، وَلَمْ أُحْتِجْ إِلَى آرَائِكُمَا فِيهِ وَلَا رَأْيٍ غَيْرِكُمَا، وَلَوْ وَقَعَ حُكْمٌ لَيْسَ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ بَيَانُهُ وَلَا فِي السُّنَّةِ بُرْهَانُهُ، وَاحْتِجَّ إِلَى الْمَشَاوَرَةِ فِيهِ لَشَاوَرْتُكُمَا فِيهِ.

وَأَمَّا الْقَسَمُ وَالْأَسْوَةُ، فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَمْرٌ لَمْ أَحْكَمْ فِيهِ بِإِدْيَ بَدِيءٍ، قَدْ وَجَدْتُ أَنَا وَأَنْتُمَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَحْكُمُ بِذَلِكَ، وَكِتَابُ اللَّهِ نَاطِقٌ بِهِ، وَهُوَ الْكِتَابُ الَّذِي لَا يَأْتِيهِ الْبَاطِلُ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَلَا مِنْ خَلْفِهِ تَنْزِيلٌ مِنْ حَكِيمٍ حَمِيدٍ.

وَأَمَّا قَوْلُكُمَا: جَعَلْتَ بَيْنَنَا وَمَا أَفَاءَتْهُ سُبُوفُنَا وَرِمَاحُنَا سَوَاءً بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ غَيْرِنَا، فَقَدْ دِيماً سَبَقَ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ قَوْمٌ وَنَصَرُوهُ بِسُيُوفِهِمْ وَرِمَاحِهِمْ فَلَمْ يُفْضَلْهُمْ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ فِي الْقَسَمِ وَلَا أَثَرُهُمْ بِالسَّبْقِ، وَاللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ مَوْفٍ السَّابِقِ وَالْمُجَاهِدِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ أَعْمَالُهُمْ، وَلَيْسَ لَكُمَا وَاللَّهُ عِنْدِي وَلَا لِغَيْرِكُمَا إِلَّا هَذَا، أَخَذَ اللَّهُ بِقُلُوبِنَا وَقُلُوبِكُمْ إِلَى الْحَقِّ وَاهْتَمْنَا وَإِيَّاكُمْ الصَّبْرَ. ثُمَّ قَالَ: رَجِمَ اللَّهُ أَمْرًا رَأَى حَقًّا فَأَعَانَ عَلَيْهِ، وَرَأَى جَوْرًا فَرَدَّهُ، وَكَانَ عَوْنًا لِلْحَقِّ عَلَى مَنْ خَالَفَهُ.

قَالَ شَيْخُنَا أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ: وَقَدْ رُوِيَ أَنَّهَا قَالَا لَهُ وَقْتَ الْبَيْعَةِ: تُبَايِعُكَ عَلَى أَنَّا شُرَكَاءُكَ فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ. فَقَالَ لَهُمَا: لَا، وَلَكِنَّكُمَا شَرِيكَايَ فِي الْفِيءِ، لَا أَسْتَأْذِرُ عَلَيْكُمَا

They said: "You divide the property in a different way from that of 'Umar ibn Khattāb; you allotted the same portion to us as others, treating us and those who are not like us as equal in the spoils that God granted to us under the protection of our swords and our lances, and we laid our hand on them, on foot and on horseback and took them back by force and compulsion from those who did not surrender to Islam except by force."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "As regards what you said about consulting with you, I swear by God that I was not inclined to rule. You called me to it and appointed me therein. I feared that if I would refuse your proposal, disunity would arise among the nation. So when the government came to me, I looked through the Book of God and the traditions of his Messenger and did what they guided me to do. I followed that [guidance] and I did not need your opinions or any other's. If something happens that is not stated in the Book of God and whose proof is not present in the traditions and requires consultation, I will of course consult you."

"As for dividing [property] and not acting according to the way of the caliphs, verily, it is not something I have initially passed a ruling about; but you and I saw that the Messenger of God did so and the Book of God to which falsehood has no access from neither front (now) nor back (in future) and is sent by God the Most Wise and the Most Praised also orders such."

"As for my dividing the spoils gained by swords and lances among you and others equally, in the past there were also a group who were precedent over others in Islam who contributed to it by their swords and lances, but the Messenger of God did not give them priority in dividing the spoils and did not grant them any advantages for their precedence in faith. Of course, God Almighty will reward the pioneers and the fighters on the Day of Resurrection. By God, you and others do not have anything beyond this with me. May God guide our hearts and yours toward the Truth and inspire patience and forbearance in all of us!"

Then he said, "May God have mercy on the person who sees the truth and supports it, and when he sees the wrong, rejects it and he who helps the truth against who is on the wrong."

[Ibn Abi al-Hadīd says,] Our master Abū Ja'far said: "It is reported that Ṭalḥa and Zubair have said at the time of allegiance: "We swear allegiance to you on the condition that we participate in the government with you." But 'Ali (a.s.) replied to them: "No, but you will share the spoils with me. I shall not prefer anyone of you over the others or over a slave for a dirham

وَلَا عَلَى عَبْدٍ حَبَشِيٍّ مُجَدَّعٍ^١ بِدِرْهِمٍ فَمَا دُونَهُ، لَا أَنَا وَلَا وَلَدَايَ هَذَانِ، فَإِنْ أُبَيِّتَا إِلَّا لَفْظَ الشَّرَكَةِ، فَأَنْتُمَا عَوْنَانِي لِي عِنْدَ الْعَجْزِ وَالْفَاقَةِ، لَا عِنْدَ الْقُوَّةِ وَالْإِسْتِقَامَةِ.

قَالَ أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ: فَاشْتَرَطَا مَا لَا يَجُوزُ فِي عَقْدِ الْأَمَانَةِ^٢، وَشَرَطَا هَهُمَا مَا يَجِبُ فِي الدِّينِ وَالشَّرِيعَةِ.

قَالَ: وَقَدْ رُوِيَ أَيْضاً أَنَّ الزُّبَيْرَ قَالَ فِي مَلَأٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ: هَذَا جَزَاؤُنَا مِنْ عَلِيٍّ! قُمْنَا لَهُ فِي أَمْرِ عُثْمَانَ حَتَّى قُتِلَ، فَلَمَّا بَلَغَ بِنَا مَا أَرَادَ جَعَلَ قَوْقُنَا مَنْ كُنَّا فَوْقَهُ. وَقَالَ طَلْحَةُ: مَا اللَّوْمُ إِلَّا عَلَيْنَا، كُنَّا مَعَهُ أَهْلَ الشُّورَى ثَلَاثَةَ فِكْرِهِ أَهْلُ دُنَا - يَعْنِي سَعْدًا - وَبَايَعْنَاهُ فَأَعْطَيْنَاهُ مَا فِي أَيْدِينَا وَمَنْعْنَا مَا فِي يَدَيْهِ، فَأَصْبَحْنَا قَدْ أَخْطَأْنَا الْيَوْمَ مَا رَجَوْنَاهُ أَمْسٍ، وَلَا نَرْجُو عَدَاً مَا أَخْطَأْنَا الْيَوْمَ.

فَإِنْ قُلْتَ: فَإِنَّ أَبَا بَكْرٍ قَسَمَ بِالسَّوَاءِ كَمَا قَسَمَهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ[ؓ]، وَلَمْ يُنْكِرُوا ذَلِكَ كَمَا أَنْكَرُوهُ أَيَّامَ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ[ؓ]، فَمَا الْفَرْقُ بَيْنَ الْحَالَتَيْنِ؟

قُلْتُ: إِنَّ أَبَا بَكْرٍ قَسَمَ مُحْتَذِياً لِقَسَمِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ^ﷺ، فَلَمَّا وَلِيَ عُمَرُ الْخِلَافَةَ وَفَضَّلَ قَوْمًا عَلَى قَوْمٍ أَلْفَوْا ذَلِكَ وَنَسُوا تِلْكَ الْقِسْمَةَ الْأُولَى، وَطَالَتْ أَيَّامُ عُمَرَ، وَأُشْرِبَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ حُبَّ الْمَالِ وَكَثْرَةَ الْعَطَاءِ، وَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ اهْتَضَمُوا فَقَنِعُوا وَمَرَنُوا عَلَى الْقَنَاعَةِ، وَلَمْ يَخْطُرْ لِأَحَدٍ مِنَ الْفَرِيقَيْنِ لَهُ أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْحَالُ تَنْتَقِضُ أَوْ تَتَغَيَّرُ بِوَجْهِ مَا، فَلَمَّا وَلِيَ عُثْمَانُ أَجْرَى الْأَمْرِ عَلَى مَا كَانَ عُمَرُ يُجْرِيهِ، فَازْدَادَ وَثُوقُ الْقَوْمِ بِذَلِكَ، وَمَنْ أَلْفَ أَمْرًا شَقَّ عَلَيْهِ فِرَاقُهُ، وَتَغْيِيرُ الْعَادَةِ فِيهِ، فَلَمَّا وَلِيَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ[ؓ] أَرَادَ أَنْ يَرُدَّ الْأَمْرَ إِلَى مَا كَانَ فِي أَيَّامِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ^ﷺ وَأَبِي بَكْرٍ، وَقَدْ نُسِيَ ذَلِكَ وَرُفِضَ وَتَحَلَّلَ بَيْنَ الزَّمَانَيْنِ

١. الجَدَّع: قطع الأنف والأذن والشفة، وهو بالأنف أخصى فإذا أطلق غلب عليه (النهاية: ج ١ ص 246).

٢. كذا في المصدر، والصحيح: «الإمامة».

or anything less than that. Neither I nor these two children of mine will do that. If you insist on participation, you will be my companions at the time of [my] weakness and need, not at the time of strength and resistance."

Abū Ja'far says: "They put conditions that were not legitimate in the 'agreement of trusteeship' (*'aqd al-Amāna*)¹, and he set conditions that were necessary in religion and law.

It is reported that Zubair shouted from among the crowd: "This is our reward from 'Ali! In the event of 'Uthmān, we rose up in his favor until he was killed and when he attained his goal with our help, he placed our inferiors above us."

Talhā said: "We deserve reproach. We were in a council of three people; one of us, being Sa'd, disagreed, but we two swore allegiance to him. What we had we left at his disposal and he withheld from us what he had in his possession. Today, we see yesterday's hopes gone with the wind and hold out no hope of tomorrow because of today's faults."

[Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd goes on to say] "If you say: "Abū Bakr also made divisions equally but nobody objected to him as they did in the time of the Commander of the Faithful, then what is the difference between these two eras?" I would answer: "Abū Bakr divided the assets equally following the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.). When 'Umar became a caliph and preferred one group to another, this turned into a habit and previous manners were forgotten, and 'Umar's government lasted too long. Avarice and extravagance overwhelmed people's hearts and the oppressed began to practice contentedness and they got used to it. There was no assumption for any of the two classes that this situation would change. When 'Uthmān took over the caliphate, he followed the footsteps of 'Umar in running the state. Thus people's trust in this way of ruling increased and it is hard to change what people are accustomed to.

So, when the Commander of the Faithful took up the government, he was determined to bring the way of government back to the way it was during the time of the Messenger of God and Abū Bakr, a way which had remained forgotten and unpracticed

1. The original text (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*) has it as *Amāna* (trust), however, the right word is *imāma* (leadership) which is more pertinent as per its context.

اثنان وعشرون سنة، فَشَقَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَأَنْكَرُوهُ وَأَكْبَرُوهُ حَتَّى حَدَّثَ مَا حَدَّثَ
مِنْ نَقْضِ الْبَيْعَةِ وَمُفَارَقَةِ الطَّاعَةِ، وَلِلَّهِ أَمْرٌ هُوَ بِالِغَةِ.^١

63. الإمام عليؑ - في أوَّلِ خُطْبَتِهِ خَطَبَهَا بَعْدَ بَيْعَةِ النَّاسِ لَهُ عَلَى الْأَمْرِ، وَذَلِكَ بَعْدَ قَتْلِ
عُثْمَانَ -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَلَا يُرْعَيْنَنَّ مَرْعٍ إِلَّا عَلَى نَفْسِهِ، تُغِيلَ عَنِ الْجَنَّةِ مِنَ النَّارِ أَمَامَهُ، سَاعٍ
يُجْتَهَدُ، وَطَالِبٌ يَرْجُو، وَمُقَصِّرٌ فِي النَّارِ، ثَلَاثَةٌ، وَاثْنَانِ: مَلَكٌ طَارَ بِجَنَاحَيْهِ، وَنَبِيٌّ
أَخَذَ اللَّهَ بِضَبْعَيْهِ،^٢ لَا سَادِسَ.

هَلَكَ مَنْ ادَّعَى، وَرَدَّى مَنْ افْتَحَمَ. الْيَمِينُ وَالشَّهَادَةُ مَصْلَةٌ، وَالْوُسْطَى الْجَادَّةُ،
مَنْهَجٌ عَلَيْهِ بَاقِي^٣ الْكِتَابِ وَالسُّنَّةِ وَآثَارِ النُّبُوَّةِ.

إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى دَاوَى هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةَ بِدَوَائَيْنِ: السُّوْطِ وَالسَّيْفِ، لَا هَوَادَّةَ عِنْدَ الْإِمَامِ،
فَاسْتَرَوْا بِبُيُوتِكُمْ، وَأَصْلَحُوا فِيهَا بَيْنَكُمْ، وَالتَّوْبَةُ مِنْ وَرَائِكُمْ، مَنْ أَبَدَى صَفْحَتَهُ
لِلْحَقِّ هَلَكَ.

قَدْ كَانَتْ أُمُورٌ لَمْ تَكُونُوا عِنْدِي فِيهَا مَعْدُورِينَ، أَمَّا إِنِّي لَوْ أَشَاءُ أَنْ أَقُولَ لَقُلْتُ،
عَفَا اللَّهُ عَمَّا سَلَفَ، سَبَقَ الرَّجُلَانِ، وَقَامَ الثَّالِثُ كَالْغُرَابِ هِمَّتُهُ بَطْنُهُ، وَيَلَهُ لَوْ قُصَّ
جَنَاحَاهُ وَقُطِعَ رَأْسُهُ لَكَانَ خَيْرًا لَهُ.

أَنْظَرُوا فَإِنْ أَنْكَرْتُمْ فَأَنْكِرُوا، وَإِنْ عَرَفْتُمْ فَبَادِرُوا، حَقٌّ وَبَاطِلٌ وَلِكُلِّ أَهْلٍ، وَلَيْنِ
أَمِيرٍ الْبَاطِلُ لَقَدِيمٌ فَعَلَّ، وَلَيْنَ قَلِّ الْحَقُّ فَلَرُبُّهَا وَلَعَلَّ، وَلَقَلَّ مَا أَدْبَرَ شَيْءٌ فَأَقْبَلَ، وَلَيْنِ

١. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 7 ص 36 بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 16 ح 7 وراجع: نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 205
والعبارة والموازنة: ص 109 والأماشي للطوسي: ص 727 ح 1530.

٢. الضميمة: وسط الغضد. وقيل: هو ما تحت الإبط (النهاية: ج 3 ص 73).

٣. في هامش المصدر: في «م» و «هـ» و «ش»: «ما في» وهو الصحيح.

٤. أبرز الشيء: فُتِّرَ وَتَمَّ (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 31).

for twenty two years. Therefore this change was intolerable for people. They disliked it and saw it too heavy for them to bear, to the extent that it was followed by the breaking of allegiance and disobedience, and God has His own decrees and He carries them out."¹

63. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) —in his first sermon after the people's allegiance to him following the assassination of 'Uthmān: "Now, be aware, nobody should care about anyone else except himself; one before whose eyes is the fire of Hell is distracted from Paradise [by thinking of the Hell]. There are three groups [of people]: the hard-working struggler, the hopeful seeker, and the neglectful whose place is in the Fire. There are two other groups: the angel who flies by two wings and a prophet whom God supports. There is no sixth."

"Perished is he who claims, and he who plunges into (doubts) will tumble; both the right and the left are misleading and the middle way is the [right] Path; the Path on which are the Qur'ān, the *sunna* and the traces of Prophethood."

"God has cured [the pains of] this nation by two medicines: the whip and the sword. The imām is to have no leniency [towards wrong-doings],² so hide in your houses and improve yourselves. Repentance is behind you. The one who rises to battle against the truth will be destroyed."

"There were things that took place wherein you are not excused for in my view and if I wanted to state them, I would. May God forgive what has occurred! Those two men left and the third one rose like a raven whose only concern is its belly. Woe on him! It would be better for him if his wings were clipped and his head cut off.

"Look (and listen carefully)! If you have not believed then deny, but if you recognize, then take action. There is right and wrong and there are followers for each. If wrong dominates, it has always happened so in the past, and if truth goes down, that may one day gain power even though insignificant. It seldom happens that a thing that lags behind comes forward. If you return to

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 7, p. 36, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 16, ḥ. 7. Also cf. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 205.

2. Evidently, the Imām (a.s.) means special situations, as his other words in confrontation with people and also his practical way of life refer to this point. [The Author]

رَجَعْتُ إِلَيْكُمْ تُفُوسُكُمْ إِنَّكُمْ لَسُعْدَاءُ، وَإِنِّي لِأَخْشَى أَنْ تَكُونُوا فِي فِتْرَةٍ، وَمَا عَلَيَّ إِلَّا
الْإِجْتِهَادُ.

أَلَا إِنَّ أَبْرَارَ عِترِي وَأَطَائِبَ أرومتي، أَحَلَمَ النَّاسِ صِغاراً، وَأَعْلَمَ النَّاسِ كِبَاراً،
أَلَا وَإِنَّا أَهْلُ بَيْتٍ مِنْ عِلْمِ اللَّهِ عَلِمْنَا، وَبِحُكْمِ اللَّهِ حَكَمْنَا، وَبِقَوْلِ صَادِقٍ أَخَذْنَا، فَإِنْ
تَبِعُوا أَنَا زَنَا تَهْتَدُوا بِبَصَائِرِنَا، وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلُوا يُهْلِكْكُمْ اللَّهُ بِأَيْدِينَا، مَعَنَا رَايَةُ الْحَقِّ، مَنْ
تَبِعَهَا لِحَقٍّ، وَمَنْ تَأَخَّرَ عَنْهَا غَرِقَ، أَلَا وَبِنَا تُدْرِكُ بَرَةٌ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ، وَبِنَا تُخْلَعُ رِبْقَةُ
الذُّلِّ مِنْ أَعْنَاقِكُمْ، وَبِنَا تُفْتَحُ لَا بِكُمْ، وَبِنَا يُخْتَمُ لَا بِكُمْ.^١

64. عنه: - مِنْ كَلَامِهِ لَمَّا بَوَّعَ فِي الْمَدِينَةِ -: ذِمَّتِي بِمَا أَقُولُ رَهِيْنَةً، وَأَنَا بِهِ رَعِيْمٌ، إِنْ مَنْ
صَرَّحَتْ لَهُ الْعِبْرَةُ عَمَّا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ الْمُثَلَّاتِ، حَجَزَتْهُ التَّقْوَى عَنْ تَقَحُّمِ الشُّبُهَاتِ، أَلَا
وَإِنْ بَلَيْتَكُمْ قَدْ عَادَتْ كَهَيْئَتِهَا يَوْمَ بَعَثَ اللَّهُ نَبِيَّهُ ﷺ، وَالَّذِي بَعَثَهُ بِالْحَقِّ لَتُبْلَلُنَّ
بَلْبَلَةً، وَلَتُغْرِبَلُنَّ غَرْبَلَةً، وَلَتُسَاطُنَّ^٢ سَوَاطِ الْقِدْرِ، حَتَّى يَعُودَ أَسْفَلُكُمْ أَعْلَاكُمْ،
وَأَعْلَاكُمْ أَسْفَلَكُمْ، وَلَيَسْبِقَنَّ سَابِقُونَ كَانُوا قَاصِرُوا، وَلَيَقْصُرَنَّ سَبَاقُونَ كَانُوا سَبِقُوا.
وَاللَّهِ مَا كَتَمْتُ وَشَمْتُ، وَلَا كَذَبْتُ كِذْبَةً، وَلَقَدْ بُنِيتُ بِهَذَا الْمَقَامِ وَهَذَا الْيَوْمِ. أَلَا
وَإِنَّ الْخَطَايَا خَيْلٌ شُمُسُ حُمِلَ عَلَيْهَا أَهْلُهَا، وَخُلِعَتْ جُلُومُهَا، فَتَفَحَّحَتْ بِهِمْ فِي النَّارِ.
أَلَا وَإِنَّ التَّقْوَى مَطَايَا ذُلٍّ، حُمِلَ عَلَيْهَا أَهْلُهَا، وَأُعْطُوا أَرْزَمَتَهَا، فَأَوْرَدَتْهُمْ الْجَنَّةَ. حَقٌّ

١. الثَّرَاءُ: الثَّار (مجمع البحرين: ج 3 ص 1903).

٢. الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 239، نشر الدر: ج 1 ص 1270 البيان والنبين: ج 2 ص 50 كلها عن أبي عبيدة، العقد الفريد: ج 3
ص 119 والثلاثة الأخيرة عن الإمام الصادق عنه وفيها من قوله «أَلَا إِنَّ أَبْرَارَ عِترِي...»، عيون الأخبار لابن
قتيبة: ج 2 ص 236 وفيه إلى «ما أدير شيء فأقبل» وكلها نحوه.

٣. ساط الشيء سوطاً: خاضه وخلطه وأكثر ذلك. وخص بعضهم به القدر إذا خلط ما فيها (لسان العرب: ج 7
ص 325).

٤. أي كلمة (النهاية: ج 5 ص 189).

Yourselves (your senses), you will become fortunate. I fear that you remain in laxity; I have no other duty but to be diligent."

"Let it be known that the pious of my family and the pure ones of them are the most tolerant in childhood and the most knowledgeable in adulthood. Let it be known that we are the household that have acquired our knowledge from the Divine Knowledge, we rule by Divine Command and we are committed to the sayings of a truthful person. If you follow our signs, you will be guided by our insight; otherwise Allah will destroy you with our hands. The banner of Truth is with us. Those who follow it will reach [us] and those who turn their back on it will perish."

"Let it be known that through us the failings of the faithful will be made up for and through us the loop of humiliation will be removed from your necks. It [Guidance] begins by us, rather than by you and it ends by us, rather than by you."¹

64. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from what he said when he was sworn allegiance to in Madīna: "I take the responsibility for what I say and I am answerable for it. He who takes lessons from (God's) punishments that afflicted the people in the past is prevented by piety from falling into doubts."

"Be aware that the same test and trouble which existed when the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was first sent has returned. By Him who sent the Prophet with truth you will be severely tested, bitterly sieved as a thing that is sieved, and fully mixed as by spooning in a cooking pot until your low persons become high and high ones become low and those who were ahead shall remain behind."

"By God, I have neither concealed a single word nor spoken any lie, and I had been informed of this event and of this time. Beware that sins are like unruly horses on which their riders have been placed and their reins have been let loose so that they would jump with them into Hell. Indeed, piety is like trained horses on which the riders have been placed with the reins in their hands to take them to the Heaven."

1. *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 239, *Nathr al-Durr*, vol. 1, p. 270, *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, vol. 2, p. 50, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 119.

وباطِلٌ، وَلِكُلِّ أَهْلٍ، فَلَيْنِ أَمِيرِ الْبَاطِلِ لَقْدِيئاً فَعَلْ، وَلَيْنَ قَلِّ الْحَقِّ فَلَرُبَّهَا وَلَعْلٌ، وَلَقَلِّهَا
أَدْبَرَ شَيْءٌ فَأَقْبَلَ^١

65. عنه عليه السلام - مِنْ كَلَامٍ لَهُ بَعْدَ مَا بَوَّعَ بِالْخِلَافَةِ، وَقَدْ قَالَ لَهُ قَوْمٌ مِنَ الصَّحَابَةِ -: لَوْ عَاقَبْتَ
قَوْماً مِمَّنْ أَجْلَبَ عَلَى عُثْمَانَ؟ يَا إِخْوَتَاهُ! إِنِّي لَسْتُ أَجْهَلُ مَا تَعْلَمُونَ، وَلَكِنْ كَيْفَ لِي
بِقُوَّةِ الْقَوْمِ الْمُجْلَبُونَ^٢ عَلَى حَدِّ شُرَكَائِهِمْ، يَمْلِكُونَنَا وَلَا نَمْلِكُهُمْ؟ أَوْ هَاهُمْ هَؤُلَاءِ قَدْ
ثَارَتْ مَعَهُمْ عِبَادَتُكُمْ، وَالتَّقَتْ إِلَيْهِمْ أَعْرَابُكُمْ، وَهُمْ خِلَالَكُمْ يَسُومُونَكُمْ مَا شَاؤُوا.
وَهَلْ تَرَوْنَ مَوْضِعاً لِقُدْرَةٍ عَلَى شَيْءٍ تُرِيدُونَهُ؟! إِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ أَمْرٌ جَاهِلِيَّةٌ. وَإِنَّ هَؤُلَاءِ
الْقَوْمِ مَادَّةٌ. إِنَّ النَّاسَ مِنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ - إِذَا حُرِّكَ - عَلَى أُمُورٍ: فِرْقَةٌ تَرَى مَا تَرُونَ،
وَفِرْقَةٌ تَرَى مَا لَا تَرُونَ، وَفِرْقَةٌ لَا تَرَى هَذَا وَلَا ذَاكَ، فَاصْبِرُوا حَتَّى يَهْدِيَ النَّاسُ،
وَتَقَعَ الْقُلُوبُ مَوَاقِعَهَا، وَتُؤَخَذَ الْحَقُوقُ مُسَمَّحَةً، فَاهْدُوا عَنِّي، وَانظُرُوا مَاذَا
يَأْتِيكُمْ بِهِ أَمْرِي، وَلَا تَفْعَلُوا فَعَلَةً تُضْعِضُ قُوَّةً، وَتُسْقِطُ مُنَّةً، وَتَوْرِثُ وَهْناً وَذِلَّةً.
وَسَأْمِسُكُ الْأَمْرَ مَا اسْتَمْسَكَ. وَإِذَا لَمْ أَجِدْ بُدّاً فَأَخِّرُ الدَّوَاءَ الْكَيَّ^٣.

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة ١٦، الكافي: ج ٨ ص ٦٧ ح ٢٣ عن علي بن رثاب ويعقوب السراج عن الإمام الصادق عنه عليه السلام «فيه من «ألا وإنّ بليّتكم» وزاد فيه «وفتحت لهم أبوابها ووجدوا ريجها وطيبها وقيل لهم: ادخلوها بسلام آمنين. ألا وقد سبقني إلى هذا الأمر من لم أشركه فيه ومن لم أهبه له ومن ليست له منه نوبة إلا بنبي يبعث، ألا ولا نبي بعد محمد ﷺ، أشرف منه على شفا جرف هار فانهار به في نار جهنم» بعد «فأوردتهم الجنة».

قال الشريف الرضي: إنّ في هذا الكلام الأدنى من مواقع الإحسان ما لا تبلغه مواقع الاستحسان، وإنّ حظّ العجب منه أكثر من حظّ العجب به. وفيه - مع الحال التي وصفنا - زوائد من الفصاحة لا يقوم بها لسان. ولا يطلع فجتها إنسان، ولا يعرف ما أقول إلا من ضرب في هذه الصناعة بحق، وجرى فيها على عرق، (وَمَا يَنْفَعُهَا إِلَّا الْغَلِيْمُونَ) (العنكبوت: ٤٣) (نهج البلاغة: ذيل الخطبة ١٦).

٢. يقال: أجلبوا عليه، إذا تجتمعوا وتآلبوا (النهاية: ج ١ ص ٢٨٢).

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة ١٦٨ تاريخ الطبري: ج ٤ ص ٤٣٧، معالم الغنى: ج ١ ص ٤٩٩.

"There is right and there is wrong and there are followers for each. If wrong dominates, it has always been so in the past and if truth goes down, that too has often occurred. It seldom happens that a thing that is gone should return."¹

65. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from what he said after being sworn allegiance to for the caliphate. Some people from among the companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said to him: "You should punish the people who assaulted 'Uthmān." He (a.s.) answered: "O My brothers! I am not ignorant of what you know, but how do I have the power for it while those who assaulted him are in the height of their power? They have power over us and we do not have power over them.

They are those with whom your slaves have risen and the Bedouins have joined. They are now among you and harming you as they like. Do you see that you have any power to gain what you want? This is certainly an act of the pre-Islamic period (*al-jābiliyya*) and these people have still roots in that period. When the matter is taken up, people will have different views about it. One group will see as you do, but another will see what you do not see and there will be still another group who will be neither this way nor that way. Be patient till the people calm down and hearts settle in their places so that rights can be easily achieved for the people. Let me be calm, and see what comes to you from me [wait for my order]. Do not do anything that can shatter your power, weaken your strength and create feebleness and disgrace. I shall control this affair as far as possible [not resorting to a war], but if I find it necessary, the last treatment will of course be branding with a hot iron [through war]."²

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1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 16, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 67, h. 23. It is quoted in *al-Kāfi* narrating from 'Ali ibn Ri'āb and Ya'qūb al-Sarrāj who have quoted this sermon from Imām al-Šādiq on the authority of 'Ali (a.s.), however, this book contains the additional statement as follows: "Doors of paradise were opened up to them and they scented its fragrance. It was said to them, 'Enter you here in peace and security! Let it be known that he has preceded me in this affair whom I have not shared therein, to whom I have not given it (caliphate), and for whom there is no way to gain save through a prophet to be sent forth. However, there will be no Prophet after Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) (He got the position by usurpation) – [for that reason] he was placed on the brink of a collapsing bank, which collapses with him into the fire of hell. Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Raḍī says: "In this small speech there is more beauty than can be appreciated, and excellence aroused by it is more than the appreciation accorded to it. Despite what we have stated it has so many aspects of eloquence that cannot be expressed nor can anyone reach its depth and no one can understand what I am saying unless one has attained this art and known its details." "...but no one grasps them except those who have knowledge." Qur'ān, 29:43.
 2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 168, *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 437, *Ma'ālim al-Fitan*, vol. 1, p. 499.

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عَزَلُ عُثْمَانَ

66. تاريخ البعقوبي: عَزَلَ عَلِيٌّ عُثْمَانَ عَنِ الْبُلْدَانِ خِلاَ أَبِي مُوسَى الْأَشْعَرِيِّ، كَلَّمَهُ فِيهِ الْأَشْثَرُ فَأَقْرَهُ.^١

67. الاختصاص: اجْتَمَعَ النَّاسُ عَلَيْهِ جَمِيعاً، فَقَالُوا لَهُ: اُكْتُبْ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَى مَنْ خَالَفَكَ بِوِلَايَتِهِ ثُمَّ اعْزِلْهُ، فَقَالَ: الْمَكْرُ وَالْحَدِيدَةُ وَالْغَدْرُ فِي النَّارِ.^٢

68. الأُمَالِي لِلطُّوسِي عَنْ سُحَيْمٍ: لَمَّا بُويعَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيٌّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ ﷺ، بَلَغَهُ أَنَّ مُعَاوِيَةَ قَدْ تَوَقَّفَ عَنْ إِظْهَارِ الْبَيْعَةِ لَهُ، وَقَالَ: إِنْ أَقْرَبَ عَلَى الشَّامِ وَأَعْمَالِي الَّتِي وَلَّانِيهَا عُثْمَانُ بِاِبْتِغَاءِ، فَجَاءَ الْمَغِيرَةُ إِلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ فَقَالَ لَهُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّ مُعَاوِيَةَ مَنْ قَدْ عَرَفَتْ، وَقَدْ وَلَّاهُ الشَّامَ مَنْ قَدْ كَانَ قَبْلَكَ، فَوَلِّهِ أَنْتَ كَيْفَا تَتَّسِقُ عُرَى الْأُمُورِ، ثُمَّ اعْزِلْهُ إِنْ بَدَا لَكَ.

فَقَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ: أَتَضَمَّنُ لِي عُمَرِي يَا مُغِيرَةُ فِيمَا بَيْنَ تَوَلِّيَّتِهِ إِلَى خَلْعِهِ؟
قَالَ: لَا.

قَالَ: لَا يَسْأَلُنِي اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَنْ تَوَلِّيَّتِهِ عَلَى رَجُلَيْنِ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لَيْلَةً سَوْدَاءَ أَبْدَأُ ﴿وَمَا كُنْتُ مُتَّخِذَ الْمُضِلِّينَ عَصُدًا﴾^٣ لَكِنْ أَبْعَثُ إِلَيْهِ وَأَدْعُوهُ إِلَى مَا فِي يَدَيَّ مِنَ الْحَقِّ، فَإِنْ أَجَابَ فَرَجُلٌ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لَهُ مَا هُمْ وَعَلَيْهِ مَا عَلَيْهِمْ، وَإِنْ أَبَى حَاكَمْتُهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ.

فَوَلَّى الْمَغِيرَةُ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: فَحَاكِمُهُ إِذَنْ، وَأَنْشَأَ يَقُولُ:

١. تاريخ البعقوبي: ج 2 ص 179.

٢. الاختصاص: ص 150، بحار الأنوار: ج 40 ص 105.

٣. الكهف: 51.

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Dismissing 'Uthmān's Administrators

66. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: "Ali (a.s.) dismissed 'Uthmān's administrators from the cities, except Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī whom Mālik al-Ashtar recommended, so he was kept in office."¹
67. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*: "People gathered around 'Ali (a.s.) and said to him: "Appoint your opponents as governors and then dismiss them." 'Ali (a.s.) said: "Cheating, deception and treachery are in Fire."²
68. *Al-Amālī* –narrating from Saḥīm: "When allegiance was sworn to the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.), he was informed that Mu'āwiya had refused to pledge allegiance and had said: "If he reinstalls me as governor of Shām and gives me back the responsibilities that 'Uthmān had assigned to me, I will swear allegiance to him."

After this, al-Mughayra came to the Commander of the Faithful and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! You know Mu'āwiya very well and that the ruler before you appointed him as the governor of Shām. Appoint him with the same post so that the situation will not lose order, then if you happen to change your mind, dismiss him."

The Commander of the Faithful said: "O Mughayra! Do you guarantee my life in between his appointment and his dismissal?"

He said, "No."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "Would not God Almighty ever ask me how I installed him over two Muslims in the darkness of the night?" "...Nor do I take those who mislead as assistants."³ However, I will send for him and call him to what is with me from the Truth. If he complies, he is considered as a Muslim who has rights and duties like those of others, and if he refuses, I will complain of him to God."

Mughayra returned while saying: "Then complain of him", and recited:

1. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 179.

2. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 150, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 40, p. 105.

3. Qur'ān, 18: 51.

نَصَحْتُ عَلِيًّا فِي ابْنِ حَرْبٍ نَصِيحَةً قَرَدَ فَمَا مِنِّي لَهُ الدَّهْرُ ثَانِيَةً
وَلَمْ يَقْبَلِ النَّصِيحَ الَّذِي جِئْتُ بِهِ وَكَانَتْ لَهُ تِلْكَ النَّصِيحَةُ كَافِيَةً
وَقَالُوا لَهُ مَا أَخْلَصَ النَّصِيحَ كُلَّهُ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ إِنَّ النَّصِيحَةَ غَالِيَةً^١

69. تاريخ الطبري عن ابن عباس: دَعَانِي عُثْمَانُ فَاسْتَعْمَلَنِي عَلَى الْحَجِّ، فَخَرَجْتُ إِلَى مَكَّةَ فَأَقَمْتُ لِلنَّاسِ الْحَجَّ، وَقَرَأْتُ عَلَيْهِمْ كِتَابَ عُثْمَانَ إِلَيْهِمْ، ثُمَّ قَدِمْتُ الْمَدِينَةَ وَقَدْ بَوَّعَ لِعَلِيٍّ، فَأَتَيْتُهُ فِي دَارِهِ فَوَجَدْتُ الْمُغِيرَةَ بْنَ شُعْبَةَ مُسْتَخْلِيًا بِهِ، فَحَبَسَنِي حَتَّى خَرَجَ مِنْ عِنْدِهِ، فَقُلْتُ: مَاذَا قَالَ لَكَ هَذَا؟

فَقَالَ: قَالَ لِي قَبْلَ مَرَّتِهِ هَذِهِ: أَرْسِلْ إِلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَامِرٍ وَإِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ وَإِلَى عُمَالِ عُثْمَانَ بِمُعْهُودِهِمْ يُقَرِّهُمُ عَلَى أَعْمَالِهِمْ وَيُبَايِعُونَ لَكَ النَّاسَ، فَإِنَّهُمْ يُهْدُونُ الْبِلَادَ وَيُسْكُنُونَ النَّاسَ، فَأَبَيْتُ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِ يَوْمَئِذٍ وَقُلْتُ: وَاللَّهِ لَوْ كَانَ سَاعَةً مِنْ نَهَارٍ لَأَجْتَهَدْتُ فِيهَا رَأْيِي، وَلَا وَلَيْتُ هَؤُلَاءِ وَلَا مِثْلَهُمْ يُؤْتَى^٢.

قَالَ: ثُمَّ انْصَرَفَ مِنْ عِنْدِي وَأَنَا أَعْرِفُ فِيهِ أَنَّهُ يَرَى أَنِّي مُخْطِئٌ، ثُمَّ عَادَ إِلَيَّ الْآنَ فَقَالَ: إِنِّي أَشَرْتُ عَلَيْكَ أَوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ بِالَّذِي أَشَرْتُ عَلَيْكَ وَخَالَفْتَنِي فِيهِ، ثُمَّ رَأَيْتُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ رَأْيًا، وَأَنَا أَرَى أَنْ تَصْنَعَ الَّذِي رَأَيْتَ فَتَنْزِعَهُمْ وَتُسْتَعِينَ بِمَنْ تَثِقُ بِهِ، فَقَدْ كَفَى اللَّهُ، وَهُمْ أَهْوَنُ شَوْكَةً مِمَّا كَانَ.

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: فَقُلْتُ لِعَلِيٍّ: أَمَّا الْمَرَّةُ الْأُولَى فَقَدْ نَصَحَكَ، وَأَمَّا الْمَرَّةُ الْآخِرَةُ فَقَدْ عَشَّكَ.

١. المُنَى: الْفَقْدُ، مِنْهُ اللَّهُ بِعَيْنِهِ: فَقَدَهُ (لسان العرب: ج 15 ص 292).

٢. الْأَمَالِيُّ لِلطُّوسِيِّ: ص 87 ح 133، بِشَارَةُ الْمُصْطَفَى: ص 263، الْمُنَاقِبُ لِابْنِ شَهْرَآشُوبٍ: ج 3 ص 195 نحوه وليس

فِيهِ الشُّعْرُ وَرَاجِعٌ: مَرْوَجُ الْقَدْحِ: ج 2 ص 382 وَالْإِسْتِيعَابُ: ج 4 ص 9 ح 2512 وَالْفَتْوَحُ: ج 2 ص 446.

٣. فِي الْكَامِلِ فِي التَّارِيخِ: «فَأَبَيْتُ عَلَيْهِ ذَلِكَ وَقُلْتُ: لَا أَدَاهُنِ فِي دِينِي، وَلَا أُعْطِي الدُّنْيَا فِي أَمْرِي».

"I advised 'Ali about the son of Harb,

He rejected the advice and fate will not give him a second chance.

He did not accept my advice that I came to him with,

And that advice was sufficient for him.

Others said to him the best and most sincere of advices,

And I said to him that this advice is priceless.¹

69. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* –narrating from Ibn 'Abbās: "Uthmān summoned me and appointed me in charge of Ḥajj pilgrimage. I left for Mecca and prepared the people's affairs for the Ḥajj pilgrimage and read 'Uthmān's letter to them. I then returned to Madīna and 'Ali (a.s.) was sworn allegiance to, so I went to his house and I found al-Mughayra ibn Shu'ba who was meeting him privately. I was kept at the door until al-Mughayra came out and I asked him: 'What did this person [al-Mughayra] say to you?'

The Imām said: "He has said to me more than once before: 'Send letters to 'Abdullah ibn 'Āmir, Mu'āwiya and to the agents of 'Uthmān and reinstall them to their previous posts so that they would be able to let people swear allegiance to you. They can convince the people and calm down the towns.' I rejected his proposal from that day and said: 'By God, if there is only one hour left of my life, I will make attempt to maintain my notions and I will never give authority to these people or let anyone like them to enter the government.'²

He ['Ali] (a.s.) then said: "So, he [al-Mughayra] then left me and I knew that he believed that I was wrong, until he came to me again this time and said: 'I gave advice to you the previous time and you rejected it, now I have come with another proposition that you do as you wish and dismiss them and seek the help of your trusted figures. Sufficient is God and these people have become weaker than ever before.'

Ibn 'Abbās said: "I told 'Ali (a.s.): The first time he [al-Mughayra] gave advice to you, but in the second time he has betrayed you."

1. *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 87. h. 133, *Bishāra al-Muṣṭafā*, p. 263, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib*, vol. 3, p. 195.

2. It is stated in *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh* as follows: "I rejected his proposal and said: 'I will not compromise in my faith and will not submit to disgrace in my actions.'"

قَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: وَلِمَ نَصَحَنِي؟

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: لِأَنَّكَ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّ مُعَاوِيَةَ وَأَصْحَابَهُ أَهْلُ دُنْيَا فَمَتَى تُشَبِّهُهُمْ لَا يُبَالُوا بِمَنْ وَلِيَ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ، وَمَتَى تَعِزُّهُمْ يَقُولُوا: أَخَذَ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ بِغَيْرِ شُورَى وَهُوَ قَتَلَ صَاحِبَنَا، وَيُؤَلَّبُونَ عَلَيْكَ فَيَتَقَبَّضُ عَلَيْكَ أَهْلُ الشَّامِ وَأَهْلُ الْعِرَاقِ، مَعَ أَبِي لَا أَمْنٌ طَلَحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرُ أَنْ يَكْرَأَ عَلَيْكَ.

فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَمَّا مَا ذَكَرْتَ مِنْ إِقْرَارِهِمْ، فَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَشْكُ أَنْ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ فِي عَاجِلِ الدُّنْيَا لِإِصْلَاحِهَا، وَأَمَّا الَّذِي يَلْزُمُنِي مِنَ الْحَقِّ وَالْمَعْرِفَةِ بِعُمَالِ عُثْمَانَ فَوَاللَّهِ لَا أُولَى مِنْهُمْ أَحَدًا أَبَدًا، فَإِنْ أَقْبَلُوا فَذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ لَهُمْ، وَإِنْ أَدْبَرُوا بَذَلْتُ لَهُمُ السَّيْفَ.

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: فَأَطِيعْنِي وَادْخُلْ دَارَكَ وَالْحَقُّ بِهَالِكٍ يَنْبُغُ^١ وَأَغْلِقْ بَابَكَ عَلَيْكَ، فَإِنَّ الْعَرَبَ تَجُولُ جَوْلَةً وَتَضْطَرُّبُ وَلَا تَعِجُ غَيْرَكَ، فَإِنَّكَ وَاللَّهِ لَتُيْنَمَ هُزْلًا الْيَوْمَ لِيُحْمَلَنَّكَ النَّاسُ دَمَ عُثْمَانَ غَدًا.

فَأَبَى عَلِيٌّ، فَقَالَ لِابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ: سِرْ إِلَى الشَّامِ فَقَدْ وَلَّيْتُكَهَا.

فَقَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: مَا هَذَا بِرَأْيٍ، مُعَاوِيَةُ رَجُلٌ مِنْ بَنِي أُمَيَّةَ وَهُوَ ابْنُ عَمِّ عُثْمَانَ وَعَامِلُهُ عَلَى الشَّامِ، وَلَسْتُ أَمْنُ أَنْ يَضْرِبَ عُثْمَانُ أَوْ أَدْنَى مَا هُوَ صَانِعٌ أَنْ يَجْسَنِي فَيَتَحَكَّمَّ عَلَيَّ.

فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: وَلِمَ؟

قَالَ: لِإِقْرَابَةِ مَا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكَ، وَإِنْ كُلُّ مَا حُجِّلَ عَلَيْكَ حُجِّلَ عَلَيَّ، وَلَكِنْ اكْتُبْ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ فَمَنْهُ وَعْدُهُ.

فَأَبَى عَلِيٌّ وَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ لَا كَانَ هَذَا أَبَدًا.^٢

١. يُنْبَغُ: بليدة بالغرب من المدينة، بها عيون وحضر وحسن (تقويم البلدان: ص 89).

٢. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 439 وراجع: مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 364 والكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 306، والبداهة والنهاية: ج 7 ص 229.

'Ali (a.s.) said to Ibn 'Abbās: "How did he give me advice?"

Ibn 'Abbās said: "You know that Mu'āwiya and his companions are worldly oriented. If you reinstall them, they do not care who is running the government, and if you dismiss them, they will say: "He has taken the government without consultation and has killed our chief." They will stir up people against you and then the people of Shām and the people of Iraq will rise up against you, furthermore I am not sure that Ṭalḥa and Zubair would (not return to you) and attack you."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "As for your recommendation to reinstall them, by God, I have no doubt that this will be helpful for improvement of the transient worldly life. But based on my commitment to the truth and according to my knowledge of the administrators of 'Uthmān, I swear by God that I would never appoint any one of them to the government. If they submit to this [situation], it would be better for them and if they turned their back, I will draw sword against them."

Ibn 'Abbās said: "Accept my words, enter your house, go to your properties in Yanbū¹ and close the door behind you, because the Arabs will make a move and then disperse and then you will find no one but yourself. By God, if you rise up with them today, they will impose on you the vengeance for the murder of 'Uthmān."

'Ali (a.s.) refused and said to Ibn 'Abbās: "Leave for Shām! I appointed you as the governor of that region."

Ibn 'Abbās said: "This is wrong. Mu'āwiya is a man from the Umayyad tribe and is 'Uthmān's cousin and his administrator in the Shām region. I will not be safe from him beheading me in revenge for the murder of 'Uthmān, or at the least, he will imprison me or treat me in whatever way he wishes."

'Ali (a.s.) asked him: "Why?"

Ibn 'Abbās said: "Because of the kinship between you and me. Whatever He intends to impose upon you, will impose on me therefore send a letter to Mu'āwiya and oblige him and make promises to him."

'Ali (a.s.) refused and said, "By God, this will never happen."²

1. A small town near Madīna with springs and orchards.

2. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 439. Also cf. *Murāj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 364, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 306.

70. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد عن المدائني - في ذكر مجلس حضر فيه ابن عباس ومعاوية -: فَقَالَ الْمَغِيرَةُ بْنُ سُعْبَةَ: أَمَا وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ أَشْرْتُ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ بِالنَّصِيحَةِ فَأَنْتَ رَأَيْتُهُ، وَمَضَى عَلَى غُلُوَائِهِ، فَكَانَتْ الْعَاقِبَةُ عَلَيْهِ لَا لَهُ، وَإِنِّي لِأَحْسَبُ أَنَّ خَلْقَهُ يَفْتَدُونَ بِمَنْهَجِهِ.

فَقَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: كَانَ وَاللَّهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ^١ أَعْلَمَ بِوُجُوهِ الرَّأْيِ، وَمَعَايِدِ الْحَرَمِ، وَتَصْرِيفِ الْأُمُورِ، مِنْ أَنْ يَقْبَلَ مَشُورَتَكَ فِيهَا تَهَى اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، وَعَنْتَ عَلَيْهِ، قَالَ سُبْحَانَهُ: ﴿لَا تَحِدُ قَوْمًا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ يُوَادُّونَ مَنْ حَادَّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ...﴾ ^٢، وَلَقَدْ وَقَفْتُ عَلَى ذِكْرِ مُبِينٍ، وَآيَةٍ مَتْلُوءَةٍ؛ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: ﴿وَمَا كُنْتُ مُتَّخِذَ الْمُضِلِّينَ عَصَدًا﴾ ^٣.

وَهَلْ كَانَ يَسْرَعُ لَهُ أَنْ يُحْكَمَ فِي دِمَائِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَفِي الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، مَنْ لَيْسَ بِمَامُونٍ عِنْدَهُ، وَلَا مَوْثُوقٍ بِهِ فِي نَفْسِهِ؟ هَيْهَاتَ هَيْهَاتَ! هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِفَرْضِ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةِ رَسُولِهِ أَنْ يُعْطِيَ خِلَافَ مَا يُظْهَرُ إِلَّا لِلتَّقِيَّةِ، وَلَاتِ حِينَ تَقِيَّةٍ! مَعَ وَضُوحِ الْحَقِّ، وَثُبُوتِ الْجَنَانِ، وَكَثْرَةِ الْأَنْصَارِ، يَمْضِي كَالسَّيْفِ الْمُصْلِتِ فِي أَمْرِ اللَّهِ، مُؤَثِّرًا لِعِطَاعَةِ رَبِّهِ، وَالتَّقْوَى عَلَى آرَاءِ أَهْلِ الدُّنْيَا. ^٤

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إِسْرَافُ الْأَمْوَالِ يَبْتِ الْمَالِ

71. الإمام علي ^٥ - مِنْ كَلَامٍ لَهُ فِيمَا رَدَّهُ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ مِنْ قَطَائِعِ عُثْمَانَ -: وَاللَّهِ لَوْ وَجَدْتُهُ قَدْ تَزَوَّجَ بِهِ النِّسَاءَ، وَمِلَّكَ بِهِ الْإِمَاءَ؛ لَرَدَدْتُهُ، فَإِنَّ فِي الْعَدْلِ سَعَةً، وَمَنْ ضَاقَ عَلَيْهِ

١. المجادلة: 22.

٢. الكهف: 51.

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 6 ص 301؛ بحار الأنوار: ج 42 ص 170.

70. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* – narrating from al-Madā'inī reporting on the meeting in which Ibn 'Abbās and Mu'āwiya were present: "al-Mughayra ibn Shu'ba said: "Indeed, by God, I gave advice to 'Ali (a.s.) and he preferred his own view and went on with his excessiveness which ended up to his loss rather than to his benefit and I suppose his people will follow his manner."

Ibn 'Abbās said: "By God, the Commander of the Faithful was more informed and aware of the various opinions, places of prudence and handling of situations than to accept your council in what God has forbidden and disapproved of. *"You will not find a people believing in Allah and the Last Day endearing those who oppose Allah and His Apostle..."*¹, and he informed you of the Clear Reminder [The Qur'ān] and a recited verse, which is the saying of His Almighty: *"...Nor do I take those who mislead as assistants."*²

Was it permissible for him to assign people who were not trustworthy and confidential to him, to the public treasury and life of the Muslims? Far from it! Far from it! He is too aware of divine obligations and the traditions of His Messenger to harbor in his heart contrary to what he expresses, unless for the sake of dissimulation (*taqiyya*) and there is no room for dissimulation here, with the clearness of the truth, stability of the hearts and large amount of companions! He moves on like an unsheathed sword towards implementing God's commands, preferring obedience to his Lord and being God-fearing over the views of the worldly-minded."³

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Refunding Public Assets

71. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –delivered when taking back the land grants made by 'Uthmān: "By God, even if I had found that women were married by such money or slave-maids have been obtained by it, I would have returned it back because there is an expansiveness in justice and he who finds justice hard and

1. Qur'ān, 58: 22.

2. Qur'ān, 18: 51.

3. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 6, p. 301, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 42, p. 170.

الْعَدْلُ فَالْجَوْرُ عَلَيْهِ أَضِيقُ.^١

72. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: هَذِهِ الْخُطْبَةُ ذَكَرَهَا الْكَلْبِيُّ مَرْوِيَّةً مَرْفُوعَةً إِلَى أَبِي صَالِحٍ عَنْ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا ع خَطَبَ فِي الْيَوْمِ الثَّانِي مِنْ بَيْعَتِهِ بِالْمَدِينَةِ، فَقَالَ: أَلَا إِنَّ كُلَّ قَطِيعَةٍ أَقْطَعَهَا عُثْمَانُ، وَكُلُّ مَالٍ أَعْطَاهُ مِنْ مَالِ اللَّهِ، فَهُوَ مَرْدُودٌ فِي بَيْتِ الْمَالِ، فَإِنَّ الْحَقَّ الْقَدِيمَ لَا يُبْطِلُهُ شَيْءٌ، وَلَوْ وَجَدْتُهُ وَقَدْ تَزَوَّجَ بِهِ النِّسَاءُ، وَفُرِّقَ فِي الْبُلْدَانِ، لَرَدَدْتُهُ إِلَى حَالِهِ؛ فَإِنَّ فِي الْعَدْلِ سَعَةً، وَمَنْ ضَاقَ عَنْهُ الْحَقُّ فَالْجَوْرُ عَلَيْهِ أَضِيقُ.

وَتَفْسِيرُ هَذَا الْكَلَامِ أَنَّ الْوَالِي إِذَا ضَاقَتْ عَلَيْهِ تَدْبِيرَاتُ أُمُورِهِ فِي الْعَدْلِ، فَهِيَ فِي الْجَوْرِ أَضِيقُ عَلَيْهِ؛ لِأَنَّ الْجَائِزَ فِي مَظَنَّةٍ أَنْ يُمْنَعَ وَيُصَدَّ عَنْ جَوْرِهِ.

قَالَ الْكَلْبِيُّ: ثُمَّ أَمَرَ ع بِكُلِّ سِلَاحٍ وَجَدَ لِعُثْمَانَ فِي دَارِهِ مِمَّا تَقَوَّى بِهِ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ فَقَبِضَ، وَأَمَرَ يَقْبِضَ نَجَائِبَ كَانَتْ فِي دَارِهِ مِنْ بِلِ الصَّدَقَةِ فَقَبِضَتْ، وَأَمَرَ يَقْبِضَ سَيْفِهِ وَدِرْعِهِ، وَأَمَرَ أَلَّا يُعْرَضَ لِسِلَاحٍ وَجَدَ لَهُ لَمْ يُقَاتِلَ بِهِ الْمُسْلِمُونَ، وَبِالْكَفِّ عَنْ جَمِيعِ أَمْوَالِهِ الَّتِي وَجَدَتْ فِي دَارِهِ وَفِي غَيْرِ دَارِهِ، وَأَمَرَ أَنْ تُرْجَعَ الْأَمْوَالُ الَّتِي أَجَازَ بِهَا عُثْمَانُ حَيْثُ أُصِيبَتْ أَوْ أُصِيبَ أَصْحَابُهَا.

فَبَلَغَ ذَلِكَ عَمْرُو بْنُ الْعَاصِ، وَكَانَ بِأَيْلَةٍ مِنْ أَرْضِ الشَّامِ، أَنَاهَا حَيْثُ وَثَبَ النَّاسُ عَلَى عُثْمَانَ فَتَزَلَّهَا، فَكَتَبَ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ: مَا كُنْتُ صَانِعاً فَاصْنَعْ، إِذْ قَسَرَكَ ابْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ مِنْ كُلِّ مَالٍ تَمْلِكُهُ كَمَا تُقَسِّرُ عَنِ الْعَصَا لِحَاها.^٢

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة ١٥، للناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج ٢ ص ١١٠، دعائم الإسلام: ج ١ ص ٣٩٦، شرح الأخبار: ج ١ ص ٣٧٣ ح ٣١٦ كلاهما نحوه.

٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج ١ ص ٢٦٩.

constricting should find it harder to deal with injustice."¹

72. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* –al-Kalbī has attributed this sermon in the form of a *marfū'a* tradition² to Abū Ṣāliḥ who has quoted it from Ibn 'Abbās: "On the second day of his allegiance, 'Ali (a.s.) gave a lecture in Madīna, saying:

"Verily, any land that 'Uthmān has granted and any wealth from God's property that he has given as gift will be taken back to the Public Treasury. Nothing nullifies the previous rights and if I find these properties, I will restore them to their rightful place, even if they were given as a marriage portion to women or distributed among cities because there is an expansiveness in justice and he who finds it hard to act justly should find it harder to deal with injustice."

The interpretation of this statement is that: If it is hard for an administrator to manage affairs on the basis of justice, it would be harder for him to do it on the basis of injustice, for the unjust is always in a position that he might be prevented and averted from his injustice.

al-Kalbī said: "He ['Ali] (a.s.) then ordered all the weapons stored in 'Uthmān's house which were used against the Muslims to be confiscated. He ordered that the camels that were at his house and were from the alms to be collected and they were seized. He (a.s.) also ordered that his sword and shield be confiscated, and he instructed that no action should be taken in regard to the weapons which were not used to fight against Muslims and also avoid taking hold of his properties whether in his house or in other places. He ordered that the assets given away by 'Uthmān, wherever and with whomever they were, to be taken back."

The news of this treatment reached 'Amr ibn 'Āṣ, who was in Ayla, in Shām, where he had fled to when people assaulted 'Uthmān. He sent a letter [from there] to Muāwiya saying, "Do whatever you wish. The son of Abū Ṭālib separated you from your wealth, just like the bark cut off from a walking stick."³

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 15, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 110, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 396.

2. A *ḥadīth* interrupted in its chain of transmission.

3. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 269.

تَعَدُّ بَعْضُ الْإِصْلَاحَاتِ

73. الإمام علي عليه السلام: لَوْ قَدْ اسْتَوَتْ قَدَمَايَ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْمَدَاحِضِ لَغَيَّرْتُ أَشْيَاءَ^١.

74. الكافي عن سُلَيْمِ بْنِ قَيْسٍ: خَطَبَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عليه السلام فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ، ثُمَّ صَلَّى عَلَى النَّبِيِّ ﷺ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: أَلَا إِنَّ أَخَوْفَ مَا أَخَافُ عَلَيْكُمْ خَلَّتَانِ: إِتِّبَاعُ الْهَوَى، وَطُولُ الْأَمَلِ. أَمَّا إِتِّبَاعُ الْهَوَى: فَيَصُدُّ عَنِ الْحَقِّ، وَأَمَّا طُولُ الْأَمَلِ: فَيُنْسِي الْآخِرَةَ، أَلَا إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ تَرَحَّلَتْ مُدْبِرَةً، وَإِنَّ الْآخِرَةَ قَدْ تَرَحَّلَتْ مُقْبِلَةً، وَلِكُلِّ وَاحِدَةٍ بَنُونَ، فَكُونُوا مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ الْآخِرَةِ، وَلَا تَكُونُوا مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ الدُّنْيَا. فَإِنَّ الْيَوْمَ عَمَلٌ وَلَا حِسَابٌ، وَإِنَّ غَدًا حِسَابٌ وَلَا عَمَلٌ.

وإِنَّمَا بَدَأَ وَقُوعَ الْفِتَنِ مِنْ أَهْوَاءِ تَتَّبِعُ وَأَحْكَامُ تُبْتَدَعُ، يُخَالَفُ فِيهَا حُكْمُ اللَّهِ، يَتَوَلَّى فِيهَا رِجَالٌ رِجَالًا، أَلَا إِنَّ الْحَقَّ لَوْ خَلَصَ لَمْ يَكُنْ اخْتِلَافٌ، وَلَوْ أَنَّ الْبَاطِلَ خَلَصَ لَمْ يُخَفَ عَلَى ذِي حِجْبٍ. لَكِنَّهُ يُؤْخَذُ مِنْ هَذَا ضِغْتٌ^٢ وَمِنْ هَذَا ضِغْتٌ فَيَمْرَجانِ فَيَجْلَلَانِ مَعًا، فَهَذَاكَ يَسْتَوِي الشَّيْطَانُ عَلَى أَوْلِيَائِهِ، وَنَجَا الَّذِينَ سَبَقَتْ لَهُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ الْحُسْنَى.

إِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: كَيْفَ أَنْتُمْ إِذَا لَبَسَتْكُمْ فِتْنَةٌ يَرَبُو فِيهَا الصَّغِيرُ، وَيَهْرَمُ فِيهَا الْكَبِيرُ، يَجْرِي النَّاسُ عَلَيْهَا وَيَتَّخِذُونَهَا سُنَّةً، فَإِذَا غُيِّرَ مِنْهَا شَيْءٌ قِيلَ: قَدْ غُيِّرَتِ السُّنَّةُ، وَقَدْ أَتَى النَّاسَ مُنْكَرًا! ثُمَّ تَشْتَدُّ الْبَلِيَّةُ وَتُسَبِّى الدُّرِّيَّةُ، وَتَدْفُقُهُمُ الْفِتْنَةُ

١. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 272، تحرير الحكم: ح 7570، عيون الحكم والوعظ: ص 415 ح 7060.

٢. الضغث: قبضة من قضبان مختلفة، وقيل: هي الخزعة من الخشيش (لسان العرب: ج 2 ص 164).

2/4

The Difficulties of Certain Reforms

73. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "If my steps stay firm in these slippery places, I will alter [many] things."¹
74. *al-Kāfi* –narrated by Sulaym ibn Qays: "The Commander of the Faithful gave a speech praising and glorifying God and giving salutations to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). He then said:

"There are two features that I fear for you most: following desires and [having] long hopes. As for following desires, it bars one from the Truth, and as for long hopes, it makes one forget the Hereafter. Indeed the world is [departing] turning its back and the Hereafter is upcoming, each one having its own children [i.e. seekers]. Be the children of the Hereafter and not the children of this world, as today is the day of action not of reckoning and tomorrow is the day of reckoning not of action.

The cause of the trials and seditions are the desires that are followed and the laws that are innovated, in which (seditions) the laws of God are disobeyed and by which some men take authority over others.

Verily, if truth had not been intermingled with falsehood no conflicts would have existed and if falsehood had not been intermingled with the truth, it would not have been concealed from the people of wisdom. But some from each have been taken, intermixed and are shown together. Thereby the Satan dominates over its followers and only those whom Allah has already promised blessings will be far from hell [are saved]."

"Verily I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say: "How will you be when sedition befalls upon you in which the children grow up and the elderly age. People will follow according to these seditions and consider them *Sunnah* [tradition] and if a part of it is altered they would cry out that the tradition has been changed and people have committed a wrong act! Adversities will then mount, children will be taken captive, iniquities will

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 272, *Ghurur al-Hikam*, ḥ. 7570, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 415, ḥ. 7060.

كَمَا تَذُقُ النَّارُ الْحَطَبَ، وَكَمَا تَذُقُ الرَّحَا بِفَالِهَا،^١ وَيَتَفَقَّهُونَ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ، وَيَتَعَلَّمُونَ لِغَيْرِ الْعَمَلِ، وَيَطْلُبُونَ الدُّنْيَا بِأَعْمَالِ الْآخِرَةِ.

ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ بِوَجْهِهِ وَحَوْلَهُ نَاسٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ وَخَاصَّتِهِ وَشِيعَتِهِ، فَقَالَ: قَدْ عَمِلْتِ الْوُلَاةُ قَبْلِي أَعْمَالًا خَالَفُوا فِيهَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ مُتَعَمِّدِينَ لِحِلَافِهِ، نَاقِضِينَ لِعَهْدِهِ، مُعَيِّرِينَ لِسُنَّتِهِ، وَلَوْ حَمَلْتُ النَّاسَ عَلَى تَرْكِهَا وَحَوَّلْتُهَا إِلَى مَوَاضِعِهَا، وَإِلَى مَا كَانَتْ فِي عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ، لَتَفَرَّقَ عَنِّي جُنْدِي حَتَّى أَبْقَى وَحْدِي، أَوْ قَلِيلٌ مِنْ شِيعَتِي الَّذِينَ عَرَفُوا فَضْلِي وَفَرَضَ إِمَامَتِي مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَسُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ.

أَرَأَيْتُمْ لَوْ أَمَرْتُ بِمَقَامِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ ﷺ فَرَدَدْتُهُ إِلَى الْمَوْضِعِ الَّذِي وَضَعَهُ فِيهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ، وَرَدَدْتُ فَدَكَ إِلَى وَرَثَةِ فَاطِمَةَ ؑ، وَرَدَدْتُ صَاعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ كَمَا كَانَ، وَأَمْضَيْتُ قَطَائِعَ أَقْطَعَهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ لِأَقْوَامٍ لَمْ تُخَصَّ لَهُمْ وَلَمْ تُنْفَذْ، وَرَدَدْتُ دَارَ جَعْفَرٍ إِلَى وَرَثَتِهِ وَهَدَمْتُهَا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ، وَرَدَدْتُ قَضَايَا مِنَ الْجَوْرِ قُضِيَ بِهَا، وَنَزَعْتُ نِسَاءً نَحَمَتْ رِجَالَ بَغِيٍّ حَقَّ فَرَدْدُهُنَّ إِلَى أَزْوَاجِهِنَّ، وَاسْتَقْبَلْتُ بَيْنَ الْحُكَمِ فِي الْفُرُوجِ وَالْأَحْكَامِ، وَسَبَيْتُ ذُرَارِيَّ بَنِي تَغْلِبَ، وَرَدَدْتُ مَا قُسِمَ مِنْ أَرْضِ خَبَرَ، وَنَحَوْتُ دَوَاوِينَ الْعَطَايَا، وَأَعْطَيْتُ كَمَا كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ يُعْطِي بِالسُّوِّيَّةِ، وَلَمْ أَجْعَلْهَا ذَوْلَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ وَالْقَبِيئِ الْمَسَاحَةِ، وَسَوَّيْتُ بَيْنَ الْمَنَاجِحِ، وَأَنْفَذْتُ خُمْسَ الرَّسُولِ كَمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَفَرَضَهُ، وَرَدَدْتُ مَسْجِدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ إِلَى مَا كَانَ عَلَيْهِ، وَسَدَدْتُ مَا فُتِحَ فِيهِ مِنَ الْأَبْوَابِ، وَفَتَحْتُ مَا سُدَّ مِنْهُ، وَحَرَّمْتُ الْمَسْحَ عَلَى الْحَقِيقِينَ، وَخَدَدْتُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّذِ، وَأَمَرْتُ بِإِحْلَالِ الْمُتَعَتِّينَ، وَأَمَرْتُ بِالتَّكْبِيرِ عَلَى الْجَنَائِزِ

١. الثُّغَال: جِلْدَةٌ تُسَطَّحَتْ رَحَا الْيَدِ لِيَفْعَ عَلَيْهَا الدَّقِيقُ، وَيُسَمَّى الْحَجَرُ الْأَسْفَلَ ثَغَالًا بِهَا. وَالْمَعْنَى: أَنَهَا [الْفِتْنَةُ] تَذُقُهُمْ دَقَّ الرَّحَا لِلْحَبِّ إِذَا كَانَتْ مُثْقَلَةً، وَلَا تُثْقَلُ إِلَّا عِنْدَ الطَّحْنِ (النهاية: ج ١ ص ٢١٥).

overtake them as fire overtakes dry woods and millstone rubs away the bed stone. They will acquire [religious] knowledge for other than God, learn not for the sake of practice and seek worldly gains by means of [selling] the hereafter."

Then while a group of his near of kin, close companions and followers were around him he said:

"The previous governors acted in such a way that they purposely opposed the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) and broke their allegiance to him and altered his tradition (*sunna*). If I prompted people to give it up and turned it back to its original position as it was during the time of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.), the troops would stay away from me and I would be left alone or would only be with a small group of my followers who knew my virtue and were aware of the necessity of my leadership which is based on the Book of God Almighty and the tradition of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)."

"If I were to order the *Station of Abraham (a.s.)* to be taken back to its original place where the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) had laid it, to return Fadak to the inheritors of Fāṭima (a.s.), to return the measure scale (*ṣā'*)¹ of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) to its original measurement, to implement the land grants that the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) bestowed on some but they were not handed over to them, to return Ja'fār's house to his inheritors and separate it from the Mosque, to nullify the unjust judgments, to separate the women who have been unrightfully married to men and return them back to their husbands, to carry out God's ordinances about these women, to take Taghlab's children captive,² to take back the lands divided out in Khaybar, to close down offices of grants' and to provide equal grants like the time of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) and prevent circulation of assets among the rich, to cancel taxes levied on lands and to promote equality in marriages, to implement the *khum*s of the Prophet as God has ordained and made obligatory, to reshape the Mosque of the Prophet back to its original form, to close the opened up doors and to open the doors closed, to forbid wiping of the shoes [in ablution instead of the feet], to administer punishments (*ḥadd*) for drinking wine, to allow the two types of Mut'a [temporary marriage - *mut'atu'l Ḥajj* and *mut'atu'l nisā*], to order the [number of] *takbīrs* [saying *Allāh akbar*] in the

1. A measure that is common among Muslims which weighs four *mudds* (about 1.6 kg.); however, according to some traditions, the Prophet's measure weighed five *mudds*. (*Sharḥ Mullā Ṣāliḥ*, vol. 11, p. 373.)

2. They were not people of *Dhimma*, thus taking them captive was permissible. In the time of 'Umar, he compromised with them by exempting them from paying tax and they paid *zakāt* twice as much instead. (*Mir'āt al-'Uqul*, vol. 25, p. 134.)

حَمَسَ تَكْبِيرَاتٍ، وَأَلَزَمْتُ النَّاسَ الْجَهْرَ بِبِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، وَأَخْرَجْتُ مَنْ
أَدْخَلَ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ فِي مَسْجِدِهِ يَمْنَنَ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ أَخْرَجَهُ، وَأَدْخَلْتُ مَنْ
أَخْرَجَ بَعْدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَمْنَنَ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ أَدْخَلَهُ، وَحَمَلْتُ النَّاسَ عَلَى حُكْمِ
الْقُرْآنِ وَعَلَى الطَّلَاقِ عَلَى السُّنَّةِ، وَأَخَذْتُ الصَّدَقَاتِ عَلَى أَصْنَافِهَا وَحُدُودِهَا،
وَرَدَدْتُ الْوُضُوءَ وَالْغُسْلَ وَالصَّلَاةَ إِلَى مَوَاقِيتِهَا وَشَرَائِعِهَا وَمَوَاضِعِهَا، وَرَدَدْتُ أَهْلَ
نَجْرَانَ إِلَى مَوَاضِعِهِمْ، وَرَدَدْتُ سَبَايَا فَارِسَ وَسَائِرَ الْأُمَمِ إِلَى كِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةِ
نَبِيِّهِ ﷺ، إِذَا لَتَفَرَّقُوا عَنِّي.

وَاللَّهُ لَقَدْ أَمَرْتُ النَّاسَ أَنْ لَا يَجْتَمِعُوا فِي شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ إِلَّا فِي فَرِيضَةٍ، وَأَعْلَمْتُهُمْ أَنَّ
اجْتِمَاعَهُمْ فِي التَّوَافِلِ بِدْعَةٌ، فَتَنَادَى بَعْضُ أَهْلِ عَسْكَرِي يَمْنَنَ يُقَاتِلُ مَعِيَ: يَا أَهْلَ الْإِسْلَامِ،
غُيِّرَتْ سُنَّةُ عُمَرَ، يَنْهَانَا عَنِ الصَّلَاةِ فِي شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ تَطَوُّعًا. وَلَقَدْ خِفْتُ أَنْ يَثُورُوا فِي نَاجِيَةٍ
جَانِبِ عَسْكَرِي مَا لَقِيتُ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ مِنَ الْفُرْقَةِ، وَطَاعَةِ أَيْمَةِ الضَّلَالَةِ، وَالِدُعَاةِ إِلَى النَّارِ.
وَأَعْطَيْتُ^١ مِنْ ذَلِكَ سَهْمَ ذِي الْقُرْبَى الَّذِي قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: ﴿إِنْ كُنْتُمْ ءَامَنْتُمْ
بِاللهِ وَمَا أُنْزِلْنَا عَلَى عَبْدِنَا يَوْمَ الْفُرْقَانِ يَوْمَ التَّقَى الْجُمُعَانِ﴾^٢ فَتَنَحْنُ وَاللَّهُ عَنِّي بِذِي
الْقُرْبَى، الَّذِي قَرَنَّا اللَّهُ بِنَفْسِهِ وَبِرَسُولِهِ ﷺ فَقَالَ تَعَالَى: ﴿فَلِلَّهِ وَاللِّرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي
الْقُرْبَى وَالتَّبِئِمْ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ﴾^٣ فَبِنَا خَاصَّةً ﴿كَئِنْ لَا يَكُونُ دَوْلَةٌ بَيْنَ
الْأَغْنِيَاءِ مِنْكُمْ وَمَا ءَاتَاكُمْ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ﴾^٤
فِي ظُلْمِ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ﴾^٥ لِمَنْ ظَلَمَهُمْ، رَحْمَةً مِنهُ لَنَا وَغِنَى أَغْنَانَا اللَّهُ
بِهِ وَوَصَّى بِهِ نَبِيَّهُ ﷺ.

١. كذا في المصدر، وفي الاحتجاج: «وأعظم» وهو الصحيح ظاهرًا.

٢. الأنفال: ٤١.

٣. ٥٠-٥١. الحشر: ٧.

prayer performed for the dead to be five, to have people recite *bi-smi 'llah al -Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* loudly in prayers, to take out from the mosque those who were brought in next to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) while he had expelled them and to bring back those who the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) had brought in but were expelled, to order people to obey the commands of God and divorce on the basis of the traditions (*sunnah*), to collect all religious taxes (*sadaqāt*) in their various types and amounts, to take (the rules of) minor ablution (*wuḍū*), major ablution (*ghusl*) and prayer (*Ṣalāt*) back to their original time and status and rules, to return the people of Najrān back to their homes, to change the way of treating the captives of Persia and of other origins back to the way commanded by the Book of God and the traditions of the Messenger of God, then they would disperse from around me.

"By God, I ordered people not to perform prayers in the month of Ramadan in congregation except for the obligatory prayers and instructed them that congregation in supererogatory prayers is an innovation (*bid'a*). Suddenly some of the soldiers who were in my company screamed out: "O People of Islam! The tradition of 'Umar has been changed. He is preventing us from performing supererogatory prayers in Ramadan." I was afraid that [if I had not cancelled this order] the deviators from the right path and callers to the fire would have aroused disunity among some of my troops.

From this I [also] gave the share of the relatives [of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)] about whom God Almighty has said: "*Know that whatever thing you may come by, a fifth of it is for Allah and the Apostle, for the relatives and the orphans, for the needy and the traveler, if you have faith in Allah and what we sent down to Our servant on the Day of Separation, the day when the two hosts met; and Allah has power over all things.*"¹ By God, we are those meant by 'the relatives', whom God has mentioned in association with Himself and His Messenger, as He Almighty said: "*The spoils that Allah gave to His Apostle from the people of the townships, are for Allah and the Apostle, the relatives and the orphans, the needy and the traveler...*"² Meaning us, "...so that they do not circulate between the rich among you. Take whatever the Apostle gives you, and relinquish whatever he forbids you, and be wary of Allah."³ He has [further] said about the injustice to the relatives of the Prophet: "*Indeed Allah is severe in retribution*"⁴ for those who oppress them. This is a form of grace from Him Almighty to us and richness by which God has made us free from need and He has instructed His Messenger so.

1. Qur'ān, 8: 41.

2, 3, 4. Qur'ān, 59: 7.

وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ لَنَا فِي سَهْمِ الصَّدَقَةِ نَصِيباً، أَكْرَمَ اللَّهُ رَسُولَهُ ﷺ وَأَكْرَمَنَا أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ أَنْ
يُطْعِمَنَا مِنْ أَوْسَاحِ النَّاسِ، فَكَذَّبُوا اللَّهَ وَكَذَّبُوا رَسُولَهُ وَجَحَدُوا كِتَابَ اللَّهِ النَّاطِقَ
بِحَقِّنَا، وَمَنَعُونَا فَرَضاً فَرَضَهُ اللَّهُ لَنَا، مَا لَقِيَ أَهْلُ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّ مِنْ أُمَّتِهِ مَا لَقِينَا بَعْدَ
نَبِيِّنَا ﷺ وَاللَّهُ الْمُسْتَعَانُ عَلَى مَنْ ظَلَمَنَا، وَلَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ.^١

١. الكافي: ج 8 ص 58 ح 21، الاحتجاج: ج 1 ص 626 ح 146 عن مسعدة بن صدقة عن الإمام الصادق عليه السلام وفيه
من «إني سمعت رسول الله ﷺ»، كتاب سليم بن قيس: ج 2 ص 718 ح 18 كلاهما نحوه.

God did not allocate for us a portion in the share of alms. He gave honor to His Messenger and He made us the Ahlul Bayt greater than to feed us from the remnants of the people. They denied God and denied His Messenger, repudiating the Book of God that speaks about our rights and they deprived us that which God has allocated for us. There is no family of any prophet who has endured so much suffering and hardship from his community as we have suffered after [the passing away of] our Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). God supports us against those who have oppressed us and there is no power and no strength save in God the Exalted, the Supreme.”¹

1. *al-Kaṣf*, vol. 8, p. 58, ḥ. 21, *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, p. 626, ḥ. 146, *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, vol. 2, p. 718, ḥ. 18.

الفصل الثالث

السِّيَاسَةُ الْإِلَهِيَّةُ

1 / 3

الصَّدَقُ فِي السِّيَاسَةِ

75. الإمام عليّ: «هيهات! لولا التَّقَى لَكُنْتُ أَدَهَى الْعَرَبِ»^١.
76. عنه: «يا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! لولا كَرَاهِيَةُ الْغَدْرِ كُنْتُ مِنْ أَدَهَى النَّاسِ، أَلَا إِنَّ لِكُلِّ غُدْرَةٍ فُجْرَةً، وَلِكُلِّ فُجْرَةٍ كُفْرَةً. أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْغَدْرَ وَالْفُجُورَ وَالْحِيَانَةَ فِي النَّارِ»^٢.
77. عنه: «وَاللَّهِ مَا مُعَاوِيَةُ بِأَدَهَى مِنِّي، وَلَكِنَّهُ يَغْدِرُ وَيَفْجُرُ، وَلَوْ لَا كَرَاهِيَةُ الْغَدْرِ لَكُنْتُ مِنْ أَدَهَى النَّاسِ، وَلَكِنْ كُلُّ غُدْرَةٍ فُجْرَةٌ، وَكُلُّ فُجْرَةٍ كُفْرَةٌ، وَلِكُلِّ غَاذِرٍ لَوَاءٌ يُعْرَفُ بِهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ. وَاللَّهِ مَا أَسْتَغْفَلُ بِالْمَكِيدَةِ، وَلَا أَسْتَغْمَرُ بِالشَّدِيدَةِ»^٣.
78. عنه: «- فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: وَإِنْ عَقَدْتَ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ عَدُوِّكَ عَقْدَةً، أَوْ أَلْبَسْتَهُ مِنْكَ ذِمَّةً، فَحُطَّ عَهْدُكَ بِالْوَفَاءِ، وَارْعَ ذِمَّتَكَ بِالْأَمَانَةِ، وَاجْعَلْ نَفْسَكَ جُنَّةً دُونَ مَا أُعْطِيتَ، فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ فَرَائِضِ اللَّهِ شَيْءٌ النَّاسُ أَشَدُّ عَلَيْهِ اجْتِنَاعاً، مَعَ تَفَرُّقِ أَهْوَائِهِمْ،

١. الكافي: ج 8 ص 24 ح 4 عن جابر بن يزيد عن الإمام الباقر: «أمر الحكيم: ح 10041، عيون الحكيم والمواظف: ص 512 ح 9322.

٢. الكافي: ج 2 ص 338 ح 6 عن الأصمعي بن نباتة، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 454 ح 671.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 200، تنبيه المودة: ج 1 ص 454، المعيار والموازنة: ص 166 وفيه إلى «يوم القيامة».

Chapter Three

Administrative Policies

3/1

Honesty in Policy

75. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Far be it! Had it not been for God-wariness, I would have been the craftiest of Arabs."¹
76. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O People! If perjury were not repulsive, I would be the craftiest of people. Verily every perjury is an offence and within every offence there is disbelief and unthankfulness. Verily perjury, offences and betrayal all lead to Hellfire."²
77. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "By God, Mu'āwiya is not craftier than I am, but he practices deception and commits debauchery and were it not for the hideousness of deception, I would have been the craftiest of all people. But every kind of deception is a sin and every sin is disbelief [in God]. There will be a banner for every deceiver by which he will be known on the Day of Resurrection. By God, neither artifice can catch me by surprise nor shall I be overpowered by hardship."³
78. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "If you bind an agreement between yourself and your enemy or give him quarter in a protective covenant (*dhimma*), guard your agreement in good faith and tend to your covenant with fidelity. Make yourself a shield for what you have granted; for men, do not unite more firmly in any of the obligation (imposed upon them) by God than attaching importance to fidelity in agreements despite the division among their sects and the diversity of their opinions. The idolaters

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 24, ḥ. 4, *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10041, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 512, ḥ. 9322.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 338, ḥ. 6, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 454, ḥ. 671.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 200, *Yanābi' al-Mawadda*, vol. 1, p. 454, *al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzin*, p. 166.

وَتَشْتَبِ أَرَائِهِمْ، مِنْ تَعْظِيمِ الْوَفَاءِ بِالْعُهُودِ، وَقَدْ لَزِمَ ذَلِكَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ فِيهَا بَيْنَهُمْ دُونَ
الْمُسْلِمِينَ لِمَا اسْتَوْبَلُوا مِنْ عَوَاقِبِ الْغَدْرِ، فَلَا تَغْدِرَنَّ بِذِمَّتِكَ، وَلَا تُخَيِّنَنَّ بِعَهْدِكَ،
وَلَا تُخَيِّلَنَّ عَدُوَّكَ.^١

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام: ص 551 (الخدعة).

2 / 3

الإلزام بالحق

79. الإمام علي عليه السلام: إِنَّ أَفْضَلَ النَّاسِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مَنْ كَانَ الْعَمَلُ بِالْحَقِّ أَحَبَّ إِلَيْهِ - وَإِنْ نَقَصَهُ
وَكَرِهَهُ^٢ - مِنَ الْبَاطِلِ وَإِنْ جَرَّ إِلَيْهِ فَايْذَنَّهُ وَزَادَهُ.^٣

80. عنه عليه السلام: لَا تَمْنَعَنَّكُمْ رِعَايَةُ الْحَقِّ لِأَحَدٍ عَنْ إِقَامَةِ الْحَقِّ عَلَيْهِ.^٤

81. الإرشاد: لَمَّا تَوَجَّهَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عليه السلام إِلَى الْبَصْرَةِ، نَزَلَ الرَّبِذَةُ^٥ فَلَقِيَهُ بِهَا آخِرُ الْحَاجِّ،
فَاجْتَمَعُوا لِيَسْمَعُوا مِنْ كَلَامِهِ وَهُوَ فِي خِجَابِهِ.

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: فَأَتَيْتُهُ فَوَجَدْتُهُ يَخْصِفُ نَعْلًا، فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: نَحْنُ إِلَى أَنْ تُصْلِحَ أَمْرَنَا
أَحْوَجُ مِنَّا إِلَى مَا تَصْنَعُ، فَلَمْ يُكَلِّمْنِي حَتَّى فَرَّغَ مِنْ نَعْلِهِ، ثُمَّ صَمَّمَهَا إِلَى صَاحِبِهَا، ثُمَّ
قَالَ لِي: قَوْمُهَا، فَقُلْتُ: لَيْسَ لَهَا قِيَمَةٌ، قَالَ: عَلَى ذَاكَ، قُلْتُ: كَسَرُ دِرْهَمٍ.

١. الوبال: الوخامة وسوء العاقبة (مجمع البحرين: ج 3 ص 1901).

٢. خاس عهده وعهده: نقضه وخانه (لسان العرب: ج 6 ص 75).

٣. خئله: خدعه وراوغه (النهاية: ج 2 ص 9).

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، خصائص الأئمة: ص 123، تحف العقول: ص 145 نحوه.

٥. كَرِهَهُ: أَيِ اسْتَدَّ عَلَيْهِ وَبَلَغَ مِنْهُ الْمَشَقَّةَ (النهاية: ج 4 ص 161).

٦. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 125، وقعة صفين: ص 542 نحوه؛ تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 69 كلاهما عن شريح بن هانئ وفيه
«حسن» بدل «جر».

٧. نحرر الحكم: ج 10328، عيون الحكم والمواظف: ص 529 ح 9620.

٨. الربذة: من قرى المدينة على ثلاثة أيام، قريبة من ذات عرق على طريق الحجاز إذا رحلت من فيد تزيد مكة، وبهذا
الموضع قبر أبي ذر الغفاري (معجم البلدان: ج 3 ص 24).

also adhered to that (honoring agreement) among themselves by reason of evil consequences of treachery that they had seen. So never betray your covenant, never break your agreement and never deceive your enemy."¹

3/2

Commitment to Truthfulness

79. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Indeed, the best of people according to God are those for whom acting according to the truth [enforcing the truth] is more beloved—even though it brings hardship or grief—than the wrong—even though it brings them benefit and increase."²
80. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Let not protecting of someone's rights prevent you from executing the rights [of other] against him."³
81. *al-Irshād*: "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) set out for Baṣra, he stopped at a village by the name of 'Rabadha'⁴ where he was met by the last of the Hajj pilgrims who gathered around him in his tent to listen to his speech.

Ibn 'Abbās said: "I went to 'Ali (a.s.) and saw him stitching his shoes, so I said to him: "Our need for you to set in place our affairs is greater than what you are doing." He did not say anything until he finished stitching his shoe, placing it next to the other one. He then said: "What is the price of these?"

I said: "They have no value."

He said: "Whatever value they have (tell me)!"

I said: "Half a *dirham*."

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Khaṣā'is al-A'imma*, p. 123, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 145.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 125, *Waq' at Ṣiffīn*, p. 542, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 69.

3. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10328, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 529, ḥ. 9620.

4. A village between Mecca and Madina where Abā Dharr is buried.

- قَالَ: وَاللَّهِ هُمَا أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَمْرِكُمْ هَذَا، إِلَّا أَنْ أُقِيمَ حَقًّا أَوْ أُدْفَعَ بَاطِلًا.^١
82. الإمام عليؑ - في حَرْبِ صِفَيْنَ -: فَوَاللَّهِ مَا دَفَعْتُ الْحَرْبَ يَوْمًا إِلَّا وَأَنَا أَطْمَعُ أَنْ تَلْحَقَ بِي طَائِفَةٌ، فَتَهْتَدِيَ بِي وَتَعُشُّوا إِلَى ضَوْئِي، وَذَلِكَ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ أَقْتُلَهَا عَلَى صَلَاحِهَا، وَإِنْ كَانَتْ تَبُوءُ بِأَنَامِهَا.^٢
83. عنهؑ - فِي الشُّكُوفِ يَمُنُّ يَمِيلُ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ -: يَا وَيْحَهُمْ، مَعَ مَنْ يَمِيلُونَ وَيَدْعَوْنَنِي! فَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَرَدْتُهُمْ إِلَّا عَلَى إِقَامَةِ حَقٍّ، وَلَا يَرِيدُهُمْ غَيْرِي إِلَّا عَلَى بَاطِلٍ.^٣
84. عنهؑ - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى أَهْلِ مِصْرَ لَمَّا وَلَّى عَلَيْهِمُ الْأَشْتَرُ -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَقَدْ بَعَثْتُ مِنْ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ، لَا يَنَامُ أَيَّامَ الْحَوْفِ وَلَا يَنُكِّلُ عَنِ الْأَعْدَاءِ سَاعَاتِ الرُّوعِ، أَشَدَّ عَلَى الْفُجَّارِ مِنْ حَرِّقِ النَّارِ وَهُوَ مَالِكُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ أَخُو مَذْحِجٍ، فَاسْمَعُوا لَهُ وَأَطِيعُوا أَمْرَهُ فِيمَا طَابَقَ الْحَقُّ.^٤
85. عنهؑ - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: أَلْزِمِ الْحَقَّ مَنْ لَزِمَهُ مِنَ الْقَرِيبِ وَالْبَعِيدِ، وَكُنْ فِي ذَلِكَ صَابِرًا مُتَحَسِّبًا، وَإِقَاعًا ذَلِكَ مِنْ قَرَابَتِكَ وَخَاصَّتِكَ حَيْثُ وَقَعَ، وَابْتَغِ عَاقِبَتَهُ بِمَا يَنْقُلُ عَلَيْكَ مِنْهُ، فَإِنَّ مَغَبَّةَ ذَلِكَ مَحْمُودَةٌ.^٥
86. عنهؑ: يُلْزُومُ الْحَقُّ بِحُصْلِ الْإِسْتِظْهَارِ.^٦
87. عنهؑ: مَنْ عَمِلَ بِالْحَقِّ مَالَ إِلَيْهِ الْخَلْقُ.^٧

١. الإبرشاد: ج ١ ص 247، نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 33 نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 113 ح 90.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 55، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 556 ح 464.

٣. تاريخ البعقوبي: ج 2 ص 184.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 38، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 595 ح 741.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، خصائص الأئمة: ص 123، تحف العقول: ص 145.

٦. غرر الحكم: ج 4352، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 189 ح 3897.

٧. غرر الحكم: ج 8646، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 460 ح 8362.

He said: "By God, they have more value to me than the ruling over you, unless I can establish a rights and repel a wrong."¹

82. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in the battle of Šiffin: "By God, I did not delay the war even for a day except in the hope that some group may join me and find guidance through me. This is more beloved to me than to kill them while they are misguided, even though they will be bearing their own sins."²
83. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –complaining about some of his companions who had inclinations towards Mu'āwiya: "Woe onto them! Towards whom are they inclined and they too invite me along with them? By God, I did not want them except for the establishing of rights while others want them to bring about falsehood."³
84. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –To the people of Egypt when he appointed Mālik al-Ashtar as their Governor: "Now I have sent to you a man from among the servants of God who allows himself no sleep during days of danger nor does he shrink from the enemy at critical moments. He is severer on the wicked than the blazing of a fire. He is Mālik ibn Ashtar, from (the tribe of) Madhhij, so listen to him and obey his orders when they are according to the truth."⁴
85. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Impose the right upon whomsoever it is incumbent, whether he is related to you or not. Be patient and look for your ultimate account, even though it may affect your relatives and close friends. Desire the ultimate end in that of it (imposing the right) which weighs heavily against you. Seek its outcome with all its difficulties, for its outcome will be praiseworthy."⁵
86. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Adhering to the truth will bring about mightiness."⁶
87. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "People will be inclined to him who acts according to the truth."⁷

1. *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 247, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 33, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p.113, h. 90.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 55, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 556, h. 464.

3. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qubī*, vol. 2, p. 184.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 38, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 595, h. 741.

5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Khaṣā'is al-A'imma*, p. 123, *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, p. 145.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4352, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 189, h. 3897.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8646, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 460, h. 8362.

88. عنه: مَنْ جَاهَدَ عَلَى إِقَامَةِ الْحَقِّ وَفَقَّ.^١

3 / 3

الإلزام بالفانن

89. الإمام الباقر: أَخَذَ [عَلِيٌّ] رَجُلًا مِنْ بَنِي أَسَدٍ فِي حَدٍّ، فَاجْتَمَعَ قَوْمُهُ لِيُكَلِّمُوا فِيهِ، وَطَلَبُوا إِلَى الْحَسَنِ أَنْ يَصْحَبَهُمْ، فَقَالَ: ائْتُوهُ فَهُوَ أَعْلَى بِكُمْ عَيْنًا، فَدَخَلُوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّوْهُ، فَقَالَ: لَا تَسْأَلُونِي شَيْئًا أَمْلِكُ إِلَّا أَعْطَيْتُكُمْ، فَمَخَّرَ جَوَابَهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ قَدْ أَنْجَحُوا، فَسَأَلَهُمُ الْحَسَنُ، فَقَالُوا: أَتَيْنَا خَيْرَ مَا نِيَّ. وَحَكَّوْا لَهُ قَوْلَهُ، فَقَالَ: مَا كُنْتُمْ فَاعِلِينَ إِذَا جُلِدَ صَاحِبُكُمْ فَاصْنَعُوهُ، فَأَخْرَجَهُ عَلِيٌّ فَحَدَّهُ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: هَذَا وَاللَّهِ لَسْتُ أَمْلِكُهُ.^٢

90. الغارات - في ذكر النجاشي الشاعر -: كَانَ شَاعِرَ عَلِيٍّ بِصَفَيْنَ، فَشَرِبَ الْحَمْرَ بِالْكُوفَةِ، فَحَدَّهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، فَغَضِبَ وَلَحِقَ بِمُعَاوِيَةَ وَهَجَا عَلَيْهِمَا
لَمَّا حَدَّ عَلِيٌّ النَّجَاشِيَّ غَضِبَ لِذَلِكَ مَنْ كَانَ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ مِنَ الْيَمَانِيَّةِ، وَكَانَ أَحْصَاهُمْ بِهِ طَارِقُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ كَعْبٍ بْنِ أُسَامَةَ النَّهْدِيِّ، فَدَخَلَ عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَقَالَ:
يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، مَا كُنَّا نَرَى أَنَّ أَهْلَ الْمَعْصِيَةِ وَالطَّاعَةِ وَأَهْلَ الْفُرْقَةِ وَالْجَمَاعَةِ عِنْدَ وِلَاةِ الْعَدْلِ وَمَعَادِنِ الْفَضْلِ سَيَّانٍ فِي الْجَزَاءِ، حَتَّى رَأَيْتُ مَا كَانَ مِنْ صَنِيعِكَ بِأَخِي الْحَارِثِ، فَأَوْغَرْتَ صُدُورَنَا، وَشَتَّتْ أُمُورَنَا، وَحَمَلْتَنَا عَلَى الْجَادَّةِ الَّتِي كُنَّا نَرَى أَنَّ سَبِيلَ مَنْ رَكِبَهَا النَّارُ.

١. غرر الحكم: ج 8651، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 440 ح 7653.

٢. المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 147، دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 443 ح 1547 نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 9

88. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who endeavors to establish the truth will succeed."¹

3/3

Commitment to Law

89. Imām al-Bāqir: "He ['Ali] (a.s.) arrested a man from the tribe of Banī Asad to carry out a punishment. His people gathered to mediate for him and asked Ḥasan (a.s.) to go along with them."

"He [Ḥasan] (a.s.) said: "Go to him ['Ali] (a.s.) for he is better aware of your affairs."

They went to him and brought up their issue.

He said: "Ask me for anything which is at my disposal and I will grant it to you."

They left him, thinking they were successful. Ḥasan (a.s.) asked them about what happened between them and they said: "We have come with the best of results", and told him the story.

He said: "Do whatever you need to do for your friend when he is being punished."

'Ali (a.s.) took him out and carried out the punishment on him, and he then said: "By God this [execution of punishment] is an issue out of my power [rather, it is God's command]."²

90. *al-Ghārāt* —in a report about the poet al-Najāshī: "In the battle of Ṣiffīn, al-Najāshī was 'Ali's (a.s.) poet. He drank wine in Kūfa and the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) executed the punishment on him. He became angry and joined Mu'āwiya and dispraised 'Ali (a.s.)...."

When 'Ali (a.s.) punished al-Najāshī, those from among his companions from the Yamāniyah tribe got angry and the closest of them to 'Ali (a.s.), Tāriq ibn 'Abdullah Nahdī, went to him and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! We did not imagine that the sinners and the obedient, the separatists and allies, are equal before the leaders of justice and the fountainheads of virtue until I saw your treatment of my brother Ḥārith [al-Najāshī]. You pained our hearts, dispersed our affairs and you made us choose a road which we previously thought that he who walks on it will be led to Hellfire."

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, ḥ. 8651, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 440, ḥ. 7653.

2. *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 147, *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 443, ḥ. 1547, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 9, ḥ. 1.

فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: «وَأَيُّهَا لَكَبِيرَةٌ إِلَّا عَلَى الْخُشْعِينَ»^١، يَا أَخَا بَنِي نَهْدٍ، وَهَلْ هُوَ إِلَّا رَجُلٌ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ انْتَهَكَ حُرْمَةً مِنْ حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ فَأَقَمْنَا عَلَيْهِ حَدًّا كَانَ كَفَارَتُهُ، إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى يَقُولُ: «وَلَا تَجْرِمَنكُمْ شَنَاَنُ قَوْمٍ عَلَىٰ أَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا اعْدِلُوا هُوَ أَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوَىٰ»^٢.

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ص 514 (إقامة الحدود على القريب والبعيد).

4 / 3

عَدَمُ الْمُدَاهَنَةِ

91. رسول الله ﷺ: إِرْفَعُوا أَلْسِنَتَكُمْ عَنْ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، فَإِنَّهُ خَيْرٌ فِي ذَاتِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، غَيْرُ مُدَاهِنٍ فِي دِينِهِ.^١
92. الإمام عليّ: لا يُقِيمُ أَمْرَ اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ إِلَّا مَنْ لَا يُصَانِعُ، وَلَا يُضَارِعُ، وَلَا يَتَّبِعُ الْمَطَامِعَ.^٢
93. عنه: لَمَّا أَرَادَهُ النَّاسُ عَلَى الْبَيْعَةِ -: إَعْلَمُوا أَنِّي إِنْ أَجَبْتُكُمْ رَكِبْتُ بِكُمْ مَا أَعْلَمُ، وَلَمْ أَصْغِ إِلَى قَوْلِ الْقَائِلِ وَعَتَبِ الْعَاتِبِ.^٣

١. البقرة: 45.

٢. المائدة: 3.

٣. الغارات: ج 2 ص 533 و 539، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 147 نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 9 ح 2، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 89 نحوه.

٤. الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 173، كشف الغمّة: ج 1 ص 236، بحار الأنوار: ج 21 ص 385 ح 10 وراجع: مستند ابن حنبل: ج 4 ص 172 ح 11817 والبداية والنهاية: ج 5 ص 209 و ج 7 ص 346 وجميع الزوائد: ج 9 ص 174 ح 14735.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 110، صبور الحكم والمواعظ: ص 541 ح 10032 وفيه «يتخادع» بدل «يضارع» و«يغيره» بدل «يتبع» وراجع: نشر الدرر: ج 1 ص 292.

٦. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 92، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 110، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 35 ح 23.

“‘Ali (a.s.) said: “...and it is indeed hard except for the humble.”¹
 O Brother from Banī Nahd! Was he not a Muslim man who violated one of God’s sanctities and we executed against him the penalty which was his expiation? God Almighty has said: “...and ill feeling for a people should never lead you to be unfair. Be fair; that is nearer to Godwariness.”^{2 3}

See, 7/10: “Equal Execution of Legal Punishments on the Near of Kin and Strangers”

3/4

Never Compromising

91. The Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.): “Keep your tongues from criticizing ‘Ali ibn Abū Ṭālib (a.s.), for he is strict in matters related to God Almighty and is uncompromising in his faith.”⁴
92. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “No one can establish the rule of God Almighty except he who shows no compromising (in the matter of rights), and who does not make himself abject and does not go after objects of greed.”⁵
93. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) —when people decided to swear allegiance to him: “Know that if I respond to your request I will lead you as I know and would not listen to whatever one may say or abuse.”⁶

1. Qur’ān, 2: 45.

2. Qur’ān, 5: 8.

3. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 2, p. 533 & 539, *Manāqib ‘Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 147.

4. *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 173, *Kashf al-Ghumma*, vol. 1, p. 236, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 21, p. 385, ḥ. 10.

5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 110, *‘Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā’iz*, p. 541, ḥ. 10032, also cf. *Nathr al-Durr*, vol. 1, p. 292.

6. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 92, *Manāqib ‘Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 110, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 35, ḥ. 23.

94. عنه: «وَلَعَمْرِي مَا عَلَيَّ مِنْ قِتَالٍ مَن خَالَفَ الْحَقَّ وَخَاطَبَ الْغَيَّ مِنْ إِدْهَانٍ وَلَا إِيْهَانٍ، فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ وَفِرُّوا إِلَى اللَّهِ مِنْ اللَّهِ»^١

95. عنه: «لَا أَدَاهِنُ فِي دِينِي، وَلَا أُعْطِي الدَّيْنَةَ فِي أَمْرِي»^٢

96. حلية الأولياء عن عبد الواحد الدمشقي: نادى حَوْشَبُ الْحَرِيرِيُّ عَلِيًّا يَوْمَ صِفَيْنَ، فَقَالَ: إِنَصِّرْ عَنَّا يَا بَنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، فَإِنَّا نَنْشُدُكَ اللَّهَ فِي دِمَائِنَا وَدَمِكَ، نُخَلِّي بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ عِرَاقِكَ، وَنُخَلِّي بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ شَامِنَا، وَنُحَقِّقُ دِمَاءَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ.

فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: هَيْهَاتَ يَا بَنَ أُمِّ ظَلِيمٍ! وَاللَّهِ لَوْ عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ الْمُدَاهَنَةَ تَسْعُنِي فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ لَفَعَلْتُ، وَلَكَانَ أَهْوَنَ عَلَيَّ فِي الْمَوَوتَةِ، وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمْ يَرْضَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقُرْآنِ بِالْإِدْهَانِ وَالسُّكُوتِ، وَاللَّهُ يُعْصِي»^٣

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ص 380 (عزل عمال عثمان) و ص 401 (الموقف الحازم مع العمال).

5 / 3

تنظيم الأمور

97. الإمام علي: «- فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: وَأَمْضِ لِكُلِّ يَوْمٍ عَمَلَهُ؛ فَإِنَّ لِكُلِّ يَوْمٍ مَا فِيهِ... إِيَّاكَ وَالْعَجَلَةَ بِالْأُمُورِ قَبْلَ أَوَانِهَا، أَوْ التَّسْقُطَ فِيهَا عِنْدَ إِمْكَانِهَا، أَوْ اللَّجَاجَةَ فِيهَا إِذَا تَنَكَّرَتْ، أَوْ الْوَهْنَ عَنْهَا إِذَا اسْتَوْضَحَتْ. فَضَعْ كُلَّ أَمْرٍ مَوْضِعَهُ، وَأَوْقِعْ كُلَّ أَمْرٍ مَوْقِعَهُ»^٤

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 24.

٢. الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 306، مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 364 وفيه «الرياء» بدل «الدنية»، تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 439 نحوه وكلها عن ابن عباس وراجع: البداية والنهاية: ج 7 ص 229.

٣. حلية الأولياء: ج 1 ص 85، أسد الغابة: ج 2 ص 92 الرقم 1298، الاستيعاب: ج 1 ص 457 الرقم 599 وفيها «الخميري» بدل «الحيري» وراجع: تاريخ دمشق: ج 39 ص 264.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 143 و ص 147، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 367 كلاهما نحوه.

94. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "By my life, there will be no compromising nor slackening from me in fighting against one who opposes the right or gropes in misguidance. O creatures of God! Fear God and flee from (The wrath of) God unto God (His Mercy)."¹
95. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "I would not compromise in my religion, nor would I be villainous in my affairs."²
96. *Hilyat al-Awliyā* –narrating from 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Dimashqī: "Khawshab al-Khayrī called out to 'Ali (a.s.) in the battle of Ṣiffīn and said: "O Son of Abū Ṭālib! Forsake us! Be mindful of God as regards to our blood and yours. We leave you with the land of Iraq and you leave us with the land of Shām and preserve the blood of the Muslims."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "Far from it! O Son of Umm Ṣalīm! By God, if I knew that I could compromise in the religion of God, I would do so and it would have cost me less. However, God will not be pleased that the people of the Qur'ān compromise and keep silent while He is being disobeyed."³

See 3/11, "Decisiveness towards Administrators"

2/2, "Dismissing 'Uthmān's Administrators"

3/5

Planning and Organizing

97. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "...Each day perform the work of that day, for each day has its own work. Beware of being hasty to (accomplish) affairs before their (proper) time, or neglecting them when it is possible, or being persistent in doing them when they are impracticable, or showing weakness in them when they have become clear. So put everything in its place and perform every action at its time."⁴

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 24.

2. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 306, *Muraj al-Dhabab*, vol. 2, p. 364, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 439.

3. *Hilyat al-Awliyā*, vol. 1, p. 85, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 92, h. 1298, *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 1, p. 457, h. 599.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-Uqūl*, p. 143 & 147, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 367.

98. عنه: - من كتابه إلى أمراء الخراج: - إياكم وتأخير العمل ودفع الخير؛ فإن في ذلك الندم.¹
99. عنه: - مجتنب الثمرة لغير وقت إيناعها كالزراع بغير أرضه.²
100. عنه: - من الحرق المعاجلة قبل الإمكان، والأناء بعد الفرصة.³
101. عنه: - في صفة القرآن: - ألا إن فيه علم ما يأتي، والحديث عن الماضي، ودواء داءكم، ونظم ما بينكم.⁴
102. عنه: - في وصيته للحسن والحسين: لما صر به ابن ملجم: - أوصيكمما وجميع ولدي وأهلي ومن بلغه كتابي، يتقوى الله ونظم أمركم.⁵

6 / 3

إِنْخَابُ الْعِبَالِ الصَّالِحِينَ

103. الإمام علي: - في عهده إلى مالك الأشتر: - لِكُلِّ عَلَى الْوَالِي حَقٌّ يَقْدِرُ مَا يُصْلِحُهُ، وَلَيْسَ يَخْرُجُ الْوَالِي مِنْ حَقِيقَةِ مَا أَلَزَمَهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا بِالْإِهْتِمَامِ وَالِاسْتِعَانَةِ بِاللَّهِ، وَتَوْطِينِ نَفْسِهِ عَلَى لُزُومِ الْحَقِّ، وَالصَّبْرِ عَلَيْهِ فِيهَا خَفٌّ أَوْ نُقْلٌ.
- قَوْلٌ مِنْ جُنُودِكَ أَنْصَحَهُمْ فِي نَفْسِكَ لِلَّهِ وَلِرَسُولِهِ وَلِإِمَامِكَ، وَأَنْقَاهُمْ جَبِيًّا، وَأَفْضَلَهُمْ جِلْمًا، يَمْنُ يُطِئُ عَنِ الْغَضَبِ، وَيَسْتَرِيحُ إِلَى الْعُذْرِ، وَيَرَأْفُ بِالضَّعْفَاءِ، وَيَنْبُو عَلَى الْأَقْوِيَاءِ، وَمَنْ لَا يُبِيرُهُ الْعُنْفُ، وَلَا يَقْعُدُ بِهِ الضَّعْفُ.

١. وقعة صفين: ص 108، بحار الأنوار: ج 75 ص 355 ح 170؛ العيار والموازنة: ص 123 نحوه.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 5، كشف اليقين: ص 216 ح 218، نزهة الناظر: ص 56 ح 39 نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 28 ص 235.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 363، نزهة الناظر: ص 48 ح 17، بحار الأنوار: ج 71 ص 341 ح 14.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 158، الرواشح السيارية: ص 22، بحار الأنوار: ج 92 ص 23 ح 24.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 47، روضة الواعظين: ص 152؛ تنابيع المودة: ج 2 ص 30 ح 2.

٦. نيا فلان عن فلان: لم يتقد له، ونيا بي فلان ثبوا: إذا جفاني (لسان العرب: ج 15 ص 302).

98. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to the chiefs [collectors] of land tribute: "Beware of postponing works and repelling (to do) goodness, for there is remorse in them."¹
99. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "One who plucks fruits before its ripening is like one who cultivates in an unsuitable land."²
100. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "It is absurd to make haste before the proper time or to delay after opportunity arises."³
101. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –describing the Qur'ān: "Know that it contains knowledge of what is going to occur, stories of the past, a cure for your illnesses and rules to organize your affairs."⁴
102. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his advice to Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.): "I advise you (both) and all my children and members of my family and everyone whom my writing reaches to fear God and to keep your affairs in order."⁵

3/6

Election of Righteous Administrators

103. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "For every person there is a right over the ruler to the extent that set it aright and his life is settled on to the extent that set it aright. But the ruler will not truly accomplish what God has enjoined upon him in this respect except by resolutely striving and recourse to God's help, by making himself adhere to truth and by being patient in enforcing the right, be it easy for him or burdensome.

Appoint as commander from among your troops the one who in your sight is the most sincere [advising] in the way of God, His Messenger (ṣ.a.w.) and your Imām and who is the purest and the most chaste of heart and the most outstanding in intelligence forbearance, who is slow to anger, accepts pardon, is gentle to the weak and harsh with the strong, and who is not stirred by severity nor held back by incapacity.

1. *Waq'at Shifīn*, p. 108, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 75, p. 355, ḥ. 70, *al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzin*, p. 123.
 2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 5, *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, p. 216, ḥ. 218, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, p. 56, ḥ. 39.
 3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 363, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, p. 48, ḥ. 17, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 71, p. 341, ḥ. 14.
 4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 158, *al-Rawāshih al-Samāwiya*, p. 22, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 92, p. 23, ḥ. 24.
 5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 47, *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn*, p. 152, *Yanābi' al-Mawadda*, vol. 2, p. 30, ḥ. 2.

ثُمَّ الصَّقِ بِذَوِي الْمُرُوءَاتِ وَالْأَحْسَابِ، وَأَهْلِ الْبُيُوتَاتِ الصَّالِحَةِ، وَالسَّوَابِقِ الْحَسَنَةِ؛ ثُمَّ أَهْلَ النَّجْدَةِ وَالشَّجَاعَةِ، وَالسَّخَاءِ وَالسَّهَابَةِ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ جَمَاعٌ مِنَ الْكَرَمِ، وَشُعَبٌ مِنَ الْعُرْفِ. ثُمَّ تَفَقَّدْ مِنْ أُمُورِهِمْ مَا يَتَفَقَّدُ الْوَالِدَانِ مِنْ وَلَدَيْهِمَا....

ثُمَّ انْظُرْ فِي أُمُورِ عُمَالِكَ فَاسْتَعْمِلْهُمْ اخْتِيَاراً، وَلَا تُؤْلِهِمْ مُحَابَاةً وَاثَرَةً، فَإِنَّهُمْ جَمَاعٌ مِنْ شُعَبِ الْجَوْرِ وَالْخِيَانَةِ، وَتَوَخَّ مِنْهُمْ أَهْلَ التَّجَرِبَةِ وَالْحَيَاءِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبُيُوتَاتِ الصَّالِحَةِ، وَالْقَدَمِ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ الْمُتَقَدِّمَةِ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ أَكْرَمُ أَخْلَاقًا، وَأَصَحُّ أَعْرَاضاً، وَأَقْلُّ فِي الْمَطَامِعِ إِشْرَاقاً، وَأَبْلَغُ فِي عَوَاقِبِ الْأُمُورِ نَظْراً....

ثُمَّ لَا يَكُنْ اخْتِيَارُكَ إِيَّاهُمْ عَلَى فِرَاسَتِكَ، وَاسْتِنَامَتِكَ^١، وَحُسْنِ الظَّنِّ مِنْكَ؛ فَإِنَّ الرُّجَالَ يَتَعَرَّضُونَ لِفِرَاسَاتِ الْوُلَاةِ يَتَصَنِّعُهُمْ وَحُسْنِ خِدْمَتِهِمْ، وَلَيْسَ وَرَاءَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ النَّصِيحَةِ وَالْأَمَانَةِ شَيْءٌ، وَلَكِنْ اخْتَرَهُمْ بِمَا وَلُوا لِلصَّالِحِينَ قَبْلَكَ، فَاعْمِدْ لِأَحْسَنِهِمْ كَانَ فِي الْعَامَّةِ أَثَرًا، وَأَعْرِفِهِمْ بِالْأَمَانَةِ وَجْهًا؛ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى نَصِيحَتِكَ لِلَّهِ وَلِئِنْ وُلِّيتَ أَمْرَهُ.

وَاجْعَلْ لِرَأْسِ كُلِّ أَمِيرٍ مِنْ أُمُورِكَ رَأْساً مِنْهُمْ لَا يَقْهَرُهُ كَبِيرُهَا، وَلَا يَتَشَتَّتْ عَلَيْهِ كَثِيرُهَا، وَمَهْمَا كَانَ فِي كِتَابِكَ مِنْ عَيْبٍ فَتَغَايَبَتْ^٢ عَنْهُ الزِّمْمَةُ^٣.

104. عنه: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: فَاصْطَفِ لِيُولَايَةِ أَعْمَالِكَ أَهْلَ الْوَرَعِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَالسِّيَاسَةِ^٤.

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ص 380 (عزل عمال عثمان).

١. استنام إلى الشيء: استأنس به، واستنام فلان إلى فلان: إذا أنس به واطمأن إليه وسكن (لسان العرب: ج 12 ص 598).

٢. تغايب: أي تغافل ونبأه (النهاية: ج 3 ص 342).

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 132 و 137 و 139، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1، ص 357 و 361 و 365 كلامها نحوه.

٤. تحف العقول: ص 137، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 361.

Then hold fast to men of magnanimity and noble descent and those of righteous families and good precedents, then to men of bravery, courage, generosity and magnanimity, for they are encompassed by nobility and embraced by honor. Then inspect their affairs the same way parents look into the affairs of their child... .

Then look into the affairs of your administrators. Employ them (only after) having tested (them) and appoint them not with favoritism or arbitrariness, for these two (attributes) bring about different kinds of oppression and treachery. Among them look for people of experience and modesty from righteous families and the foremost in Islam, for they are nobler in moral qualities, more genuine in dignity and less concerned with ambitious desires, and they perceive more penetratingly the consequences of affairs.

Let not your choosing of them be in accordance with your own discernment, confidence and good opinion, for men make themselves known to the discernment of rulers by dissimulating and serving them well, even though beyond this there may be nothing of sincere counsel and loyalty. Rather examine them in that with which they were entrusted by the righteous (rulers) before you. Depend upon him who has left the fairest impression upon the common people and whose countenance is best known for trustworthiness. This will be proof of your sincerity towards Allah and towards him whose affair has been entrusted to you. Appoint to the head of each of your concerns a chief who is neither overpowered when these affairs are great nor disturbed when they are many. Whatever fault of your secretaries you overlook will come to be attached to you.”¹

104. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: “Appoint the pious, the knowledgeable and men of policy for taking charge of the works.”²

See 2/2, “Dismissing ‘Uthmān’s Administrators”

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, p. 132 & 137 & 139, *Da’a’im al-Islām*, vol. 1, h. 357, p. 361 & 365.

2. *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, p. 137, *Da’a’im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 361.

7 / 3

عَدَمُ اسْتِعْمَالِ الْخَائِنِ الْعَاجِزِ

105. الإمام علي عليه السلام: إِنَّ الْمَغِيرَةَ بْنَ سُعْبَةَ قَدْ كَانَ أَشَارَ عَلَيَّ أَنْ اسْتَعْمِلَ مُعَاوِيَةَ عَلَى الشَّامِ وَأَنَا بِالْمَدِينَةِ، فَأَبَيْتُ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِ، وَلَمْ يَكُنِ اللَّهُ لِيَرَانِي أَتَّخِذُ الْمُضِلِّينَ عَصُدًا.¹

106. عنه عليه السلام - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: إِنَّ شَرَّ وَزَرَائِكَ مَنْ كَانَ لِلْأَشْرَارِ قَبْلَكَ وَزِيرًا، وَمَنْ شَرَّكَهُمْ فِي الْأَثَامِ؛ فَلَا يَكُونَنَّ لَكَ بَطَانَةً؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ أَعْوَانُ الْأَثَمَةِ وَإِخْوَانُ الظَّلَمَةِ، وَأَنْتَ وَاحِدٌ مِنْهُمْ خَيْرَ الْخَلْفِ مِمَّنْ لَهُ مِثْلُ آرَائِهِمْ وَنَفَادِهِمْ، وَلَيْسَ عَلَيْهِ مِثْلُ أَصَارِهِمْ وَأَوْزَارِهِمْ وَأَثَامِهِمْ مِمَّنْ لَمْ يُعَاوَنِ ظَالِمًا عَلَى ظُلْمِهِ، وَلَا آثِمًا عَلَى إِثْمِهِ. أُولَئِكَ أَخَفُّ عَلَيْكَ مَوَؤَنَةً، وَأَحْسَنُ لَكَ مَعُونَةً، وَاحْنِ عَلَىكَ عَطْفًا، وَأَقْلُ لِيْغِيرَكَ إِفًّا، فَاتَّخِذْ أُولَئِكَ خَاصَّةً لِحُلُومَانِكَ وَخَفَلَاتِكَ.²

107. عنه عليه السلام - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى رِفَاعَةَ قَاضِيهِ عَلَى الْأَهْوَاِ -: إِعْلَمْ يَا رِفَاعَةُ أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْإِمَارَةَ أَمَانَةٌ؛ فَمَنْ جَعَلَهَا خِيَانَةً فَعَلَّيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَمَنْ اسْتَعْمَلَ خَائِنًا فَإِنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بَرِيءٌ مِنْهُ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ.³

108. عنه عليه السلام - يَصِفُ الْإِمَامَ الْحَقَّ -: وَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ أَنَّهُ لَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ يَكُونَ الْوَالِي عَلَى الْفُرُوجِ وَالْذَّمَاءِ وَالْمَغَانِمِ وَالْأَحْكَامِ وَإِمَامَةَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ الْبَخِيلِ؛ فَتَكُونَ فِي أُمُورِهِمْ نَهْمَتُهُ، وَلَا

1. إشارة إلى الآية 51 من سورة الكهف.

2. وقعة صفين: ص 52 عن الجرجاني؛ الإمامة والسياسة: ج 1 ص 116، تاريخ دمشق: ج 59 ص 131 وراجع: الحُصَال: ص 379 ح 58 والاختصاص: ص 177.

3. خُفْلُ الْقَوْمِ: اجتمعوا واحتشدوا (لسان العرب: ج 11 ص 157).

4. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 129، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 355 كلاهما نحوه.

5. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 531 ح 1890، نهج السعادة: ج 5 ص 33.

3/7

Refraining from Employing the Treacherous and the Feeble

105. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Mughayra ibn Shu'ba suggested to me that I should appoint Mu'āwiya as the governor of Shām and that I should stay in Madīna, but I rejected his suggestion and God will never see me take those who mislead as my assistants."^{1 2}
106. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Truly the worst of your viziers are those who were the viziers of the evil (rulers) before you and shared with them in their sins. Let them not be among your retinue, for they are aides of the sinners and brothers of wrongdoers. You will find the best of substitutes for them from among those who possess the like of their ideas and effectiveness but are not encumbered by the like of their burdens, sins and offences; those who have not aided a wrongdoer in his wrongs nor an offender in his offences. They will be a lighter burden upon you, a better aid and more inclined towards you in sympathy and less intimate with others. So choose them as your special companions in your private and public assemblies."³
107. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –from his letter to Rifā'a who was his judge in the city of Ahwāz: "Know, O Rifā'a that this position of governance is a trust, so whoever betrays it, on him will be the curse of God until the Day of Judgment; and whoever employs a traitor, truly Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) will despise him both in this world and the world to come."⁴
108. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –describing a true leader: "You indeed know that he who is in charge of the people's honor, life, war gains, the laws and the leadership of the Muslims should not be a miser, as with his greed he may have expectations in their

1. Cf., Qur'an, 18:51.

2. *Waḡ'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 52, *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 116, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 59, p. 131.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 116, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 59, p. 131.

4. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 531, ḥ. 1890, *Nahj al-Sa'ada*, vol. 5, p. 33.

الجاهل؛ فَيُضِلُّهُمْ بِجَهْلِهِ، وَلَا الْجَائِي؛ فَيَقْطَعُهُمْ بِجَفَائِهِ، وَلَا الْخَائِفَ لِلدُّوْلِ؛
فَيَسْخِذُ قَوْمًا دُونَ قَوْمٍ، وَلَا الْمُرْتَشِيَّ فِي الْحُكْمِ؛ فَيَذْهَبَ بِالْحَقُّوقِ، وَيَقِفَ بِهَا دُونَ
الْمُقَاطِعِ،^١ وَلَا الْمُعْطَلُ لِلْسُنَّةِ؛ فَيُهْلِكَ الْأُمَّةَ.^٢

109. عنه: - فِي الْحُكْمِ الْمُنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: مَنْ فَسَدَتْ بِطَائِفَتُهُ كَانَ كَمَنْ غَصَّ بِالمَاءِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَوْ
غَصَّ بِغَيْرِهِ لَأَسَاغَ الْمَاءُ غُصَّتُهُ.^٣

110. عنه: أَقَّةُ الْأَعْمَالِ عَجْزُ الْعَمَالِ.^٤

111. عنه: لَا تَتَكَلَّفْ فِي أُمُورِكَ عَلَى كَسَلَانٍ.^٥

112. عنه: مَنْ خَانَهُ وَزِيرُهُ فَسَدَ تَدْبِيرُهُ.^٦

113. عنه: كَذِبُ السَّفِيرِ يُؤَلِّدُ الْفَسَادَ، وَيُقَوِّتُ الْمُرَادَ، وَيُبْطِلُ الْحَرَمَ، وَيَنْقُضُ الْعَزَمَ.^٧

١. المقاطع: جمع مقطع وهو ما ينتهي الحق إليه، أي لا تصل الحقوق إلى أربابها لأجل ما أخذ من الرشوة عليها (شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 8 ص 266).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 131 وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 531 ح 1886.

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 308 ح 526.

٤. غرر الحكم: ج 3958، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 181 ح 3711.

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 10205، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 518 ح 9384.

٦. غرر الحكم: ج 8054، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 432 ح 7430.

٧. غرر الحكم: ج 7259، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 397 ح 6724.

قد نخطر على بال بعض هذه الشبهة: وهي أن الإمام علياً: كان يؤخذ على اختيار الصلحاء ويحذر من استعمال الخائن والعاجز. فكيف كان بين عماله وولاته أشخاص غير صالحين؟ فقد كان بعض عماله كزياد بن أبيه، والمنذر بن الجارود، والنعيمان بن عجلان وغيرهم خائنين، وفيها هناك كان آخرون كعبيد الله بن عباس وأبي أيوب وغيرهم يفتقدون لعنصر الكفاءة والتدبير. فلماذا استعملهم؟ ولماذا عزل رجلاً متدبناً ومذنباً كقيس بن سعد، وولى مكانه محمد بن أبي بكر وهو شاب عديم التجربة؟

جاء جواب الشبهة الأولى في مدخل القسم السادس عشر (طلافة من عماله وأصحابه).

أما الشبهة الثانية فقد وردت ضمن سيرة قيس بن سعد، وجاء الجواب عنها تفصيلياً في القسم السادس عشر أيضاً.

wealth, nor should he be ignorant as he would then mislead them with his ignorance, nor should he be of harsh and indifferent as he will estrange them with his behavior, nor should he be unjust in the distribution of wealth, that he gives to a group and denies another, nor should he be one who accepts bribes when taking decisions, as he would forfeit the rights of others and hold them up not letting them reach the owners, nor should he stop the practice of the tradition (*sunna*) as he would ruin the nation."¹

109. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –from the aphorisms attributed to him (a.s.): "The person whose retinue are corrupt is like the one whose throat is congested with water [and there is no solution to it], since whatever that is stuck in the throat would be removed [washed down] with water."²
110. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The blight of affairs is the incapacity of administrators."³
111. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "In your affairs do not rely on the lazy."⁴
112. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He whose vizier betrays him, his (power of) management will be spoiled."⁵
113. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The lying of the envoys produces corruption, ruins the goals, invalidates the prudence and breaks one's determination."⁶

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 131, also cf. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 531, h. 1886.

2. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 308, h. 526.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 3958, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 181, h. 3711.

4. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 10205, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 518, h. 9384.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8054, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 432, h. 7430.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*: h. 7259, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 397, h. 6724. It may sometimes come to one's mind that why did Imām 'Ali (a.s.), who emphasized on the appointment of truthful administrators and warned against employment of the inefficient and traitors, employ incompetent administrators and governors and appoint such persons as Ziyād ibn Abih, Mundhir ibn Jārūd, and Nu'mān ibn 'Ajlān etc., who were traitors; and 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbās and Abū Ayyūb and others who were incapable. On the other hand, why did he dismiss a religious and competent person like Qays ibn Sa'd and appoint Muḥammad ibn Abi Bakr in his place? The response to the first question is given in the introduction of Section 16 and the answer to the second is in this same section in relation to the life (*sira*) of Qays ibn Sa'd.

8 / 3

إِسْبَاعُ الْأَرْزَاقِ عَلَى الْعُمَالِ

114. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في عهده إلى مالك الأشتر -: ثُمَّ اسْبِغْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْأَرْزَاقَ؛ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ قُوَّةٌ لَهُمْ عَلَى اسْتِصْلَاحِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ، وَغِنَى لَهُمْ عَنْ تَنَاوُلِ مَا تَحْتَ أَيْدِيهِمْ، وَحُجَّةٌ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنْ خَالَفُوا أَمْرَكَ أَوْ نَلَمُوا أَمَانَتَكَ.¹

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام: ج 2 ص 505 (التأمين الاقتصادي للقضاة).

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إِخْتِيَارُ الْعِيُونِ لِمُقَابَلَةِ الْعُمَالِ

115. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في كتابه إلى كعب بن مالك² -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ؛ فَاسْتَخْلِفْ عَلَى عَمَلِكَ، وَاخْرُجْ فِي طَائِفَةٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِكَ حَتَّى تَمُرَّ بِأَرْضِ كَوْرَةِ السَّوَادِ،³ فَتَسْأَلْ عَنْ عُمَالِي، وَتَنْظُرَ فِي سِيرَتِهِمْ فِيمَا بَيْنَ دَجَلَةَ وَالْعُدَيْبِ،⁴ ثُمَّ ارْجِعْ إِلَى الْبَهْقِيزَاتِ⁵ فَتَقُولَ مَعُونَتَهَا، وَاعْمَلْ بِطَاعَةِ اللَّهِ فِيهَا وَلَاكَ مِنْهَا.

1. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 137، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 361.

2. الظاهر أن الصحيح هو «مالك بن كعب» لعدم وجود عامل للإمام عليه السلام باسم كعب بن مالك، بل إن كعب بن مالك ممن لم يبايع الإمام، وأما مالك بن كعب فهو من عتاله وممن يعتمد عليه وهو عامله على عين التمر وبنهقباذات.

3. السواد: أراضي وقرى العراق وضياعها التي افتتحها المسلمون على عهد عمر بن الخطاب، سُمي بذلك لسواده بالزروع والنخيل والأشجار (راجع: معجم البلدان: ج 3 ص 272).

4. العُدَيْب: تصغير العذب؛ وهو الماء الطيب، وهو ماء بين القادسية والمغينة، بينه وبين القادسية أربعة أميال وإلى المغينة اثنتان وثلاثون ميلاً (معجم البلدان: ج 4 ص 92).

5. بنهقباذ: اسم لثلاث كُود ببغداد من أعمال سقي الفرات منسوبة إلى قباذ بن فيروز والد أنوشروان (معجم البلدان: ج 1 ص 516).

3/8

Generosity in Providing Administrators with Daily Sustenance

114. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then bestow provisions upon them abundantly, for that will empower them to reform themselves and it will make them needless from consuming what is under their authority and it is an argument against them if they should disobey your command or sully your trust."¹

See Chapter Seven: 'Judicial Policies'

3/9

Choosing Secret Agents to Keep a Check on the Administrators

115. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to Ka'b ibn Mālik:² "appoint someone in your place and set forth with a group of your companions until you reach the villages of Sawād.³ Then, see into the affairs of my administrators in the regions of Tigris and 'Udhayb⁴ and check their conducts. After that, return to al-Bihqubādhat⁵ and take charge of the affairs there and follow

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tihaf al-Uqūl*, p. 137, *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p.361.

2. It seems that the name Mālik ibn Ka'b is correct, as Imām 'Ali (a.s.) did not have an administrator by the name of Ka'b ibn Mālik, rather there was a person by this name who refused to swear allegiance to the Imām. Mālik ibn Ka'b was indeed one of the trusted administrators of the Imām in the region of 'Ayn al-Tamr and the area of Bihqubādhat.

3. A part of the Iraqi lands and villages that were conquered during the time of the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. It was called Sawād (blackness) as it was covered with palm groves, trees and crops.

4. 'Udhayb is the Bani Tamīm water reservoir and the first water that the travelers encounter while traveling from Kūfa towards Mecca.

5. The name of three villages near Baghdad located on the banks of Euphrates.

وَأَعْلَمَ أَنَّ كُلَّ عَمَلٍ ابْنِ آدَمَ مُحْفُوظٌ عَلَيْهِ عَجْزِي بِهِ، فَاصْنَعْ خَيْرًا صَنَعَ اللَّهُ بِنَا وَبِكَ خَيْرًا، وَأَعْلِمْنِي الصَّدَقَ فِيمَا صَنَعْتَ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^١

116. عنه: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: ثُمَّ انْظُرْ فِي أُمُورِ عُمَالِكَ فَاسْتَعْمِلْهُمْ اخْتِيَارًا... ثُمَّ تَقَعَّدْ أَعْمَالَهُمْ، وَابْعَثِ الْعُيُونَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الصَّدَقِ وَالْوَفَاءِ عَلَيْهِمْ؛ فَإِنْ تَعَاهَدَكَ فِي السِّرِّ لِأُمُورِهِمْ حَدُودًا^٢ هُمْ عَلَى اسْتِعْمَالِ الْأَمَانَةِ، وَالرَّفْقِ بِالرَّعِيَّةِ، وَتَحْفَظَ مِنَ الْأَعْوَانِ؛ فَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ بَسَطَ يَدَهُ إِلَى خِيَانَةٍ اجْتَمَعَتْ بِهَا عَلَيْهِ عِنْدَكَ أَخْبَارُ عُيُونِكَ، اكَتَفَيْتَ بِذَلِكَ شَاهِدًا، فَبَسَطْتَ عَلَيْهِ الْعُقُوبَةَ فِي بَدَنِهِ، وَأَخَذْتَهُ بِمَا أَصَابَ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ، ثُمَّ نَصَبْتَهُ بِمَقَامِ الْمَذَلَّةِ، وَوَسَمْتَهُ بِالْخِيَانَةِ، وَقَلَّدْتَهُ عَارَ التَّهْمَةِ.^٣

117. عنه: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ (فِي مُرَاقَبَةِ الْجُنُودِ) -: ثُمَّ لَا تَدْعُ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَكَ عَلَيْهِمْ عُيُونَ^٤ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْأَمَانَةِ وَالْقَوْلِ بِالْحَقِّ عِنْدَ النَّاسِ، فَيُثْبِتُونَ بَلَاءَ كُلِّ ذِي بَلَاءٍ مِنْهُمْ لِيَتَّقَى أَوْلِيكَ بِعِلْمِكَ بِبَلَائِهِمْ.^٥

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إِكْرَامُ الْمُحْسِنِ وَعُقُوبَةُ الْمُسِيءِ

118. الإمام علي: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: وَلَا يَكُونُ الْمُحْسِنُ وَالْمُسِيءُ عِنْدَكَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ سَوَاءٍ؛ فَإِنْ فِي ذَلِكَ تَرْهِيدًا لِأَهْلِ الْإِحْسَانِ فِي الْإِحْسَانِ، وَتَدْرِيبًا لِأَهْلِ الْإِسَاءَةِ عَلَى الْإِسَاءَةِ. وَالزِّمَ كُلًّا مِنْهُمْ مَا أَلْزَمَ نَفْسَهُ.^٦

١. تاريخ اليعقوبي: ج 2 ص 204.

٢. حدودهم: أي ياعث وحرّض لهم، والحدود في الأصل: شوق الإبل والغناء لها (بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 625).

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 137، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 361 كلاهما نحوه.

٤. العين: الذي يُبْعَثُ لِيَتَحَقَّقَ الْخَبَرُ (لسان العرب: ج 13 ص 301).

٥. تحف العقول: ص 133.

٦. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 130، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 356 نحوه.

God in what He has assigned to you. Know that all the actions of the son of Adam are recorded and preserved and will be rewarded. Do perform good deeds. May God make you and us successful in goodness! Let me know of your honesty in what you do. Wassalām!¹

116. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: “Then look into the affairs of your administrators. Employ them (only after) having tested (them). Then investigate their actions. Dispatch truthful and loyal observers (to watch) over them, for your investigation of their affairs in secret will incite them to carry out their trust faithfully and to act kindly towards the subjects. Be mindful of aides. If one of them should extend his hand in a treacherous act, concerning which the intelligence received against him from your observers, concur, and you are satisfied with that as a witness, subject him to corporeal punishment and hold him responsible for the consequences of his actions. Then subject him to humiliation, brand him with treachery and gird him with the shame of accusation.”²
117. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar (on monitoring the troops): “Then do not fail to choose intelligence from trustworthy agents who are known for their truthfulness by people in order to reveal problems people undergo and they become sure that you are aware of their difficulties.”³

3/10

Rewarding and Punishing

118. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: “Never let the good-doer and the evil-doer possess an equal station before you, for that would cause the good-doer to abstain from his good-doing and urge the evil-doer to his evil-doing. Impose upon each of them what he has imposed upon himself.”⁴

1. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 204.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 137, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 361.

3. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 133.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 130, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 356.

119. عنه عليه السلام - في عهده إلى مالك الأشر - : وَلَيْكُنْ أَثَرُ رُؤُوسِ جُنُودِكَ مَنْ وَاسَاهُمْ فِي مَعُونَتِهِ، وَأَفْضَلَ عَلَيْهِمْ فِي بَذْلِهِ يَمَنَ يَسْعُهُمْ وَيَسْعُ مَنْ وَرَاءَهُمْ مِنَ الْخُلُوفِ^١ مِنْ أَهْلِهِمْ، حَتَّى يَكُونَ هَمُّهُمْ هَمًّا وَاحِدًا فِي جِهَادِ الْعَدُوِّ. ثُمَّ وَاتَرَ أَعْلَامَهُمْ ذَاتَ نَفْسِكَ فِي إِثَارِهِمْ وَالتَّكْرِمَةِ لَهُمْ، وَالْإِرْصَادِ بِالتَّوَسُّعِ. وَحَقَّقَ ذَلِكَ بِحُسْنِ الْفِعَالِ وَالْأَثَرِ وَالْعَطْفِ؛ فَإِنَّ عَطْفَكَ عَلَيْهِمْ يَعْطِفُ قُلُوبَهُمْ عَلَيْكَ.^٢

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الموقف الحازم مع العنّال

1-11 / 3

الأشعث بن قيس^٣

120. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في كتابه إلى الأشعث بن قيس عامل أذربيجان^٤ - : إِنَّ عَمَلَكَ لَيْسَ لَكَ بِطَعْمَةٍ، وَلَكِنَّهُ فِي عُنُقِكَ أَمَانَةٌ، وَأَنْتَ مُسْتَرَعَى لِمَنْ فَوْقَكَ، لَيْسَ لَكَ أَنْ تَفْتَاتَ^٥ فِي رَعِيَّةٍ، وَلَا تُخَاطِرَ إِلَّا بِوَثِيقَةٍ، وَفِي يَدَيْكَ مَالٌ مِنْ مَالِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، وَأَنْتَ مِنْ خَزَائِنِهِ حَتَّى تُسَلِّمَهُ إِلَيَّ، وَلَعَلِّي أَلَا أَكُونَ شَرَّ وَلَاتِكَ لَكَ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^٦

١. الخوافظ: الذين لا يغزون (لسان العرب: ج 9 ص 86).

٢. تحف العقول: ص 133.

٣. الأشعث هو عامل عثمان، عزله الإمام عليه السلام عقيب خلافته.

٤. أذربيجان: اسم لمنطقة كبيرة؛ وهي اليوم فسان: القسم الجنوبي؛ وهو بشكل ثلاث محافظات من محافظات شمال غرب إيران، وهي: أذربيجان الشرقية، وأذربيجان الغربية، وأردبيل. والقسم الشمالي الذي كان ضمن دول الاتحاد السوفيتي السابق وقد استقل وصار يعرف اليوم بأذربيجان.

٥. يقال: افتات عليه: إذا انفرد برأيه دونه في التصرف فيه (النهاية: ج 3 ص 477).

٦. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 5، وقعة صفين: ص 20 عن الجرجاني العقد الفريد: ج 3 ص 327، الإمامة والسياسة: ج 1 ص 111 كلها نحوه.

119. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: “The best of your commander of the troops should have such a position before you that renders help to them equitably and spends from his money on them and on their families so that all will converge on one concern, fighting the enemy. Then send a message to them encouraging their self-sacrifice and your honoring of them. Tend to the extension of their livelihood. And attain that by good behavior, attentiveness and kindness. Your kindness to them will turn their hearts to you.”¹

3/11

Decisiveness toward Administrators

3/11-1

Al-Ash'ath ibn Qays²

120. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, his governor in Azerbaijan: “Certainly, your assignment is not a morsel for you, but it is a trust around your neck and you are being observed by your superiors. It is not for you to deal with your subjects as you like or act with save on strong grounds [being instructed]. You have in your hands the funds, which is the property of God to whom belong Might and Majesty and you hold its charge till you pass it on to me. I hope I am not one of the bad rulers for you. Wassalām!”³

1. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 133.

2. An agent of 'Uthmān whom the Imām (a.s.) dismissed once he took over the caliphate.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 5, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 20, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 327.

121. نثر الدر: قَالَ [عَلِيٌّ] ﷺ لِلْأَشْعَثِ بْنِ قَيْسٍ: أَدُّ وَلَا حَرَبَتُكَ بِالسَّيْفِ. فَأَدَّى مَا كَانَ عَلَيْهِ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: مَنْ كَانَ عَلَيْكَ لَوْ كُنَّا حَرَبْنَاكَ بِعَرَضِ السَّيْفِ؟ فَقَالَ: إِنَّكَ يَمُنُّ إِذَا قَالَ فَعَلَ^١.

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب ﷺ: ج 7 ص 257 (الأشعث بن قيس).

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زياد بن أبيه

122. الإمام عليّ ﷺ - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى زِيَادِ بْنِ أَبِيهِ -: إِنِّي أُقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ قَسَمًا صَادِقًا، لَئِنْ بَلَغَنِي أَنَّكَ خُنْتَ مِنْ فِئَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ شَيْئًا صَغِيرًا أَوْ كَبِيرًا، لَأُشَدَّنَّ عَلَيْكَ شِدَّةً تَدْعُكَ قَلِيلَ الْوَفْرِ، ثَقِيلَ الظَّهِيرِ، ضَنْبِلَ الْأَمْرِ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^٢

123. أنساب الأشراف: وَجَّهَ [عَلِيٌّ] ﷺ إِلَى زِيَادِ رَسُولًا لِيَأْخُذَهُ لِحْمَلٍ مَا اجْتَمَعَ عِنْدَهُ مِنَ الْمَالِ، فَحَمَلَ زِيَادُ مَا كَانَ عِنْدَهُ وَقَالَ لِلرَّسُولِ: إِنَّ الْأَكْرَادَ قَدْ كَسَرُوا مِنْ الْحَرَاكِ وَأَنَا أَدَارِيهِمْ، فَلَا تُعْلِمُ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ذَلِكَ، فَيَرَى أَنَّهُ اعْتِلَالٌ مِنِّي.

فَقَدِمَ الرَّسُولُ فَأَخْبَرَ عَلِيًّا بِهَا قَالَ زِيَادُ، فَكَتَبَ إِلَيْهِ: قَدْ بَلَغَنِي رَسُولِي عَنْكَ مَا أَخْبَرْتَهُ بِهِ عَنِ الْأَكْرَادِ، وَاسْتِكْتَامَكَ إِيَّاهُ ذَلِكَ، وَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ أَنَّكَ لَمْ تُلْقِ ذَلِكَ إِلَيْهِ إِلَّا لِتُبَلِّغَنِي إِيَّاهُ، وَإِنِّي أُقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ قَسَمًا صَادِقًا لَئِنْ بَلَغَنِي أَنَّكَ خُنْتَ مِنْ فِئَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ شَيْئًا صَغِيرًا أَوْ كَبِيرًا، لَأُشَدَّنَّ عَلَيْكَ شِدَّةً تَدْعُكَ قَلِيلَ الْوَفْرِ، ثَقِيلَ الظَّهِيرِ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^٣

١. نثر الدر: ج 1 ص 292.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 20، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 489 ح 695.

٣. الوفر: المال الكثير (النهاية: ج 5 ص 210).

٤. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 390.

121. *Nathr al-Durr*: [Imām 'Ali (a.s.) said] to al-Ash'ath ibn Qays: "Pay back what has been entrusted to you, or I will strike you by the sword." Thus he paid what was due on him [to pay]. The Imām then told him: "Who would have protected you if I had struck you by the sword?"

Al-Ash'ath replied: "You are among those who do what they say."¹

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*: (al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays).

3/11-2

Ziyad ibn Abīh

122. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to Ziyad ibn Abīh: "I swear by God a truthful oath that if I come to know that you have betrayed the funds of the Muslims, in a small or large amount, I shall inflict upon you such punishment which will leave you with an empty hand, a heavy back and humiliated. Wassalām!"²
123. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*: "'Ali (a.s.) dispatched an envoy to Ziyad to take back whatever of the taxes that had been collected by him. Ziyad sent what was with him along with the envoy and said: "The Kurds have ruined the taxes and I am trying to tolerate them. But do not tell this to the Commander of the Faithful lest he would think that it was the result of my negligence."

The envoy returned and reported what Ziyad told him. 'Ali (a.s.) wrote to Ziyad: "My envoy reported what you said to him about the Kurds and that you asked him to conceal it from me. You well know that you did not tell him, but with the intention that he informs me about it. I truthfully swear by God that if I come to know that you have betrayed any of the funds of the Muslims, small amount or large, I shall inflict upon you such punishment that will leave you with an empty hand, a heavy back and humiliated. Wassalām!"³

1. *Nathr al-Durr*, vol. 1, p. 292.

2. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 20, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 489, ḥ. 695.

3. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 390.

124. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في كتابه إلى زياد، وكان عاملة على فارس -: أما بعد، فإن رسولي أخبرني بعجب، زعم أنك قلت له فيما بينك وبينه: إن الأكراد هاجت بك، فكسرت عليك كثيراً من الحراج، وقلت له: لا أعلم بذلك أمير المؤمنين. يا زياد! وأقسم بالله إنك لكاذب، ولئن لم تبعث بخراجك لأشدن عليك شدة تدعك قليل الوفير، ثقيل الظهر، إلا أن تكون لما كسرت من الحراج محتجلاً.^١

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام: ج 7 ص 312 (زياد بن أبيه).

3-11 / 3

شريع القاضي

125. نهج البلاغة: روي أن شريع بن الحارث قاضي أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام اشترى على عهده داراً بثمانين ديناراً، فبلغه ذلك فاستدعى شريحاً وقال له: بلغني أنك ابتعت داراً بثمانين ديناراً، وكتبت لها كتاباً، وأشهدت فيه شهوداً! فقال له شريح: قد كان ذلك يا أمير المؤمنين.

قال: فنظر إليه نظر الغضب ثم قال له: يا شريح! أما إنه سيأتيك من لا ينظر في كتابك، ولا يسألك عن بيتك حتى يخرجك منها شاخصاً، ويسلمك إلى قيرك خالصاً. فانظر يا شريح! لا تكون ابتعت هذه الدار من غير مالك، أو نقدت الثمن من غير حلالك؛ فإذا أنت قد خسرت دار الدنيا ودار الآخرة. أما إنك لو كنت أتيتني عند شرائك ما اشتريت، لكتبت لك كتاباً على هذه النسخة، فلم ترغب في شراء هذه الدار بدينهم فما فوق. والنسخة هذه:

هذا ما اشترى عبد ذليل من مئيت قد أزعج للرحيل، اشترى منه داراً من دار الغرور من جانب الفانين، وخطها الهالكين، وتجمع هذه الدار حدود أربعة: الحد

١. تاريخ البقوم: ج 2 ص 204.

124. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to Ziyad, his governor in Persia (*Fārs*): “And now, my envoy has indeed brought me strange news. He thought that you have said to him something that should remain between you and him, that the Kurds had rebelled against you and ruined much of the taxes and you have told him not to report this to the Commander of the Faithful.

O Ziyad! I swear to God that you are a liar, and if you do not discharge the taxes, I shall inflict upon you such punishment that will leave you with an empty hand, a heavy back and humiliated, unless you take responsibility for whatever of the taxes you have ruined.”¹

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*: (Ziyad ibn Abih).

3/11-3

Shurayh al-Qādī

125. *Nahj al-Balāghah*: “It is narrated that Shurayh ibn Hārith who was the judge (*qādī*) of the Commander of the Faithful at Kūfa purchased a house for eighty dinārs during his term. The Commander of the Faithful came to know of this and sent for Shurayh and said to him: “I have come to know that you have purchased a house for eighty dinārs and that you have written a document for it and you had witnesses for it.”

Shurayh replied, “Yes it is so, O Commander of the Faithful.”

The Commander of the Faithful cast an angry look at him and said: “O Shurayh, indeed someone [the angel of death] will come to you who will not look at your document nor question you about your evidence, but will take you out of it [the house] open-eyed and throw you in your grave empty-handed. Beware! O Shurayh, if you have purchased this house from money other than yours or paid the price of it from an unlawful source, then you have incurred the loss of this world as well as of the next. If you had come to me at the time of purchase, I would have written for you a document like this paper and then you would not have liked to purchase the house even for one dirham and nothing more than that. This is the document:

“This is the purchase made by a humble slave [of God] from a deceased person who has been forced to depart [for the next world]. He has purchased a house from the houses of deceit in the area of mortals and place of those liable to perish. This house has four boundaries:

1. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 204.

الْأَوَّلُ يَنْتَهِي إِلَى دَوَاعِي الْأَفَاتِ، وَالْحَدُّ الثَّانِي يَنْتَهِي إِلَى دَوَاعِي الْمُصِيبَاتِ، وَالْحَدُّ الثَّالِثُ يَنْتَهِي إِلَى الْهَوَى الْمُرْدِي، وَالْحَدُّ الرَّابِعُ يَنْتَهِي إِلَى الشَّيْطَانِ الْمُغْوِي، وَفِيهِ يُشْرَعُ بَابُ هَذِهِ الدَّارِ.

إِشْتَرَى هَذَا الْمُغْتَرِّ بِالْأَمَلِ، مِنْ هَذَا الْمُرْعِجِ بِالْأَجَلِ هَذِهِ الدَّارَ بِالْخُرُوجِ مِنْ عِزِّ الْقَنَاعَةِ، وَالْدُخُولِ فِي ذُلِّ الطَّلَبِ وَالضَّرَاعَةِ؛ فَمَا أَدْرَكَ هَذَا الْمُشْتَرِيَ فِيهَا اشْتَرَى مِنْهُ مِنْ دَرَكٍ.

فَعَلَى مُبْلِلِ أَجْسَامِ الْمُلُوكِ، وَسَالِبِ نَفُوسِ الْجَبَابِرَةِ، وَمُزِيلِ مُلْكِ الْفَرَاغَةِ، مِثْلَ كَسْرِي وَفَيْصَرَ، وَتُبَّعٍ وَجَمِيرَ، وَمَنْ جَمَعَ الْمَالَ عَلَى الْمَالِ فَأَكْثَرَ، وَمَنْ بَنَى وَشَيْدَ وَزَخْرَفَ، وَنَجَّدَ^١ وَادَّخَرَ، وَاعْتَقَدَ وَنَظَرَ بِزَعِيمِهِ لِلْوَلَدِ - إِشْخَاصُهُمْ^٢ جَمِيعاً إِلَى مَوْقِفِ الْعَرَضِ وَالْحِسَابِ، وَمَوْضِعِ الثَّوَابِ وَالْعِقَابِ إِذَا وَقَعَ الْأَمْرُ بِفَصْلِ الْقَضَاءِ (وَ خَيْرَ هُنَالِكَ الْمُبْطِلُونَ)^٣ شَهِدَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ الْعَقْلُ إِذَا خَرَجَ مِنْ أَسْرِ الْهَوَى وَسَلِمَ مِنْ عِلَاقِ الدُّنْيَا.^٤

4-11 / 3

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عَبَّاسٍ

126. الإمام عليؑ - بِمَا كَتَبَهُ إِلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، وَهُوَ عَامِلُهُ عَلَى الْبَصْرَةِ -: فَارْبَعُ^٥

أَبَا الْعَبَّاسِ - رَحِمَكَ اللَّهُ - فِيمَا جَرَى عَلَى لِسَانِكَ وَيَدِكَ مِنْ خَيْرٍ وَشَرٍّ؛ فَإِنَّا شَرِيكَانِ

١. من الشجيرة: التزيين (النهاية: ج 5 ص 19).

٢. إشخاصهم، مبتدأ مرفوع، وخبره الجار والمجرور المقدم؛ وهو قوله: «فعل مبلبل أجسام الملوك».

٣. غافر: 78.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 3، روضة الواعظين: ص 489 نحوه.

٥. ربع الرجل يربع: إذا وقف ونهّس. ومنه قولهم: أربع على نفسك، وأربع على ظلمتك، أي أرقق بنفسك وكفّ

(الصالح: ج 3 ص 1212).

The first boundary ends up with the sources of blights, the second boundary ends to the sources of distress, the third boundary ends up with devastating desire and the fourth boundary ends up with deceitful Satan and towards this fourth opens the door of this house.

This house has been purchased by one who has been deceived by desires from one who is being driven by death at the price of leaving the honor of contentment and entering into the humility of want and submissiveness. What a great loss this buyer will suffer.

If the purchaser encounters some (evil) consequences of this transaction, then it is for Him who dismantles the bodies of monarchs, snatches the lives of despots, destroys the domain of Pharaohs like Cyrus, Caesar, Tubba', Himyar and all those who amass wealth upon wealth and go on increasing it, build high houses and decorate them and collect treasures and preserve them for children, (Yes! It is for Him) to take them to the place of accounting and judgment and the position of reward and punishment, when the verdict will be passed "*...and it is thence that the falsifiers become losers.*"¹ This affair can be testified by the intellect when it goes forth from the shackles of desires and is free from the attachments of this world."²

3/11-4

'Abdullah ibn 'Abbās

126. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) –from a letter he wrote to 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbās, his administrator in Baṣra: "O Abū al-'Abbās, may God have mercy on you, restrain yourself in whatever you say or do, good or bad, as we are both partners in this (responsibility). Keep a good reputation with me and do not ruin my view about yourself. Wassalām!"³

1. Qur'ān, 40: 78.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 3, *Rawḍat al-Wā'izin*, p. 489.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 18, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 493, ḥ. 699.

في ذلك، وَكُنْ عِنْدَ صَالِحِ ظَنِّي بِكَ، وَلَا يَفِيلَنَّ رَأْيِي فِيكَ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^٢
 127. عنه - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَقَدْ بَلَغَنِي عَنْكَ أَمْرٌ إِنْ كُنْتَ فَعَلْتَهُ فَقَدْ
 اسْخَطْتَ رَبَّكَ، وَأَخْرَبْتَ أَمَانَتَكَ، وَعَصَيْتَ إِمَامَكَ، وَخُنْتَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ.
 بَلَغَنِي أَنَّكَ جَرَدْتَ الْأَرْضَ، وَأَكَلْتَ مَا نَحْتُ يَدَيْكَ، فَارْفَعْ إِلَيَّ حِسَابَكَ،
 وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ حِسَابَ اللَّهِ أَشَدُّ مِنْ حِسَابِ النَّاسِ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^٣
 راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 7 ص 384 (عبد الله بن عباس).

5-11 / 3

عُثْمَانُ بْنُ حُنَيْفٍ

128. الإمام علي - مِنْ كِتَابٍ لَهُ إِلَى عُثْمَانَ بْنِ حُنَيْفٍ الْأَنْصَارِيِّ، وَكَانَ عَامِلَهُ عَلَى
 الْبَصْرَةِ، وَقَدْ بَلَغَهُ أَنَّهُ دُعِيَ إِلَى وَلِيمَةٍ قَوْمٍ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا، فَمَضَى إِلَيْهَا -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، يَا بَنَ
 حُنَيْفٍ: فَقَدْ بَلَغَنِي أَنَّ رَجُلًا مِنْ فِتْيَةِ أَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ دَعَاكَ إِلَى مَادَّةٍ، فَأَسْرَعْتَ إِلَيْهَا،
 تُسْتَطَابُ لَكَ الْأَلْوَانُ، وَتُنْقَلُ إِلَيْكَ الْجِفَانُ، وَمَا ظَنَنْتُ أَنَّكَ تُجِيبُ إِلَى طَعَامِ قَوْمٍ،
 عَائِلُهُمْ جَفَوُ وَغَنِيَّتُهُمْ مَدْعُو. فَانْظُرْ إِلَى مَا تَقْضِمُهُ مِنْ هَذَا الْمَقْضَمِ، فَمَا اشْتَبَهَ عَلَيْكَ
 عِلْمُهُ فَالْفِظَةُ، وَمَا أَيْقَنْتَ بِطَيْبِ وَجْهِهِ فَتَلَّ مِنْهُ.
 أَلَا وَإِنَّ لِكُلِّ مَأْمُومٍ إِمَامًا، يَقْتَدِي بِهِ وَيَسْتَضِيءُ بِنُورِ عِلْمِهِ، أَلَا وَإِنَّ إِمَامَكُمْ قَدْ
 اكْتَفَى مِنْ دُنْيَاهُ بِطَمَرِيهِ،^٤ وَمِنْ طُعْمِهِ بِقُرْصِيهِ، أَلَا وَإِنَّكُمْ لَا تَقْدِرُونَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ،
 وَلَكِنْ أَعْيَنُونِي بِوَرَعٍ وَاجْتِهَادٍ، وَعِفَّةٍ وَسَدَادٍ.

١. من قال يفيل: أخطأ وضعف (لسان العرب: ج 11 ص 534).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 18، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 493 ح 699.

٣. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 1397 نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 40 نحوه وفيه «إلى بعض عماله» بدل «إلى عبد الله بن عباس».

٤. المقصم: الأكل بأطراف الأسنان (لسان العرب: ج 12 ص 487).

٥. الطمر: الثوب الخلق (النهاية: ج 3 ص 138).

127. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –from his letter to Ibn 'Abbās: “Now, I have been informed something about you that if you have done it, then you have displeased your Lord, undermined your trust, disobeyed your Imām and betrayed the Muslims. I have come to know that you have razed the lands and consumed whatever was at your disposal. Send me your account, and know that the reckoning of God shall be severer than that of the people. Wassalām!”¹

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*: ('Abdullah ibn 'Abbās).

3/11-5

'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf

128. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –from his letter to 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī who was his administrator in Baṣra, when he came to know that the people of the place had invited 'Uthmān to a banquet and he had attended: “And now, O Ibn Ḥunayf, I have come to know that a young man of Baṣra invited you to a feast and you hastened towards it. Foods of different colors were being chosen for you and big bowls were being given to you. I never thought that you would accept the feast of a people who turn out the beggars and invite the rich. Look at the morsels you take, leave out that about which you are in doubt and take that about which you are sure that it has been secured lawfully.

Remember that every follower has a leader whom he follows and from the effulgence of whose knowledge he takes light. Realize that your Imām has contented himself with two shabby pieces of clothes out of the (comforts of the) world and two loaves for his meal. Certainly, you cannot do so but at least support me in piety, exertion, chastity and uprightness.”

1. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 397, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 40.

فَوَاللَّهِ مَا كَثُرْتُ مِنْ دُنْيَاكُمْ تَبَرًّا، وَلَا ادَّخَرْتُ مِنْ غَنَائِمِهَا وَفَرًّا، وَلَا أَعَدَدْتُ لِيَالِي
ثَوْبِي طِمْرًا، وَلَا حُزْتُ مِنْ أَرْضِهَا شَبْرًا، وَلَا أَخَذْتُ مِنْهُ إِلَّا كَقَوْتِ أَتَانٍ دَبْرَةً،^١
وَلَهِيَ فِي عَيْنِي أَوْهَى وَأَهْوَنُ مِنْ عَفْصَةِ مَقَرَّةٍ.^٢

بَلَى! كَانَتْ فِي أَيْدِينَا فَذَكَ مِنْ كُلِّ مَا أَظْلَلْتُهُ السَّمَاءُ، فَسَحَّتْ عَلَيْهَا نُفُوسُ قَوْمٍ،
وَسَحَّتْ عَنْهَا نُفُوسُ قَوْمٍ آخَرِينَ، وَنِعَمَ الْحَكْمُ اللَّهُ.

وَمَا أَصْنَعُ بِفَذَلِكَ وَغَيْرِ فَذَلِكَ؟ وَالنَّفْسُ مَظَانُّهَا فِي عَدِّ جَدَثٍ، تَنْقَطِعُ فِي ظِلْمَتِهِ
آثَارُهَا، وَتَغِيبُ أَخْبَارُهَا. وَخُفْرَةٌ لَوْ زِيدَ فِي فُسْحَتِهَا، وَأَوْسَعَتْ يَدَا حَافِرِهَا،
لَأَضْغَطَهَا الْحَجَرُ وَالْمَدْرُ، وَسَدَّ فَرْجَهَا التُّرَابُ الْمَتْرَاكِمُ.

وَأَمَّا هِيَ نَفْسِي أَرَوْضُهَا بِالتَّقْوَى لِتَأْتِيَ آمِنَةً يَوْمَ الْحَوْفِ الْأَكْبَرِ، وَتَثْبُتَ عَلَى
جَوَابِ الْمَرْقَى. وَلَوْ شِئْتُ لَاهْتَدَيْتُ الطَّرِيقَ إِلَى مُصَفًى هَذَا الْعَسَلِ، وَلُبَابِ هَذَا
الْقَمَحِ، وَنَسَائِجِ هَذَا الْقَرِّ، وَلَكِنْ هَبَاهُ أَنْ يَغْلِبَنِي هَوَايَ، وَيَقْوَدَنِي جَشْعِي إِلَى
تَحْرِيرِ الْأَطْعِمَةِ وَلَعَلَّ بِالْحِجَازِ أَوْ الْبَيَامَةِ مَنْ لَا طَمَعَ لَهُ فِي الْقَرْصِ، وَلَا عَهْدَ لَهُ
بِالسُّبُعِ، أَوْ أَيْتَ مِبطَانًا وَحَوْلِي بَطُونٌ غَرْنِي وَأَكْبَادُ حَزَى، أَوْ أَكُونَ كَمَا قَالَ الْقَائِلُ:
وَحَسْبُكَ دَاءٌ أَنْ تَبَيْتَ بِبِطْنَةٍ وَحَوْلَكَ أَكْبَادٌ تَحْنُ إِلَى الْقَدَا!

أَقْنَعُ مِنْ نَفْسِي بِأَنْ يُقَالَ: هَذَا أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَلَا أُشَارِكُهُمْ فِي مَكَارِهِ الدَّهْرِ، أَوْ
أَكُونَ أَسْوَةً هُمْ فِي جُشُوبَةِ الْعَيْشِ! فَمَا خُلِقْتُ لِيَسْغَلَنِي أَكْلُ الطَّيِّبَاتِ، كَالْبَهِيمَةِ
الْمَرْبُوطَةِ، هَمُّهَا عَلْفُهَا، أَوْ الْمُرْسَلَةُ سُغْلُهَا تَقْمُمُهَا،^٣ تَكَثَّرُشْ مِنْ أَعْلَافِهَا، وَتَلْهَوْ عَمَّا

١. وهي التي عُثرَ ظهرها، فقلَّ أكلُها (شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج ١٦ ص ٢٠٧).

٢. العصف والعصفة: ما كان على ساق الزرع من الورق الذي يبس فبتفتت (لسان العرب: ج ٩ ص ٢٤٧)، والمقبر:

الصبر؛ وهو هذا الدواء المر المعروف (النهاية: ج ٤ ص ٣٤٧).

٣. تقمّم: تتبع القمام في الكناسات (لسان العرب: ج ١٢ ص ٤٩٣).

"By God, I have not treasured any gold from your world nor amassed plentiful wealth nor added any clothes to my two shabby pieces of clothes. I have not taken from its land [even as little as] a span of the hand, nor have I taken more than a meager meal sufficient to feed a wretched animal, and indeed, in my eyes, it (the world) is more unworthy and insignificant than the gall oak fruit.

Of course, all that we had in our possession under this sky was Fadak, but a group of people felt greedy for it and another group withheld themselves from it generously. God is, after all, the best arbiter.

What shall I do with Fadak or with other than it, while tomorrow this body is to go into the grave in whose darkness its traces will be destroyed and (even) news of it will disappear? It is a pit that even if its width is widened or the hands of the digger make it broad and open, the stones and clods of clay will narrow it and the falling earth will close its aperture.

I try to keep myself engaged in piety so that on the day of great fear it will be peaceful and steady in slippery places. If I wished I could have taken the way leading towards (worldly pleasures like) pure honey, fine wheat and silk clothes; but far be it that my passions lead me and greed takes me to choosing good meals while in Hijāz or in Yamāma there may be people who have no hope of getting bread or who do not have a full meal. Shall I lie with a satiated belly while around me there are hungry bellies and thirsty livers? Or shall I be as the poet has said:

"It is enough for you to have a disease that you lie with your belly full,

While around you people are badly yearning [of hunger] for dried leather?"

Shall I be content with being called 'The Commander of the Faithful (*Amīr al-Mu'minīn*), although I do not share with the people the hardships of the world or shall I not be an example for them in the distresses of life? I have not been created to be kept busy eating good foods like the tied animal whose only worry is its fodder or like a loose animal whose activity is to fill its belly with its feed and forgets the purpose behind it. Shall I be

يُرَادُّ بِهَا، أَوْ أُتْرِكَ سُدًى، أَوْ أُهْمِلَ عَابِثًا، أَوْ أُجِرَّ حَبْلُ الضَّلَالَةِ، أَوْ اُعْتَسِفَ طَرِيقُ
الْمُنَافَةِ!...

إِلَيْكَ عَنِّي يَا دُنْيَا، فَحَبْلُكَ عَلَى غَارِبِكَ، قَدْ انْسَلَتْ مِنْ حَالِيكَ، وَأَفَلْتُ مِنْ
حَبَائِلِكَ، وَاجْتَنَبْتُ الذَّهَابَ فِي مَدَاحِصِكَ. أَيْنَ الْقُرُونُ الَّذِينَ غَرَّرْتَهُمْ بِمَدَاعِيكَ!
أَيْنَ الْأُمَمُ الَّذِينَ فَتَنْتَهُمْ بِزُخَارِفِكَ! فَهَاتُم رَهَائِنُ الْقُبُورِ، وَمَضَامِينُ اللَّحُودِ.
وَاللَّهِ لَوْ كُنْتُ شَخْصًا مَرِيئًا، وَقَالِبًا جَسِيًّا، لَأَقَمْتُ عَلَيْكَ حُدُودَ اللَّهِ فِي عِبَادِهِ غَرَّرْتَهُمْ
بِالْأَمَانِي، وَأُمَمٍ أَلْقَيْتَهُمْ فِي الْمَهَاوِي، وَمُلُوكٍ أَسْلَمْتَهُمْ إِلَى التَّلَافِ، وَأَوْرَدْتَهُمْ مَوَارِدَ
الْبَلَاءِ؛ إِذْ لَا يَرِدُ وَلَا صَدْرُ!

هَبْهَات! مَنْ وَطِئَ دَحْصِكَ زَلَقٌ، وَمَنْ رَكِبَ لُجْجَكَ غَرَقٌ، وَمَنْ ازْوَرَ عَنْ حَبَائِلِكَ
وُفُقٌ، وَالسَّلَامُ مِنْكَ لَا يُبَالِي إِنْ ضَاقَ بِهِ مُنَافَعُهُ، وَالدُّنْيَا عِنْدَهُ كَيَوْمِ حَانَ انْسِلَاحُهُ.
أَعْزُبِي عَنِّي! فَوَاللَّهِ لَا أَذِلُّ لَكَ فَتَسْتِذِلِّي، وَلَا أَسْلَسُ لَكَ فَتَقْتُودِيَنِي. وَابِئْسَ اللَّهُ
- يَمِينًا أَسْتَشْنِي فِيهَا بِمَشْيَةِ اللَّهِ - لَأَرَوْضَنَ نَفْسِي رِيَاضَةً تَهْشُ^١ مَعَهَا إِلَى الْقُرْصِ إِذَا
قَدَرْتُ عَلَيْهِ مَطْعُومًا، وَتَقْنَعُ بِالْمِلْحِ مَادُومًا، وَلَأَدْعَنَ مُقْلَتِي كَعَيْنِ مَاءٍ، نَضَبَ
مَعِينُهَا، مُسْتَقْرِغَةً دُمُوعَهَا. أَتَمْتَلِي السَّائِمَةَ مِنْ رَعِيهَا فَتَبْرُكُ؟ وَتَسْبِغُ الرِّبِيضَةَ مِنْ
عُشْبِهَا فَتَرِيضُ؟^٢ وَيَأْكُلُ عَلَيَّ مِنْ زَادِهِ فَيَهْجَعُ! قَرَّتْ إِذَا عَيْنُهُ إِذَا افْتَدَى بَعْدَ السَّنِينَ
الْمُتَطَاوِلَةِ بِالْبَهِيمَةِ الْهَامِلَةِ، وَالسَّائِمَةِ الْمُرْعِيَةِ!

طُوبَى لِنَفْسٍ أَذَّتْ إِلَى رَبِّهَا فَرَضَهَا، وَعَرَكَتْ بِجَنِبِهَا بُوسَهَا، وَهَجَرَتْ فِي اللَّيْلِ
عُمَصَهَا، حَتَّى إِذَا غَلَبَ الْكَرَى^٣ عَلَيْهَا افْتَرَشَتْ أَرْضَهَا، وَتَوَسَّدَتْ كَفَّهَا، فِي

١. هَشَّ لِهَذَا الْأَمْرَ يَهْشُ: إِذَا فَرَحَ وَاسْتَبَشَرَ وَارْتَوَحَ لَهُ وَخَفَّ (النهاية: ج 5 ص 264).

٢. رِيضٌ فِي الْمَكَانِ يَرِيضُ: إِذَا لَصِقَ بِهِ وَأَقَامَ مَلَاذِمًا لَهُ (النهاية: ج 2 ص 184).

٣. أَيُّ النَّوْمِ (النهاية: ج 4 ص 170).

left uncontrolled to pasture freely, or draw the rope of misguidance or roam aimlessly in the paths of bewilderment?

Stay away from me, O world! Your rein is on your own shoulders as I have released myself from your clutches, removed myself of your snares and avoided walking into your slippery places. Where are those whom you have deceived by your jesting? Where are those communities whom you have enticed with your embellishments? They are all now confined to graves and hidden in burial places.

By God, if you [O world!] had been a visible person and a body capable of being felt, I would have inflicted on you the punishment fixed by God because of the people whom you deceived through (false) desires, the communities whom you threw into destruction and the rulers whom you consigned to ruin and drove to places of distress after which there is neither going nor returning.

Far from it! Whoever stepped on your slippery path slipped; whoever rode your waves was drowned; and whoever evaded your snares was successful. He who keeps himself safe from you does not worry even if his abode is narrow and restricted and the world to him is like a day, which is near expiring. Get away from me! For by God, I do not bow before you so that you may humiliate me nor do I let you rein on my neck, so that you may drive me away. I swear by God, (unless He wishes not), that I shall so discipline my self that feels joyful if it gets one loaf for eating, and be content with only salt to season it. I shall let my eyes empty themselves of tears like the stream whose water has flown away. Should 'Ali eat whatever he has and fall asleep like the cattle that fill their stomach from the pastureland and lie down, or as the grazing goats, that eat the green and go into their pen? Woe is to him, if he, after long years, follows loose cattle and pasturing animals.

Blessed is he who discharges his obligations towards God and endures his hardships, allows himself no sleep in the night but when sleep overpowers him lies down on the ground using his hand as pillow, along with those who keep their eyes wakeful in

مَعْتَرِ أَسْهَرِ عُيُوتِهِمْ خَوْفُ مَعَادِهِمْ، وَتَجَافَتْ عَنْ مَضَاجِعِهِمْ جُنُوبُهُمْ، وَهَمَّهَتْ
يَذْكُرُ رَبِّهِمْ شِفَاهُهُمْ، وَتَقَشَّعَتْ بِطُولِ اسْتِغْفَارِهِمْ ذُنُوبُهُمْ ﴿أَوَلَيْكَ حِزْبُ اللَّهِ أَلَا
إِنَّ حِزْبَ اللَّهِ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ﴾^١.

فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَابْنَ حَنِيفٍ، وَلَتَكْفُفَ أَقْرَاصُكَ، لِيَكُونَ مِنَ النَّارِ خَلَاصُكَ.^٢

6-11 / 3

قُدَامَةُ بْنُ عَجَلَانَ

129. الإمام عليؑ - في كتابه إلى قُدَامَةَ بْنِ عَجَلَانَ عَمِلِهِ عَلَى كَسْكَرٍ^٣ : أَمَا بَعْدُ ،
فَاحِلٌ مَا قَبْلَكَ مِنْ مَالِ اللَّهِ ؛ فَإِنَّهُ فِيَّ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ ، لَسْتُ بِأَوْفَرَ حَظًّا فِيهِ مِنْ رَجُلٍ
مِنْهُمْ ، وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ يَابْنَ أُمِّ قُدَامَةَ أَنَّ مَالَ كَسْكَرٍ مُبَاحٌ لَكَ كَمَا لِي وَرِثَتُهُ عَنْ أَبِيكَ
وَأُمِّكَ ، فَعَجِّلْ حَمْلَهُ وَاعْجَلْ فِي الْإِقْبَالِ إِلَيْنَا ، إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.^٤

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالبؑ: ج 7 ص 440 (قدامة بن عجلان الأزدي).

7-11 / 3

مَصْقَلَةُ بْنُ هُبَيْرَةَ

130. الإمام عليؑ - في كتابه إلى مَصْقَلَةَ بْنِ هُبَيْرَةَ - : بَلَّغْنِي عَنْكَ أَمْرًا إِنْ كُنْتَ فَعَلْتَهُ فَقَدْ
آتَيْتَ شَيْئًا إِذَا ،^٥ بَلَّغْنِي أَنَّكَ تَقْسِمُ فِيَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِيمَنْ اعْتَفَاكَ وَتَغَشَاكَ مِنْ أَعْرَابٍ
بَكْرٍ بَنِي وَائِلٍ !

١. المجادلة: 22.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 45؛ ربيع الأبرار: ج 2 ص 719 نحوه وفيه إلى «وتلهو عنها براد بها» وراجع: النائب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 101.

٣. كَسْكَرٌ: كورة واسعة قصبتها اليوم واسط التي بين الكوفة والبصرة (معجم البلدان: ج 4 ص 461).

٤. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 388.

٥. الإذ: الأمر الغضبي العظيم (لسان العرب: ج 3 ص 71).

fear of the Day of Judgment, whose bodies are ever away from beds, whose lips are humming in remembrance of Allah and whose sins have been erased through their prolonged beseeching for forgiveness. *"They are Allah's confederates. Look! The confederates of Allah are indeed felicitous!"*¹

"Therefore, O Ibn Hunayf, be wary of God and be content with your own loaves so that you may escape Hell."²

3/11-6

Qudāma ibn 'Ajlān

129. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to Qudāma ibn 'Ajlān, his administrator in Kaskar:³ "Send back to me what is in your possession from wealth of God as it belongs to the Muslims and your share of it is no more than the share of one of them. O son of the mother of Qudāma! Do not suppose that the riches of Kaskar are permissible to you like what you have inherited from your parents. So hasten to return the property and be quick to come back to me as well, God willing!"⁴

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*: (Qudāma ibn 'Ajlān).

3/11-7

Maṣqala ibn Hubayra

130. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to Maṣqala ibn Hubayra: "I have been informed about a matter which is indeed horrible, if you have done it. I have been informed that you have distributed the property of Muslims among some of the Bedouins of the Bakr ibn Wā'il tribe who have asked you for

1. Qur'ān, 58:22

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 45, *Rabī' al-Abrār*, vol. 2, p. 719. Also cf., *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭalīb*, vol. 2, p. 101.

3. A big city in Iraq located between Kūfa and Baṣra, close to 'Amārah and Kūt.

4. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 388.

فَوَالَّذِي فَلَقَ الْحَبَّةَ وَبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ، وَأَحَاطَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عِلْمًا، لَئِنْ كَانَ ذَلِكَ حَقًّا لَتَجِدَنَّ بِكَ عَلَيَّ هَوَانًا، فَلَا تَسْتَهَيِّنَنَّ بِحَقِّ رَبِّكَ، وَلَا تُصْلِحَنَّ دُنْيَاكَ بِفَسَادِ دِينِكَ وَحَقِّهِ؛ فَتَكُونَ مِنَ «الْأَخْسَرِينَ أَعْمَالًا» الَّذِينَ ضَلَّ سَعْيُهُمْ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَهُمْ يَحْسَبُونَ أَنَّهُمْ يُحْسِنُونَ صُنْعًا»^١.

131. عنه - في كتابه إلى مصقلة -: أما بعد، فإن من أعظم الخيانة خيانة الأمة، وأعظم الغش على أهل المصير غش الإمام، وعندك من حق المسلمين خمسمائة ألف، فأبعث بها إلي ساعة يأتيك رسولي، وإلا فأقبل حين تنظر في كتابي؛ فإنني قد تقدمت إلى رسولي إليك ألا يدعك أن تقيم ساعة واحدة بعد قدومي عليك إلا أن تبعث بالمال، والسلام عليك^٢.

132. الغارات عن ذهل بن الحارث: دعاني مصقلة إلى رحله، فقدم عشاء فطعمنا منه، ثم قال: والله إن أمير المؤمنين يسألني هذا المال، والله لا أقدر عليه، فقلت له: لو شئت لا يمضي عليك جمعة حتى تجمع هذا المال. فقال: والله ما كنت لأحملها قومي، ولا أطلب فيها إلى أحد.

ثم قال: أما والله لو أن ابن هند يطالبني بها، أو ابن عقان لتركها لي، ألم تر إلى ابن عقان حيث أطعم الأشعث بن قيس مئة ألف درهم من خراج أذربيجان في كل سنة، فقلت: إن هذا لا يرى ذلك الرأي، وما هو بتارك لك شيئاً، فسكت ساعة وسكت عنه، فما مكث ليلة واحدة بعد هذا الكلام حتى لحق بمعاوية، فبلغ

١. الكهف: 103 و 104.

٢. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 1389 نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 43 نحوه.

٣. تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 129، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 3 ص 1145 الغارات: ج 1 ص 364 وراجع: نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 26.

favor and benevolence. By God who split the seed and created the living beings and encompasses all things in knowledge, if this is true you will become low in my view. Therefore do not treat lightly the obligations of your Lord and do not reform your world by ruining your religion, or else you will be among those who are: *"the biggest losers in regard to works; those whose endeavor goes awry in life of the world, while they suppose they are doing good."*^{1 2}

131. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to Maşqala: "The greatest of treachery is the treachery against the [Muslim] nation and the greatest deceit against the people of a city is the deceit of their leader. There is five hundred thousand [coins] of the property of the Muslims with you, so send it to me when my envoy comes to you, otherwise come to me when my letter reaches you; as I have told my envoy not to let you go unless you return the property. Wassalām!"³
132. *al-Ghārāt* –narrating from Dhahl ibn Hārith: "Maşqala invited me to his residence and prepared dinner and we had it together. He then said to me: "By God, the Commander of the Faithful asks me to return this property and I am not able to do that."

I said to him: "If you wish, he will give you one week of respite so that you can collect the property."

He said: "By God, I do not want to impose it on my folk or ask anyone for it."

Then he said: "By God, if the son of Hind or the son of 'Affān had demanded that property, they would have left it to me. Did you not see how 'Uthmān [in his rule] granted a hundred thousand dirhams of the taxes of Azerbaijan each year to Ash'ath ibn Qays?"

I said: "This man ['Ali ibn Abī Tālib] (a.s.) does not view it like that and he would not grant you anything."

He kept silent for a while and so did I. No longer than one night after the talk we had together, he joined Mu'āwiya. The

1. Qur'ān, 18: 103 – 4.

2. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 389. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 43.

3. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 129, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 145, *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 364.

ذَلِكَ عَلَيَّ فَقَالَ: مَا لَهُ؟ تَرَحُّهُ اللهُ! فَعَلَ فِعْلَ السَّيِّدِ، وَفَرَّ فِرَارَ الْعَبْدِ، وَخَانَ خِيَانَةَ الْفَاجِرِ! أَمَا إِنَّهُ لَوْ أَقَامَ فَعَجَزَ مَا زِدْنَا عَلَى حَبْسِهِ؛ فَإِنْ وَجَدْنَا لَهُ شَيْئاً أَخَذْنَاهُ، وَإِنْ لَمْ نَقْدِرْ لَهُ عَلَى مَالٍ تَرَكَنَاهُ، ثُمَّ سَارَ إِلَى دَارِهِ فَهَدَمَهَا.^٢

راجع: مرسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 7 ص 493 (مصقلة بن هبيرة).

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الْمُنْذِرُ بْنُ الْجَارُودِ

133. أنساب الأشراف: وَكَتَبَ ۞ إِلَى الْمُنْذِرِ بْنِ الْجَارُودِ، وَبَلَغَهُ أَنَّهُ يَسْطُرُ يَدَهُ فِي الْمَالِ، وَيَصِلُ مَنْ أَنَاهُ، وَكَانَ عَلَى إِصْطَخَرٍ^٣: إِنَّ صَلَاحَ أَبِيكَ غَرْنِي مِنْكَ، وَظَنَنْتُ أَنَّكَ تَتَّبِعُ هَدْيَهُ وَفِعْلَهُ، فَإِذَا أَنْتَ فِيهَا رُقِيَّ إِلَيَّ عَنْكَ لَا تَدْعُ الْإِنْقِيَادَ هَوَاكَ وَإِنْ أَرَى ذَلِكَ بِدِينِكَ، وَلَا تُصْغِي إِلَى النَّاصِحِ وَإِنْ أَخْلَصَ النَّصِاحَ لَكَ، بَلَغَنِي أَنَّكَ تَدْعُ عَمَلَكَ كَثِيراً وَتُخْرِجُ لَاهِياً مُتَنَزِّهاً مُتَصَيِّداً، وَأَنَّكَ قَدْ بَسَطْتَ يَدَكَ فِي مَالِ اللَّهِ لَمَنْ أَنَاكَ مِنْ أَعْرَابِ قَوْمِكَ، كَأَنَّهُ تُرَائِكَ عَنْ أَبِيكَ وَأُمِّكَ.

وإني أقسم بالله لئن كَانَ ذَلِكَ حَقّاً لَجَمَلُ أَهْلِكَ وَشَسْعُ نَعْلِكَ خَيْرٌ مِنْكَ، وَأَنَّ اللَّعِبَ وَاللَّهْوَ لَا يَرْضَاهُمَا اللهُ، وَخِيَانَةُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَتَضْيِيعُ أَعْمَالِهِمْ مِمَّا يُسْخِطُ رَبَّكَ، وَمَنْ كَانَ كَذَلِكَ فَلَيْسَ بِأَهْلِ لَانْ يُسَدَّ بِهِ الثَّغْرُ، وَيُجْبَى بِهِ الْفَيْءُ، وَيُؤْتَمَنَ عَلَى مَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، فَأَقْبِلْ حِينَ يَصِلُ كِتَابِي هَذَا إِلَيْكَ.

١. الترح: ضد الفرح؛ وهو الهلاك والانقطاع أيضاً (النهاية: ج 1 ص 186).

٢. الغارات: ج 1 ص 1365 تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 129، تاريخ دمشق: ج 58 ص 272 ح 7450، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 421 وراجع: أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 181 والبداية والنهاية: ج 7 ص 310 والفتوح: ج 4 ص 244.

٣. إصطخر: معرب استخر، وهي من أقدم مدن فارس، وبها كان سرير الملك دارا بن دارا، وبها آثار عظيمة. وبينها وبين شيراز اثنا عشر فرسخاً (راجع: تقويم البلدان: ص 329).

news of this reached 'Ali (a.s.) and he said: "What has happened to him? May God kill him! He acted like the masters and ran away like the slaves, and became treacherous like the vicious people. Let it be known that if he had stood up to collect the property and failed, I would not have added to his jailing. If we had found something with him we would have confiscated it; and if we had not found any property with him, we would have released him." Then he went to [the house of Maşqala] and destroyed it."¹

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*: (Maşqala ibn Hubayra).

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Al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd

133. *Ansāb al-Ashraf* –in a letter to al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd, his governor in Ištakhr² when he was informed that he had misappropriated certain property in his charge and granted lavishly to whomever he wished: "The good behavior of your father deceived me about you and I thought that you would follow his way and continue on his path. But according to what has reached me about you, you are not giving up the following of your passions however detrimental it is to your religion and you do not listen to [the words of] those who advise you however sincere they are in their well-wishing. I have been informed that you give up many tasks and go out for recreation, leisure and hunting and that you are lavishly generous to your Bedouin tribesmen with public property as if it is your parents' bequest.

I swear by God, if this is true, the camel of your family and your shoelaces are better than you. Indeed God does not like amusement and leisure. And the betraying of Muslims and ruining their works enrages Him and the person who acts this way is not fitting for safeguarding the borders, securing public property and being trusted with the belongings of the Muslims. Therefore proceed to me as soon as this letter of mine reaches you."

1. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 365, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 129, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 58, p. 272, h. 7450.

2. This is the Arabic pronunciation of the Persian word Ištakhr, which was one of the most ancient cities of the Persian Empire.

فَقَدِمَ فَشَكَاهُ قَوْمٌ وَرَفَعُوا عَلَيْهِ أَنَّهُ أَخَذَ ثَلَاثِينَ أَلْفًا، فَسَأَلَهُ فَجَحَدَ، فَاسْتَحْلَفَهُ
فَلَمْ يَحْلِفْ، فَجَبَسَهُ.^١

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 7 ص 504 (المنذر بن الجارود العبدي).

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عَزَلُ مَنْ بَلَّغَتْ خِيَانَتُهُ مِنَ الْعُنَالِ

134. الاستيعاب: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ ... لَا يَخْصُصُ بِالْوِلَايَاتِ إِلَّا أَهْلَ الدِّيَانَاتِ وَالْأَمَانَاتِ، وَإِذَا
بَلَغَهُ عَنْ أَحَدِهِمْ خِيَانَةً كَتَبَ إِلَيْهِ: قَدْ جَاءَكُمْ مَوْعِظَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فَأَوْفُوا الْكَيْلَ
وَالْمِيزَانَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَا تَبْخُسُوا النَّاسَ أَشْيَاءَهُمْ وَلَا تَعْتُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ مُفْسِدِينَ. بَقِيَّةُ
اللَّهِ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ وَمَا أَنَا عَلَيْكُمْ بِخَفِيظٍ.^٢ إِذَا أَتَاكَ كِتَابِي هَذَا فَاحْتَفِظْ
بِهَا فِي يَدَيْكَ مِنْ أَعْمَالِنَا حَتَّى نَبْعَثَ إِلَيْكَ مَنْ يَتَسَلَّمُهُ مِنْكَ، ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُ طَرْفَهُ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ
فَيَقُولُ: اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّكَ تَعْلَمُ أَنِّي لَمْ أَمُرْهُمْ بِظُلْمِ خَلْقِكَ، وَلَا بِتَرْكِ حَقِّكَ.
وُخْطِبُهُ وَمَوَاعِظُهُ وَوَصَايَاهُ لِعُمَالِيهِ إِذْ كَانَ يُخْرِجُهُمْ إِلَى أَعْمَالِهِ كَثِيرَةً مَشْهُورَةً لَمْ
أَرِ النَّعْرُضَ لِذِكْرِهَا، لِئَلَّا يَطُولَ الْكِتَابُ، وَهِيَ حِسَانٌ كُلُّهَا.^٣

135. دعائم الإسلام: إِنَّهُ [عَلِيًّا] ... خَضَرَ الْأَشْعَثَ بْنَ قَيْسٍ، وَكَانَ عُثْمَانُ اسْتَعْمَلَهُ عَلَى
أَذْرَبِيجَانَ، فَأَصَابَ مِئَةَ أَلْفٍ دِرْهَمٍ، فَبَعْضُ يَقُولُ: أَقْطَعَهُ عُثْمَانُ إِيَّاهَا، وَبَعْضُ
يَقُولُ: أَصَابَهَا الْأَشْعَثُ فِي عَمَلِهِ.

١. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 1391 تهج البلاغة: الكتاب 71، تاريخ اليعقوبي: ج 2 ص 203 كلاهما نحوه.

٢. اقتباس من سورة الأعراف: 85 وهود: 85 و 86.

٣. الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 210 و 211 الرقم 1875 عن أبي إسحاق السبيعي.

Mundhir went to the Imām. Some people complained that he had taken thirty thousand [coins from the public property]. He [the Imām] asked him about this matter and he denied it. He got him to swear, but he refused, so he arrested him."¹

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minin*: (al-Mundhir ibn Jarūd).

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Dismissing Treacherous Administrators

134. *al-Istī'āb*: "Ali (a.s.) would appoint only the faithful and the trustworthy people [in the cities], and if any one of them was reported to him to have committed treachery, he would write to him the following: *"There has certainly come to you admonition from your Lord. Observe fully the measure and balance, and do not cheat the people of their goods and do not cause corruption on the earth. What remains of God's provision is better for you, should you be faithful, and I am not a keeper over you."*² When my letter reaches you, settle what you are in charge of until I send someone to take it over from you." He would then turn his face towards the sky and say: "O God! Certainly You know that I neither ordered them to tyrannize Your creatures nor to abandon Your rights."^{3 4}
135. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*: "Ali (a.s.) summoned Ash'ath ibn Qays, who was appointed by 'Uthmān as the governor of Azerbaijan and received a hundred thousand dirhams. Some said 'Uthmān had granted that money to him and others believed that he had gained it through his work.

1. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 391, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 71, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 203.

2. Taken from the Qur'an, 7: 85, 11: 85 – 86.

3. *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 210, *Ibid*, p. 211, h. 1875.

4. The speeches, sermons and recommendations of the Imām to his administrators when he would send them on their missions are abundant, but many are not mention here in order here to avoid lengthening the present book, as enlightening as they are.

فَأَمَرَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بِإِحْضَارِهَا فِدَافَعَهُ، وَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، لَمْ أَصِبْهَا فِي عَمَلِكَ.
قَالَ: وَاللَّهِ لَئِنْ أَنْتَ لَمْ تُحْضِرْهَا بَيْتَ مَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، لَأُضْرِبَنَّكَ بِسَيْفِي هَذَا أَصَابَ
مِنْكَ مَا أَصَابَ.

فَأَحْضَرَهَا وَأَخَذَهَا مِنْهُ وَصَيَّرَهَا فِي بَيْتِ مَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، وَتَتَبَعَ عُمَالُ عُثْمَانَ،
فَأَخَذَ مِنْهُمْ كُلَّ مَا أَصَابَهُ قَائِماً فِي أَيْدِيهِمْ، وَضَمَّنَهُمْ مَا أَتْلَفُوا.^١

136. الفصول المهمة: نُقِلَ عَنْ سَوْدَةَ بِنْتِ عُمَارَةَ الْهَمْدَانِيَّةِ أَنَّهَا قَدِمَتْ عَلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ بَعْدَ

مَوْتِ عَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ، فَجَعَلَ مُعَاوِيَةُ يُؤَنِّبُهَا عَلَى تَعْرِضِهَا عَلَيْهِ فِي أَيَّامِ قِتَالِ صَفِينِ، ثُمَّ إِنَّهُ
قَالَ لَهَا: مَا حَاجَتُكَ؟ فَقَالَتْ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى مُسَائِلُكَ عَنْ أَمْرِنَا وَمَا فَوَّضَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ
أَمْرِنَا، وَلَا يَزَالُ يَقْدِمُ عَلَيْنَا مِنْ قَبْلِكَ مَنْ يَسْمُو بِمَقَامِكَ وَيَبْطِشُ بِسُلْطَانِكَ
فَيَحْضُدُنَا حَصْدَ السُّبُلِ، وَيَدُوسُنَا دُوسَ الْحَرَمْلِ، يَسُومُنَا الْحَسْفَ، وَيُذِيقُنَا
الْحَنْفَ، هَذَا بُسْرُ بْنُ أَرْطَاةَ قَدْ قَدِمَ عَلَيْنَا، فَقَتَلَ رِجَالَنَا، وَأَخَذَ أَمْوَالَنَا، وَلَوْلَا
الطَّاعَةُ لَكَانَ فِينَا عِزٌّ وَمَنْعَةٌ، فَإِنْ عَزَلْتَهُ عَنَّا شَكَرْنَاكَ وَإِلَّا فَإِلَى اللَّهِ شَكُونَاكَ.

فَقَالَ مُعَاوِيَةُ: إِنِّي نَعْنِي وَلِيَّ تَهْدِيدِنَا! لَقَدْ هَمَمْتُ يَا سَوْدَةُ أَنْ أَحْمِلَكَ عَلَى قَتْلِ
أَشْوَسَ، فَأَرَدْتُكَ إِلَيْهِ، فَيُنْفِذَ حُكْمَهُ فِيكَ. فَأَطَرَقَتْ ثُمَّ أَنْشَأَتْ تَقُولُ:

صَلَّى الْإِلَهُ عَلَى جِسْمِ تَضَمَّنَهُ قَبْرٌ فَأَصْبَحَ فِيهِ الْعَدْلُ مَدْفُونَا
قَدْ حَالَفَ الْحَقُّ لَا يَبْغِي بِهِ بَدَلًا فَصَارَ بِالْحَقِّ وَالْإِيمَانِ مَقْرُونَا

فَقَالَ مُعَاوِيَةُ: مَنْ هَذَا يَا سَوْدَةُ؟ فَقَالَتْ: هَذَا وَاللَّهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ
أَبِي طَالِبٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ، لَقَدْ جِئْتُهُ فِي رَجُلٍ كَانَ قَدْ وَلَّاهُ صَدَقَاتِنَا فَجَارَ عَلَيْنَا فَصَادَفْتُهُ قَائِماً
يُرِيدُ الصَّلَاةَ، فَلَمَّا رَأَى انْفَتَلَ، ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَيَّ بِوَجْهِ طَلِقٍ، وَرَحْمَةٍ وَرَفِيقٍ، وَقَالَ: لَكَ

'Ali (a.s.) commanded him to present that money, but he refused and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! I have not obtained this money in your government."

The Imām said: "By God, if you do not present it to the public treasury, I will strike you with my sword and it will take from you what it must."

Thereupon he brought back the property and the Imām placed it in the treasury. He followed up this [inquiry] in relation to 'Uthmān's administrators, taking back whatever of [unlawful] property left in their hands and fining them for what they had wasted."¹

136. *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma* –narrated by Sūda daughter of -Hamdāniya who went to Mu'āwiya after the death of 'Ali (a.s.): "Mu'āwiya started to reproach her for her mocking remarks to him during the battle of Ṣiffin. Then he asked her: "What do you need?"

Sūda replied: "Indeed God Almighty will question you about our affairs and what has been entrusted to you. There is always someone coming to us from you who towers up your position, spreads your dominion, reaps us like the ears of wheat, beats us up like seeds of wild rue, debases us and makes us taste death. That was Busr ibn Artā'a who came to us, killed our men and took away our property. If it was not for our obedience [to you], we would have been dignified and honored, so if you dismiss him we will be grateful of you; otherwise we will complain about you to God."

Mu'āwiya said: "Are you referring to me and threatening me? O Sūda, I have decided to put you on an unruly camel and send you back to Busr to carry out his judgment about you."

Sūda put her head down keeping silent and then recited the following couplets:

*May God's blessing be upon the body who was embraced,
By a grave in which justice was buried.
He allied with the truth and would not substitute it with anything,
And he became equal to the truth and faith.*

Mu'āwiya said: "O Sūda, who is this person?"

Sūda said: "By God, this is the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.). I once went to him to talk to him about a man whom he had appointed as the head of [levying] taxes and that person had done injustice to us. I found him standing and ready to start saying prayer. When he saw me, he stopped and came towards me with a bright face, affection and leniency, saying: "Do you have any need?"

1. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 396.

حَاجَةٌ؟ فَقُلْتُ: نَعَمْ، وَأَخْبَرْتُهُ بِالْأَمْرِ فَبَكَى، ثُمَّ قَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ شَاهِدُ أَنِّي لَمْ أَمْرُهُمْ بِظُلْمٍ خَلَقَكَ وَلَا بِتَرْكِ حَقِّكَ. ثُمَّ أَخْرَجَ مِنْ جَبِيهِ قِطْعَةً جَلِيدٍ وَكَتَبَ فِيهَا: ﴿بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ﴾ * قَدْ جَاءَتْكُمْ بَيِّنَةٌ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ فَأَوْفُوا الْكَيْلَ وَالْمِيزَانَ وَلَا تَبْخَسُوا النَّاسَ أَشْيَاءَهُمْ وَلَا تُفْسِدُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ بَعْدَ إِصْلَاحِهَا ذَلِكُمْ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ إِن كُنتُمْ مُّؤْمِنِينَ^١ وَإِذَا قَرَأْتَ كِتَابِي هَذَا فَاحْتَفِظْ بِهَا فِي يَدِكَ مِنْ عَمَلِكَ حَتَّى نَقْدَمَ عَلَيْكَ مَن يَقْبِضُهُ. وَالسَّلَامُ.

ثُمَّ دَفَعَ إِلَيَّ الرُّقْعَةَ، فَجِئْتُ بِالرُّقْعَةِ إِلَى صَاحِبِهِ فَأَنْصَرَفَ عَنَّا مَعْزُولاً. فَقَالَ: أَكْتُبُوا لَهَا بِمَا تُرِيدُ، وَاصْرِفُوهَا إِلَى بَلَدِهَا غَيْرَ شَاكِيَةٍ.^٢

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عُقُوبَةُ الْخَوْنَةِ مِنَ الْعَمَالِ

137. الإمام علي عليه السلام - لما استدرك على ابن هرمة خيائته، وكان على سوق الأهواز، فكتب إلى رفاعه -: إذا قرأت كتابي ففتح ابن هرمة عن السوق، وأوقفه للناس، واسجنه وناد عليه، واكتب إلى أهل عملك تعلمهم رأيي فيه، ولا تأخذك فيه غفلة ولا تفريط، فتهلك عند الله، وأعزلك أخبت عزلة، وأعيدك بالله من ذلك. فإذا كان يوم الجمعة فأخرجهم من السجن، واضربه خمسة وثلاثين سوطاً، وطف به إلى الأسواق، فمن أتى عليه بشاهد فحلفه مع شاهده، وادفع إليه من مكسبه ما شهد به عليه، ومُر به إلى السجن مهاناً مقبوحاً منبوحاً، واحزم رجله

١. الأعراف: 85.

٢. الفصول المهمة: ص 127، المعقد الفريد: ج 1 ص 335 عن عامر الشعبي، بلاغات النساء: ص 47 عن محمد بن

عبيد الله وكلاهما نحوه؛ كشف الغمة: ج 1 ص 173، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 119 ح 27.

٣. المنبوح: المشتم. يقال: نبحتني كلابك: أي لحقني شنائمك (النهاية: ج 5 ص 5).

I said: "Yes." And I told him the story.

He wept and said: "O God! You are witnessing that I did not command them to do injustice to your creation and to abandon Your rights." He then took a piece of leather out of his pocket and wrote on it as follows:

*"In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful. There has certainly come to you a manifest proof from your Lord. Observe fully the measurement and the balance, and do not cheat the people of their good, and do not cause corruption on the earth after its restoration. That is better for you, if you are faithful."*¹ "When you read my letter, settle what you are in charge of until I send someone to take it over from you. Wassalām!"

He gave me this letter he had written, I took it to his governor and gave it to him, and he left us dismissed."

Mu'āwiya said: "Write for her whatever she wishes. Return her to her town that she may not have any complaints."²

3/13

Punishing the Treacherous among the Administrators

137. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –when he found out about the treachery of Ibn Harma who was in charge of the Ahwāz market, he wrote to Rafā'a: "When you read my letter, dismiss Ibn Harma from the market, cut him off from the people, put him in jail and inform the public. Write to your administrators and let them know about my opinion concerning him. Do not be negligent or extreme regarding him or you will perish in the eyes of God and I will dismiss you in the worst of ways. I seek God's refuge for you from this happening to you.

On the coming Friday, take him out of jail, give him thirty five lashes and take him around in the markets. If someone brings a witness against him, make him swear an oath with his witness and then pay him from the assets of Ibn Harma. Order him to be taken to jail degradingly, shamefully and by shouting

1. Qur'ān, 7:85.

2. *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma*, p. 127, *al-'Iqd al-Farid*, vol. 1, p. 335, *Balāghāt al-Nisā*, p. 47, *Kashf al-Ghumma*, vol. 1, p. 173

بِحِزَامٍ، وَأَخْرِجْهُ وَقْتَ الصَّلَاةِ، وَلَا تَحُلْ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ مَنْ يَأْتِيهِ بِمَطْعَمٍ أَوْ مَشْرَبٍ أَوْ مَلْبَسٍ أَوْ مَفْرَشٍ، وَلَا تَدْعَ أَحَدًا يَدْخُلُ إِلَيْهِ مِمَّنْ يُلْقَنُ اللَّذَّةَ^١ وَيُرْجَوِ الْخُلُوصَ.
فَإِنْ صَحَّ عِنْدَكَ أَنَّ أَحَدًا لَقَّنَهُ مَا يَضُرُّ بِهِ مُسْلِمًا، فَاضْرِبْهُ بِالدَّرَّةِ، فَاحْبِسْهُ حَتَّى يَتَوَبَّ، وَامْرُؤٌ بِإِخْرَاجِ أَهْلِ السُّجْنِ فِي اللَّيْلِ إِلَى صَحْنِ السُّجْنِ لِيَتَفَرَّجُوا غَيْرَ ابْنِ هَرَمَةَ إِلَّا أَنْ تَخَافَ مَوْتَهُ فَتُخْرِجْهُ مَعَ أَهْلِ السُّجْنِ إِلَى الصَّحْنِ، فَإِنْ رَأَيْتَ بِهِ طَاقَةً أَوْ اسْتَطَاعَةً فَاضْرِبْهُ بَعْدَ ثَلَاثِينَ يَوْمًا خَمْسَةً وَثَلَاثِينَ سَوْطًا بَعْدَ الْخَمْسَةِ وَالثَّلَاثِينَ الْأُولَى، وَاكْتُبْ إِلَيَّ بِمَا فَعَلْتَ فِي السُّوقِ، وَمَنْ اخْتَرْتَ بَعْدَ الْخَائِنِ، وَاقْطَعْ عَنِ الْخَائِنِ رِزْقَهُ.^٢

138. عنه: - مِنْ عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ فِي مُرَاقَبَةِ الْعُمَالِ -: فَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ بَسَطَ يَدَهُ إِلَى خِيَانَةٍ اجْتَمَعَتْ بِهَا أَخْبَارُ عُيُونِكَ، اكْتَفَيْتَ بِذَلِكَ شَاهِدًا، فَبَسَطْتَ عَلَيْهِ الْعُقُوبَةَ فِي بَدَنِهِ، وَأَخَذْتَهُ بِمَا أَصَابَ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ، ثُمَّ نَصَبْتَهُ بِمَقَامِ الْمَذَلَّةِ، وَوَسَمْتَهُ بِالْخِيَانَةِ، وَقَلَّدْتَهُ عَارَ التُّهْمَةِ.^٣

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لَقِّنِ الْعُمَالِ عَنْ أَخْذِ الْهَدِيَّةِ

139. الإمام علي: «أَيُّهَا الْوَالِ إِحْتَجَبَ عَنِ حَوَائِجِ النَّاسِ، احْتَجَبَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَعَنِ حَوَائِجِهِ، وَإِنْ أَخَذَ هَدِيَّةً كَانَ غُلُولًا^٤، وَإِنْ أَخَذَ رَشْوَةً فَهُوَ مُشْرِكٌ.^٥

١. اللَّذَّةُ: الخصومة الشديدة (لسان العرب: ج 3 ص 391).

٢. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 532 ح 1892.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 137، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 361 نحوه.

٤. الغُلُول: الخيانة في الغنم، والسرقة من الغنمة قبل القسمة، وكلٌّ من خان في شيء خفية فقد غلَّ (النهاية: ج 3 ص 380).

٥. ثواب الأعمال: ص 310 ح 1 عن الأصمغ، بحار الأنوار: ج 72 ص 345 ح 42.

at him; tie his feet with a rope and bring him out at the time of prayer. Do not prevent anyone who might bring to him food, drink, clothes or a mattress. Do not let anyone approach him, to inculcate to him animosity or make him hopeful of being freed. If it was proved to you that someone inculcated something to him that could harm to the Muslims, punish him with a lash and put him in jail until he repents.

During the night take the prisoners out into the courtyard to breathe fresh air, except for Ibn Harma, unless he is feared to die in which case also let him out into the courtyard. After thirty days, if you see in him strength, give him thirty five lashes besides the previous thirty five lashes. Write to me about what you did in the market and whom you have chosen after that traitor. Cut off the salary of that traitor."¹

138. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –from his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar on looking into the affairs of the administrators: "If one of them should extend his hand in a treacherous act concerning which the intelligence received against him from your observers concurs and if you are satisfied with that as a witness, subject him to corporeal punishment and charge him for what befell from his action. Then set him in a position of degradation, brand him with treachery and chain his neck with the shame of accusation (defame)."²

3/14

Forbidding Administrators from Accepting Gifts

139. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Any ruler who hides himself from the people's needs, God will also hide Himself from him and his needs on the Day of Judgment. If he accepts gifts he is a traitor, and if he accepts bribes he is a polytheist."³

1. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 532, ḥ. 1892.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 137, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 361.

3. *Thawāb al-A'māl*, p. 310, ḥ. 1. *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 72, p. 345, ḥ. 42.

140. أخبار القضاة عن علي بن ربيعة: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا اسْتَعْمَلَ رَجُلًا مِنْ بَنِي أَسَدٍ يُقَالُ لَهُ: ضُبَيْعَةُ بْنُ زُهَيْرٍ، فَلَمَّا قَضَى عَمَلَهُ أَتَى عَلِيًّا بِجِرَابٍ فِيهِ مَالٌ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنْ قَوْمًا كَانُوا يُهْدُونَ لِي حَتَّى اجْتَمَعَ مِنْهُ مَالٌ فَهَاهُوَ ذَا، فَإِنْ كَانَ لِي حَلَالًا أَكَلْتُهُ، وَإِنْ كَانَ غَيْرَ ذَلِكَ فَقَدْ أَتَيْتَكَ بِهِ. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: لَوْ أَمْسَكْتَهُ لَكَانَ غُلُولًا. فَقَبَضَهُ مِنْهُ وَجَعَلَهُ فِي بَيْتِ الْمَالِ.^١

141. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في خطبة ذكر فيها تعامله مع عقيل عندما طلب من بيت المال، ثم قال -: وأعجب من ذلك طارق طرقتنا بملفوفة في وعائها، ومعجونة شنتها، كأنها عجنت بريق حية أو قينها، فقلت: أصلة، أم زكاة، أم صدقة؟ فذلك محرم علينا أهل البيت! فقال: لا ذا ولا ذاك، ولكنها هدية، فقلت: هبلك الهبول! أَعَنْ دِينَ اللَّهِ أَتَيْتَنِي لِتَخْدَعَنِي؟ أَمْ تُحْتَطُّ أَنْتَ أَمْ ذُو حِنَّةٍ، أَمْ تَهْجُرُ؟

وَاللَّهِ لَوْ أُعْطِيتُ الْأَقَالِيمَ السَّبْعَةَ بِمَا نَحْتُ أَفْلَاحَهَا، عَلَى أَنْ أُعْصِيَ اللَّهَ فِي تَمَلِّهِ أَسْلُبُهَا جُلْبَ شَعْبَةٍ مَا فَعَلْتُهُ، وَإِنْ دُنْيَاكُمْ عِنْدِي لَأَهْوَنُ مِنْ وَرَقَةٍ فِي فَمٍ جَرَادَةٍ تَقْضُمُهَا. مَا لِعَلِيٍّ وَلِنَعِيمٍ يَفْنَى، وَلَذَّةٍ لَا تَبْقَى! نَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ سُبَاتِ الْعَقْلِ، وَقُبْحِ الزَّلَلِ، وَبِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ.^٢

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الْجَمْعُ بَيْنَ الشَّدَّةِ وَاللَّيْنِ

142. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في كتابه إلى بعض عماله -: أَمَا بَعْدُ، فَإِنْ ذَهَابَ أَهْلُ بَلَدِكَ شَكُّوا مِنْكَ غِلْظَةً وَقَسْوَةً، وَاحْتِقَارًا وَجَفْوَةً، وَنَظَرْتُ فَلَمْ أَرَهُمْ أَهْلًا لِأَنْ يُدْنُوا لِشَرِّهِمْ،

١. أخبار القضاة: ج ١ ص 59.

٢. أي تكلتك النكول: وهي من النساء التي لا يبقى لها ولد (النهاية: ج 3 ص 240).

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 224، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 162 ح 57.

٤. الدهقان: رئيس القرية ومقدم النساء وأصحاب الزراعة، وهو معرب (النهاية: ج 2 ص 145).

140. *Akhhār al-Qudāt* –narrating from ‘Ali ibn Rabī‘a: “Indeed ‘Ali (a.s.) had employed a man from the Bani Asad tribe by the name of Dubī‘at ibn Zuhayr. When his mission concluded, he went to ‘Ali (a.s.) along with a sack full of money and said: “O Commander of the Faithful! Some people have brought me these gifts which have amounted to this. If they are lawful for me, I will use them; otherwise I am bringing them to you.”

‘Ali (a.s.) said: “If you had kept them, it would have been treachery.”

Then he took it from him and placed it in the public treasury.”¹

141. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) –in his sermon in which he states his treatment with ‘Aqil when he had asked for some money from the Public Treasury: “A very strange thing which happened is that a man came to us with a closed flask full of honey paste but I disliked it as though it was the saliva of a snake or its vomit. I asked him: “Is this a reward or zakāt or charity, for these are forbidden to us, the members of the Prophet’s family [Alhul-Bayt].” He said that it was neither this nor that, but a present.”

“Then I said: “May childless women weep over you. Have you come to mislead me from the religion of God by tricking me? Are you insane, or have you been overpowered by some jinn or are you speaking nonsense?”

“By God, even if I am given all the seven domains with all that exists under the skies in order that I may disobey God to the extent of snatching a grain of barley from an ant, I would not do it. For me, your world is lower than a leaf in the mouth of a locust that is chewing it. What has ‘Ali to do with bounties that will pass away and pleasures that will not last? We seek the protection of God from the slumber of the intellect and the ugliness of stumbles, and from Him we seek succor.”²

3/15

Rigorousness along with Softness

142. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to one of his administrators: “The farmers of your province complain of your strictness, arrogance, humiliating treatment and harshness. I deliberated over it and found that if on account of their paganism they do not deserve any favorable treatment of extra privileges they

1. *Akhhār al-Qudāt*, vol. 1, p. 59.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 224, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 162, h. 57.

ولا أن يُقَصَّوا ويُجَفَّوا لِعَهْدِهِمْ، فَالْبَسَ لَهُمْ جِلْبَاباً مِنَ الدِّينِ تَشْوِيهِهُ بِطَرْفٍ مِنَ الشَّدَّةِ، وَدَاوَلَ لَهُمْ بَيْنَ الْقَسْوَةِ وَالرَّافَةِ، وَامْرُجَ لَهُمْ بَيْنَ التَّقْرِيبِ وَالْإِدْنَاءِ، وَالْإِبْعَادِ وَالْإِقْصَاءِ، إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.^١

143. تاريخ اليعقوبي: كَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ إِلَى عُمَرَ بْنِ مَسْلَمَةَ الْأَرْحَبِيِّ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّ دَهَاقِينَ عَمَلِكَ شَكَّوْا غِلْظَتَكَ، وَنَظَرْتُ فِي أَمْرِهِمْ فَمَا رَأَيْتُ خَيْرًا، فَلَتَكُنْ مَتَرِلْتُكَ بَيْنَ مَتَرِلَتَيْنِ: جِلْبَابٍ لِيْنٍ، بِطَرْفٍ مِنَ الشَّدَّةِ، فِي غَيْرِ ظُلْمٍ وَلَا نَقْصٍ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ أَحْيَوْنَا صَاغِرِينَ، فَخُذْ مَا لَكَ عِنْدَهُمْ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ، وَلَا تَتَّخِذْ مِنْ دُونَ اللَّهِ وَلِيًّا، فَقَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: ﴿لَا تَتَّخِذُوا بِطَانَةً مِّنْ دُونِكُمْ لَا يَأْلُونَكُمْ خَبَالًا﴾^٢ وَقَالَ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ فِي أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ: ﴿لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى أَوْلِيَاءَ﴾ وَقَالَ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى: ﴿وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهُمْ فَمِنْهُمْ﴾^٣ وَقَرَّعَهُمْ بِخَرَايجِهِمْ، وَقَابَلَ فِي وَرَائِهِمْ، وَإِيَّاكَ وَدِمَاءَهُمْ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^٤

144. الإمام عليّ: فِي كِتَابِهِ إِلَى بَعْضِ عُمَّالِهِ -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّكَ يَمُنُّ اسْتَظْهَرُهُ بِهَ عَلَى إِقَامَةِ الدِّينِ، وَأَقَمَّعُ بِهِ نَحْوَةَ الْأَثِيمِ، وَأَسَدُّ بِهِ هَاةَ الشَّغْرِ الْمَخُوفِ. فَاسْتَعِنَ بِاللَّهِ عَلَى مَا أَهَمَّكَ، وَاخْلَطِ الشَّدَّةَ بِضَعْفٍ مِنَ الدِّينِ، وَارْفُقْ مَا كَانَ الرِّفْقُ أَرْفَقَ، وَاعْتَرِمَ بِالشَّدَّةِ حِينَ لَا تُغْنِي عَنْكَ إِلَّا الشَّدَّةُ. وَاخْفِضِ لِلزَّرْعَةِ جَنَاحَكَ، وَابْسُطْ لَهُمْ وَجْهَكَ، وَأَلِنْ لَهُمْ جَانِبَكَ. وَأَسِرْ بَيْنَهُمْ فِي اللَّحْظَةِ وَالنَّظَرَةِ، وَالْإِشَارَةِ وَالتَّحِيَّةِ؛ حَتَّى لَا يَطْمَعَ الْعُظَمَاءُ فِي حَيْفِكَ، وَلَا يَبْأَسَ الضُّعَفَاءُ مِنْ عَدْلِكَ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^٥

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 19، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 489 ح 694؛ أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 390 نحوه، وذكر أنه كتبه إلى عمرو بن سلمة الأرحبي، وفيه «في غير ما أن يظلموا، ولا ينقص لهم عهد، ولكن نفرغوا لخراجهم، ويقاثل من ورائهم، ولا يؤخذ منهم فوق طاقتهم، فبذلك أمرتك، والله المستعان. والسلام» يدل «وداول لهم...».

٢. آل عمران: 118.

٣. المائدة: 51.

٤. تاريخ اليعقوبي: ج 2 ص 203.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 46، الأمالي للمفيد: ص 80 ح 4 نحوه، وفيه أنه كتبه إلى الأشتر بعد قتل محمد بن أبي بكر وهو غير صحيح ظاهراً لأن شهادة محمد بن أبي بكر وقعت بعد شهادة مالك الأشتر، نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 27، تحف العقول: ص 177 وليس فيها صدره إلى «لا تغني عنك إلا الشدة» وفيها «أته» كتبه إلى محمد بن أبي بكر.

do not deserve to be treated cruelly either because of our agreement with them that we have to respect. Therefore tolerate them and at the same time keep the position of strictness and behave between harshness and mercy and keep them neither too close nor too far and do not repel and drive them away, by the will of God."¹

143. *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*: "Ali (a.s.) wrote to 'Amr ibn Muslama al-Arḥabī: "After praising Allah, the farmers of your area have complained of your strictness and I looked into their affair and did not see any good. Your position must be moderate in being soft along with being strict and without doing injustice and diminution because they brought prosperity to us while being feeble, so take what you demand from them while they are subordinate. Do not take any guardian besides God. Certainly God the Exalted and Almighty has said: "...do not take your confidants from other than yourselves; they will spare nothing to ruin you."², and He the Great, the Exalted has said about the People of the Book: "...do not take the Jews and the Christians for guardians..."³, and He the Exalted and Almighty says: "Any of you who takes them as guardians is indeed one of them. Keep them under control by taking land tax, be prepared against them and beware of [shedding] their blood. Wassalām!"⁴
144. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –in his letter to one of his administrators: "You are surely one of those whose help I seek in the establishing of religion, breaking the haughtiness of the sinful and guarding critical boundaries. Therefore, seek God's help in your difficulty and your anxiety. Have a little harshness with some leniency and remain lenient where leniency is more appropriate. Adopt harshness when you cannot do without it. Lower your wings (in humbleness) before the subjects. Meet them with a broad face and keep yourself lenient (in behavior) with them. Treat them equally in the way you look at them, in signaling and in greeting so that the big do not expect from you transgression (in their favor) and the weak do not lose hope in your justice (for them). Wassalām!"⁵

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 19, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 489, h. 694, *Ansāb al-Asbrāf*, vol. 2, p. 390. It is stated in *Ansāb al-Asbrāf* that he wrote this letter to 'Amr ibn Salama al-Arḥabī in which instead of the phrase 'behave with them in between strictness and softness', he wrote 'no injustice should be done to them nor their pledge be broken; however, they should pay land tax and in order to preserve them nothing beyond their capacity should be taken from them. I commanded you to this and God is our resort. Wassalām.'

2. Qur'an, 3: 118.

3. Qur'an, 5: 51.

4. *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 203.

5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 46, *al-Amālī* by al-Mufīd, p. 80, h. 4. It is stated that this letter had been written to Mālik al-Ashtar after the murder of Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr, but apparently this is not true, since Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr was martyred after Mālik al-Ashtar.

الفصل الرابع

السِّيَاسَةُ الثَّقَافِيَّةُ

1 / 4

نَهْيَةُ التَّعْلِيمِ التَّرَبِّيِّ

145. الإمام علي: « عَلَى الْإِمَامِ أَنْ يُعَلِّمَ أَهْلَ وَلَا يَتَّبِعْهُ حُدُودَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِيمَانِ »^١.
146. عنه: « إِنَّ النَّاسَ إِلَى صَالِحِ الْأَدَبِ أَحْوَجُ مِنْهُمْ إِلَى الْفِضَّةِ وَالذَّهَبِ »^٢.
147. عنه: « أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! إِنَّ لِي عَلَيْكُمْ حَقًّا، وَلَكُمْ عَلَيَّ حَقٌّ؛ فَأَمَّا حَقُّكُمْ عَلَيَّ فَالنَّصِيحَةُ لَكُمْ، وَتَوْفِيرُ فَيْئِكُمْ عَلَيْكُمْ، وَتَعْلِيمُكُمْ كَيْ لَا تَجْهَلُوا، وَتَأْدِيبُكُمْ كَيْمَا تَعْلَمُوا »^٣.
148. الإمام الباقر: « كَانَ عَلِيٌّ ؑ إِذَا صَلَّى الْفَجْرَ لَمْ يَزَلْ مُعَقِّبًا إِلَى أَنْ تَطْلُعَ الشَّمْسُ، فَإِذَا طَلَعَتْ اجْتَمَعَ إِلَيْهِ الْفُقَرَاءُ وَالْمَسَاكِينُ وَغَيْرُهُمْ مِنَ النَّاسِ، فَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْفِقْهَ وَالْقُرْآنَ، وَكَانَ لَهُ وَقْتُ يَقُومُ فِيهِ مِنْ مَجْلِسِهِ ذَلِكَ »^٤.
149. إرشاد القلوب: رُوِيَ أَنَّهُ ؑ كَانَ إِذَا يَفْرُغُ مِنَ الْجِهَادِ يَتَفَرَّغُ لِتَعْلِيمِ النَّاسِ، وَالْقَضَاءِ بَيْنَهُمْ »^٥.

١. فروع الحكم: ج 6199، صيون الحكم والمواظف: ص 328 ح 5637.

٢. فروع الحكم: ج 3590، صيون الحكم والمواظف: ص 143 ح 3210.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 34، أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 154، تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 91، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 408 كلها نحوه، الإمامة والسياسة: ج 1 ص 171 وفيه «فالتصبيح في ذات الله» بدل «فالتصبيح لكم».

٤. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 109 عن أعين بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 132.

٥. إرشاد القلوب: ص 218، عدة الداعي: ص 101، بحار الأنوار: ج 103 ص 16 ح 70.

Chapter Four

Cultural Policies

4/1

Development of Education

145. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "It is incumbent upon the leader to teach the laws (*ḥudūd*) of Islam and faith to the people under his rule."¹
146. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Indeed people are more in need of good manners than they are in need of gold and silver."²
147. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O people, I have a right over you and you have a right over me. As for your right over me, that is to advise you, to pay you your dues fully, to teach you so that you may not remain ignorant and to train you so that you are knowledgeable."³
148. Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.): "When 'Ali (a.s.) performs the morning prayers, he keeps on with after-prayer invocations (*ta'qibāt*) until sunrise. At sunrise, the poor, the needy and other groups of people would gather around him and he would teach them laws (*fiqh*) and the Qur'ān. At a certain hour, he would end the session and leave."⁴
149. *Irshād al-Qulūb*: "It is reported that 'Ali (a.s.) after finishing a battle, he would proceed to teach people and judge among them."⁵

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, ḥ. 6199, '*Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*', p. 328, ḥ. 5637.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, ḥ. 3590, '*Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*', p. 143, ḥ. 3210.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 34, *Ansāb al-Asbrāf*, vol. 3, p. 154, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 91.

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 4, p. 109, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 132.

5. *Irshād al-Qulūb*, p. 218, '*Uddat al-Dā'i*', p. 101, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 103, p. 16, ḥ. 70.

150. الطبقات الكبرى عن علباء بن أحمد: إِنَّ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ خَطَبَ النَّاسَ فَقَالَ: مَنْ يَشْتَرِي عِلْمًا بِدِرْهِمٍ؟ فَاشْتَرَى الْحَارِثُ الْأَعْوَرُ صُحُفًا بِدِرْهِمٍ، ثُمَّ جَاءَ بِهَا عَلِيًّا، فَكَتَبَ لَهُ عِلْمًا كَثِيرًا، ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلِيًّا خَطَبَ النَّاسَ بَعْدُ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَهْلَ الْكُوفَةِ! غَلَبَكُمْ نِصْفُ رَجُلٍ.^١
151. الغارات عن سالم بن أبي الجعد: فَرَضَ عَلِيٌّ ﷺ لِمَنْ قَرَأَ الْقُرْآنَ أَلْفَيْنِ أَلْفَيْنِ. قَالَ: وَكَانَ أَبِي يَمْنَنُ قَرَأَ الْقُرْآنَ.^٢
152. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: وَقَدْ غَالِبُ بْنُ صَعَصَعَةَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ ﷺ وَمَعَهُ ابْنُهُ الْفَرَزْدَقُ،^٣ فَقَالَ لَهُ: مَنْ أَنْتَ؟ فَقَالَ: غَالِبُ بْنُ صَعَصَعَةَ الْمَجَاشِعِيُّ... قَالَ: يَا أَبَا الْأَخْطَلِ، مَنْ هَذَا الْغُلَامُ مَعَكَ؟ قَالَ: ابْنِي، وَهُوَ شَاعِرٌ. قَالَ: عَلَّمَهُ الْقُرْآنَ؟ فَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَهُ مِنَ الشَّعْرِ.^٤
153. الإمام علي ﷺ - مِنْ كِتَابِ لَهُ ﷺ إِلَى قُتَيْبِ بْنِ الْعَبَّاسِ، وَهُوَ عَامِلُهُ عَلَى مَكَّةَ -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَأَقِمِ لِلنَّاسِ الْحَقَّ، وَذَكِّرْهُمْ بِأَيَّامِ اللَّهِ، وَاجْلِسْ هُمْ الْعَصْرَيْنِ، فَأَفِيتِ الْمُسْتَقْتِي، وَعَلَّمَ الْجَاهِلَ، وَذَاكِرِ الْعَالِمَ.^٥
154. عنه ﷺ - لِسَائِلٍ سَأَلَهُ عَنْ مُعْضِلَةٍ -: سَلْ تَفْقَهَا وَلَا تَسْأَلْ تَعْنَتَا؛ فَإِنَّ الْجَاهِلَ الْمُتَعَلِّمَ شَبِيهٌ بِالْعَالِمِ، وَإِنَّ الْعَالِمَ الْمُتَعَسِّفَ شَبِيهٌ بِالْجَاهِلِ الْمُتَعَنِّتِ.^٦

١. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 6 ص 168 وراجع: تاريخ بغداد: ج 8 ص 357.

٢. الغارات: ج 1 ص 131، كنز العمال: ج 2 ص 339 ح 4186 نقلاً عن شعب الإيمان وليس فيه «وكان أبي...».

٣. هو أبو فراس، همام بن غالب بن صعصعة، المعروف بالفَرَزْدَقِ، ولد عام (25 هـ) في البصرة، وتوفي عام (114 هـ) بعد تطواف العراق والشام والجزيرة. وقصيدته في مدح الإمام السجاد: في حضور هشام بن عبد الملك دليل على شجاعته ونبوغه.

هذا الذي تعرف البطحاء وطائفة والبيت يعرفه والحل والحرم

(راجع: سيرة أعلام النبلاء: ج 4 ص 590 الرقم 226 ووفيات الأعيان: ج 6 ص 95 الرقم 784).

٤. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 10 ص 21، كنز العمال: ج 2 ص 288 ح 4026 نقلاً عن ابن الأثير في المصاحف والدينوري عن الفرزدق نحوه.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 67، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 497 ح 702.

٦. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 320، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 132 ح 2980 نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 1 ص 222 ح 7.

150. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* – narrating from ‘Albā’ ibn Aḥmar: “‘Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib (a.s.) was addressing the people, saying: ‘Who would buy knowledge for one dirham?’”

al-Ḥārith al-A‘war (who was one-eyed) bought several sheets for one dirham and brought it to ‘Ali (a.s.) and he wrote abundant issues of knowledge for him.

After that, ‘Ali (a.s.) said in his sermon: “O people of Kūfa! A half a man overcame you.”¹

151. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Sālim ibn Abi Ja‘d: “‘Ali (a.s.) allocated two thousand (coins) [as an income] for every reciter of the Qur’ān and my father was one of the reciters.”²
152. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*: “Ghālib ibn Ṣa‘ṣa‘a went to ‘Ali (a.s.) together with his son, Farazdaq³ and ‘Ali (a.s.) said to him: ‘Who are you?’”

He replied: “Ghālib, the son of Ṣa‘ṣa‘a al-Mujāshī‘i”

He (a.s.) said: “O Abū al-Akḥṭal! Who is this young man with you?”

He replied: “My son and he is a poet.”

He (a.s.) said: “Teach him the Qur’ān, for it is better for him than poetry.”⁴

153. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to ‘Utham ibn ‘Abbās, who was his administrator in Mecca, wrote: “Set up Ḥajj for the people and remind them of the days [to be devoted] to God. Sit for giving them audience in the morning and evening, explain the law to those who ask, teach the ignorant and discuss with the learned.”⁵
154. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – in response to someone who had asked him a difficult question: “Ask me for understanding and do not ask to create confusion [for fault finding], because the ignorant person who tries to learn is like the learned man, but the learned man who tries to create confusion is like the ignorant.”⁶

1. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 168.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 131, *Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, vol. 2, p. 339, ḥ. 4186.

3. He is Abū Farās Humām ibn Ghālib, known as Farazdaq. He was born in 25 AH in Baṣra and died in 114. The following poem that he wrote in praise of al-Imām al-Sajjād in the presence of Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik is a an evidence of his bravery:

“This is the person whom the land of Baṭḥā knows,
And the Ka’ba and the Ḥaram know him too.”

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 10, p. 21, *Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, vol. 2, p. 288, ḥ. 4026.

5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 67, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 497, ḥ. 702.

6. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 320, *‘Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā‘iz*, p. 132, ḥ. 2980.

155. عنه عليه السلام - لِرَجُلٍ سَأَلَهُ رَجُلٌ أَنْ يُعَرِّفَهُ الْإِيمَانَ -: إِذَا كَانَ الْغَدُ فَأَتِنِي حَتَّى أُخْبِرَكَ عَلَى أَسْمَاعِ النَّاسِ، فَإِنْ نَسِيتَ مَقَالَتِي حَفِظْتُهَا عَلَيْكَ غَيْرُكَ؛ فَإِنَّ الْكَلَامَ كَالشَّارِدَةِ يَنْقُضُهَا هَذَا وَيُخْطِئُهَا هَذَا.^١

2 / 4

النَّهْيُ عَنْ نَقْضِ السُّنَنِ الصَّالِحَةِ

156. الإمام علي عليه السلام - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: لَا تَنْقُضْ سُنَّةَ صَالِحَةٍ عَمِلَ بِهَا صُدُورُ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ، وَاجْتَمَعَتْ بِهَا الْأَلْفَةُ، وَصَلَحَتْ عَلَيْهَا الرَّعِيَّةُ، وَلَا تُحْدِثَنَّ سُنَّةَ تَضُرُّ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ مَاضِيِ تِلْكَ السُّنَنِ؛ فَيَكُونَ الْأَجْرُ لِمَنْ سَنَّهَا، وَالْوِزْرُ عَلَيْكَ بِمَا نَقَضْتَ مِنْهَا... وَالوَاجِبُ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَتَذَكَّرَ مَاضِيَّ لِمَنْ تَقْدَمُكَ مِنْ حُكُومَةٍ عَادِلَةٍ، أَوْ سُنَّةٍ فَاضِلَةٍ، أَوْ أَثَرٍ عَنْ نَبِيِّنَا ﷺ، أَوْ فَرِيضَةٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ.^٢

157. عنه عليه السلام - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ (فِي رَوَايَةِ تَحْفِ الْعُقُولِ) -: وَأَكْثَرُ مُدَارَسَةِ الْعُلَمَاءِ، وَمُثَاقَفَةِ الْحُكَمَاءِ، فِي تَثْبِيهِ مَا صَلَحَ عَلَيْهِ أَهْلُ بِلَادِكَ، وَإِقَامَةِ مَا اسْتَقَامَ بِهِ النَّاسُ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ؛ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ يَحِقُّ الْحَقَّ، وَيُدْفَعُ الْبَاطِلَ، وَيُكْتَفَى بِهِ ذَلِيلًا وَمِثَالًا لِأَنَّ السُّنَنَ الصَّالِحَةَ هِيَ السَّبِيلُ إِلَى طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ.^٣

3 / 4

الْإِمْرُ بِكَافَّةِ السُّنَنِ الظَّالِمَةِ

158. الإمام علي عليه السلام -: إِعْلَمْ أَنَّ أَفْضَلَ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ إِمَامٌ عَادِلٌ، هُدًى وَهَدًى، فَأَقَامَ

١. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 266، بحار الأنوار: ج 2 ص 160 ح 8.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 130 و ص 148 نحوه وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 356 و 357.

٣. المثاقيف: المواظب، ويقال: ثاقفت فلاناً إذا حابيته تحادته وتلازمه وتكلمه (لسان العرب: ج 13 ص 79).

٤. تحف العقول: ص 131.

155. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in response to someone who had asked him to define faith for him: "Come to me tomorrow so that I enlighten you in the presence of all the people, so that if you forget what I say, others might retain it, for an utterance is like a frightened away prey which may be caught by someone but missed by others."¹

4/2

Prohibition of Abolishing Proper Customs

156. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Abolish no proper custom (*sunna*) which has been acted upon by the leaders of this community, through which harmony has been strengthened and because of which the subjects have prospered. Create no new custom which might in any way damage the customs of the past, lest their reward belong to him who originated them and the burden be upon you for abolishing them. It is incumbent upon you to recall the just government, the excellent customs, the *sunna* of our Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and the obligations (promulgated) in the Book of God, which preceded you (and follow them)."²
157. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar (as narrated in *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*): "Study much with men of knowledge ('ulamā) and converse much with sages (hukamā) concerning the consolidation of that which causes the state of your land to prosper and the establishment of that by which the people before you remain strong, since this will establish rightfulness more firmly and repel falsehood; and this will suffice as guidance and exemplar. Indeed proper customs are the path toward obedience to God."³

4/3

Fighting against Evil Customs

158. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Know that the most distinguished servants of God before Him is the just leader who has been guided (by

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 266, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 2, p. 160, ḥ. 8.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 130, Ibid. Also cf. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 356 & 357.

3. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 131.

سُنَّةٌ مَعْلُومَةٌ، وَأَمَاتٌ بِدْعَةٌ جَهْوَلَةٌ، وَإِنَّ السُّنَنَ لَنَبِيرَةٌ لَهَا أَعْلَامٌ، وَإِنَّ الْبِدْعَ لظَاهِرَةٌ لَهَا أَعْلَامٌ.^١

159. الإمام الصادق: «: أَتَيْتُ الْمَوَالِي أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَقَالُوا: نَشْكُو إِلَيْكَ هَؤُلَاءِ الْعَرَبَ؛ إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ كَانَ يُعْطِينَا مَعَهُمُ الْعَطَايَا بِالسَّوِيَّةِ، وَزَوْجَ سَلْمَانَ وَبِلَالَ وَصُهَيْبًا، وَأَبَا عَلَيْنَا هَؤُلَاءِ وَقَالُوا: لَا تَفْعَلْ! فَذَهَبَ إِلَيْهِمْ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ فَكَلَّمَهُمْ فِيهِمْ، فَصَاحَ الْأَعْرَبُ: أَيْنَا ذَلِكَ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ، أَيْنَا ذَلِكَ! فَخَرَجَ وَهُوَ مُغَضَّبٌ يُجْرُ رِدَاءُهُ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الْمَوَالِي! إِنَّ هَؤُلَاءِ قَدْ صَيَّرُواكُمْ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الْيَهُودِ وَالنَّصَارَى؛ يَتَزَوَّجُونَ إِلَيْكُمْ وَلَا يُزَوِّجُونَكُمْ، وَلَا يُعْطُونَكُمْ مِثْلَ مَا يَأْخُذُونَ؛ فَاتَّجَرُوا بِأَرْكَ اللَّهِ لَكُمْ، فَإِنِّي قَدْ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: الرُّزْقُ عَشْرَةُ أَجْزَاءٍ؛ تِسْعَةٌ أَجْزَاءٍ فِي التَّجَارَةِ، وَوَاحِدَةٌ فِي غَيْرِهَا.»^٢

4 / 4

التَّحَنُّبُ مِنْ مَرَايِمِ الْإِسْتِقْبَالِ

160. نهج البلاغة: قَالَ [عَلِيٌّ] «: وَقَدْ لَقِيَهُ عِنْدَ مَسِيرِهِ إِلَى الشَّامِ دَهَاقِينُ الْأَنْبَارِ، فَتَرَجَّلُوا لَهُ وَاشْتَدَّ وَابِنَ يَدَيْهِ فَقَالَ: مَا هَذَا الَّذِي صَنَعْتُمُوهُ؟ فَقَالُوا: خُلِقَ مِنَّا نُعْظَمُ بِهِ أُمَرَاءَنَا. فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ مَا يَنْتَفِعُ بِهَذَا أُمَرَاؤُكُمْ، وَإِنَّكُمْ لَتَشُقُّونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ فِي دُنْيَاكُمْ، وَتَشُقُّونَ بِهِ فِي آخِرَتِكُمْ. وَمَا أَخْسَرَ الْمَشَقَّةَ وَرَاءَهَا الْعِقَابُ، وَأَرْبَحَ الدَّعَاةَ مَعَهَا

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 164، الجمل: ص 187 عن ابن دأب: تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 337، البداية والنهاية: ج 7 ص 168 كلاهما عن عبد الله بن محمد عن أبيه، للعقد الفريد: ج 3 ص 310 عن ابن دأب وليس فيه «وإن السنن لنيرة...»، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 276 كلها نحوه.

٢. الكافي: ج 5 ص 318 ح 59 عن الفضل بن أبي قرزة.

God) and guides others. He establishes the recognized customs (of the Prophet's Sunnah) and destroys the unrecognized innovations. The [Prophet's] ways are clear and have their signs, while innovations are also clear and they too have their signs."¹

159. *Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.):* Some non-Arab Muslims (*al-Mawālī*) came to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) and said: "We have a complaint to you against these Arabs. Verily the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) gave us portions that were equal to theirs and married off Salmān, Bilāl and Ṣuḥayb, but these (Arabs) refuse and say: "We will not do that!"

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) went to them and talked to them about this. The Arabs shouted: "We refuse it, O Abū al-Ḥasan! We refuse it!"

So, 'Ali (a.s.) left angrily dragging his robe and saying: "O group of non-Arabs! In truth, they have reduced you to the status of the Jews and the Christians. They get married to your women but refuse to allow you to marry theirs. They do not give you as much as they take from you. Therefore engage in trading and God will bestow His blessings on you. Indeed I heard from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) that sustenance (*rizq*) has ten parts; nine parts are in trading and one part is in other things."²

4/4

Refraining from Reception Ceremonies

160. *Nahj al-Balāghah:* The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) was proceeding towards Syria when the countrymen (farmers) of al-Anbār met him. Seeing him, they began to walk on foot and then ran in front of him.

He enquired: "Why are you doing this."

They replied: "This is the way we respect our chiefs."

He then said: "By God, this does not benefit your chiefs. By doing this you are troubling yourselves in this world and earning misery for the next world. How harmful is the labor

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 164, *al-Jamal*, p. 187, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 337, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 168.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 318, ḥ. 59.

الْأَمَانُ مِنَ النَّارِ^١

161. نهج البلاغة: رُوِيَ أَنَّهُ [عَلِيًّا] لَمَّا وَرَدَ الْكُوفَةَ قَادِمًا مِنْ صِفِّينَ مَرَّ بِالشَّبَامِيِّينَ^٢ فَسَمِعَ بُكَاءَ النِّسَاءِ عَلَى قَتْلِ صِفِّينَ، وَخَرَجَ إِلَيْهِ حَرْبُ بْنُ شَرَحْبِيلِ الشَّبَامِي... يَمْشِي مَعَهُ وَهُوَ رَاكِبٌ، فَقَالَ: ارْجِعْ؛ فَإِنَّ مَشْيِي مِثْلِكَ مَعَ مِثْلِي فِتْنَةٌ لِلْوَالِي، وَمَذَلَّةٌ لِلْمُؤْمِنِ.^٣
162. الإمام الصادق: خَرَجَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى أَصْحَابِهِ وَهُوَ رَاكِبٌ، فَمَشَوْا خَلْفَهُ، فَالْتَفَتَ إِلَيْهِمْ، فَقَالَ: لَكُمْ حَاجَةٌ؟ فَقَالُوا: لَا، يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَلَكِنَّا نُحِبُّ أَنْ نَمْشِيَ مَعَكَ، فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: انْصَرِفُوا؛ فَإِنَّ مَشْيِي الْمَاشِي مَعَ الرَّاكِيبِ مَفْسَدَةٌ لِلرَّاكِيبِ، وَمَذَلَّةٌ لِلْمَاشِي.

قَالَ: وَرَكِبَ مَرَّةً أُخْرَى فَمَشَوْا خَلْفَهُ، فَقَالَ: انْصَرِفُوا؛ فَإِنَّ خَفَقَ النُّعَالِ خَلَفَ أَعْقَابِ الرِّجَالِ مَفْسَدَةٌ لِقُلُوبِ النَّوْكِى^٤.

5 / 4

النَّقْدُ بِدَلِّ الْإِطْرَاءِ

163. الإمام علي: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ بَعْدَ ذِكْرِ خَصَائِصِ الْبِطَانَةِ الصَّالِحَةِ -: فَاتَّخِذْ أَوْلِيكَ خَاصَّةً حِقْلَوَاتِكَ وَحَفَلَاتِكَ، ثُمَّ لِيَكُنْ أَثَرُهُمْ عِنْدَكَ أَقْوَاهُمْ بِمَرِّ الْحَقِّ

١. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 37، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 104 عن النوكي، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 55 ح 3 وراجع: رقعته صفين: ص 144.

٢. الشبام: حي من اليمن من همدان (لسان العرب: ج 12 ص 317).

٣. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 322، رقعته صفين: ص 531 عن عبد الله بن عاصم الفاشي العبار والموازنة: ص 193 كلاهما نحوه.

٤. النوكي: الحمقى (النهاية: ج 5 ص 129).

٥. المحاسن: ج 2 ص 470 ح 2632، الكافي: ج 6 ص 540 ح 16 وليس فيه ذيله وكلاهما عن هشام بن سالم، تحف العقول: ص 209 نحوه، مشكاة الأنوار: ص 364 ح 1189 عن هشام بن سالم رفعه إلى الإمام علي: المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 104 وفيه «ارجعوا، النعال خلف أعقاب الرجال مفسدة القلوب» بدل «فإن خفق...».

that is followed by punishment and how profitable is the case with which there is deliverance from Hellfire!"¹

161. *Nahj al-Balāghah*: It is reported that when the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) returned to Kūfa from the battle of Şiffin, he passed by the tribe of Shubbām (in Yemen) and heard the women weeping over those killed in Şiffin. At that time Ḥarb ibn Shurāḥbīl al-Shubbāmi came and started walking along with the Imām (a.s.) while he (a.s.) was riding, so he (a.s.) said to him: "Get back because the walking of a man like you with one like me is a trial for the ruler and a humiliation for the believer."²
162. Imām al-Şādiq (a.s.): The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) set out on horseback with his companions walking behind him. He turned his face back to them and asked: "Do you want anything?"

They replied: "No, O Commander of the Faithful! But we would like to walk along with you."

He then told them: "Go back, because walking behind a riding man is a mischief for the rider and a humiliation for the walker."

[The narrator says:] He rode on once again and they followed walking behind him, and he said: "Go back, because the sound of footsteps behind a man corrupts the hearts of the unwise."³

4/5

Criticizing rather than Admiring

163. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar, after describing the characteristics of the righteous confidants: "So choose these men as your special companions in privacy and at assemblies. Then let the most influential among them be he who speaks most to you with the bitterness of the truth and

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 37, *Manāqib 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb*, vol. 2 p. 104, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 55, ḥ. 3.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 322, *Waq'at Şiffin*, p. 531, *al-Mi'yār al-Mawāzin*, p. 193.

3. *al-Maḥāsin*, vol. 2, p. 470, ḥ. 2632, *al-Kaṣf*, vol. 6, p. 540, ḥ. 16, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 209.

لَكَ، وَأَقْلَهُمْ مُسَاعِدَةً فِيمَا يَكُونُ مِنْكَ بِمَا كَرِهَ اللَّهُ لِأَوْلِيَائِهِ، وَإِقْعَا ذَلِكَ مِنْ هَوَاكَ حَيْثُ وَقَعَ. وَالصَّقُّ بِأَهْلِ الْوَرَعِ وَالصَّدِيقِ، ثُمَّ رُضُّهُمْ عَلَى آلَا يُطْرُوكَ وَلَا يَبْجَحُوكَ^١ بِبَاطِلٍ لَمْ تَفْعَلْهُ؛ فَإِنَّ كَثْرَةَ الْإِطْرَاءِ تُحْدِثُ الرَّهْوَ، وَتُدْنِي مِنَ الْعِزَّةِ.^٢

164. عنه عليه السلام - في جواب من قال: أنت أميرنا ونحن رعييتك، بك أخرجنا الله عز وجل من الدُّلِّ، وبإعزازك أطلق عباده من الغُلِّ، فآخَر عَلَيْنَا وَأَمْضِي اخْتِيَارَكَ، وَاتَّيَمِرْ فَأَمْضِي اتِّبَارَكَ؛ فَإِنَّكَ الْقَائِلُ الْمُصَدِّقُ، وَالْحَاكِمُ الْمُوَفَّقُ وَالْمَلِكُ الْمُخَوَّلُ، لَا نَسْتَحِلُّ فِي شَيْءٍ مَعْصِيَتَكَ، وَلَا نَقِيسُ عِلْمًا بِعِلْمِكَ، يَعِظُمُ عِنْدَنَا فِي ذَلِكَ خَطَرُكَ وَيَجِلُّ عَنْهُ فِي أَنْفُسِنَا فَضْلُكَ -: إِنَّ مِنْ حَقِّ مَنْ عَظُمَ جَلَالُ اللَّهِ فِي نَفْسِهِ، وَجَلَّ مَوْضِعُهُ مِنْ قَلْبِهِ أَنْ يَصْغُرَ عِنْدَهُ - لِعِظَمِ ذَلِكَ - كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ، وَإِنَّ أَحَقَّ مَنْ كَانَ كَذَلِكَ لِمَنْ عَظُمَتْ نِعْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ، وَلَطَفَ إِحْسَانُهُ إِلَيْهِ، فَإِنَّهُ لَمْ تَعِظُمْ نِعْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَى أَحَدٍ إِلَّا زَادَ حَقُّ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ عِظَمًا.

وإنَّ من أسخَفِ حالاتِ الْوَلَاةِ عِنْدَ صَالِحِ النَّاسِ أَنْ يُظَنَّ بِهِمْ حُبُّ الْفَخْرِ، وَيَوْضَعَ أَمْرُهُمْ عَلَى الْكِبَرِ، وَقَدْ كَرِهَتْ أَنْ يَكُونَ جَالٌ فِي ظَنِّكُمْ أَنِّي أُحِبُّ الْإِطْرَاءَ، وَاسْتِثْنَاءَ الثَّنَاءِ، وَلَسْتُ - بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ - كَذَلِكَ، وَلَوْ كُنْتُ أُحِبُّ أَنْ يُقَالَ ذَلِكَ لَتَرَكْتُهُ انْحِطَاطًا لِلَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ عَنْ تَنَاوُلِ مَا هُوَ أَحَقُّ بِهِ مِنَ الْعِظَمَةِ وَالْكِيرِيَاءِ. وَرُبَّمَا اسْتَحَلَّى النَّاسُ الثَّنَاءَ بَعْدَ الْبَلَاءِ.

فَلَا تُثْنُوا عَلَيَّ بِجَمِيلِ ثَنَاءٍ، لِإِخْرَاجِي نَفْسِي إِلَى اللَّهِ وَإِلَيْكُمْ مِنَ الْبَقِيَّةِ فِي حُقُوقِ لَمْ أَفْرُغْ مِنْ أَدَائِهَا، وَفَرَائِضَ لَا بُدَّ مِنْ إِمضَائِهَا؛ فَلَا تُكَلِّمُونِي بِهَا تُكَلِّمُونِي بِهَا الْجَبَابِرَةُ،

١. يُبْجَحُوكَ أو كما في شرح النهج: «يُبْجَحُوكَ» أي لا يعملوك ممن يبيح، أي يفخر بباطل لم يفعله كما يبيح أصحاب الأُمراء الأُمراء (شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 17 ص 45).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 129 نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 602 ح 744.

supports you least in activities which God dislikes in His friends, even though this may contradict your pleasure. Cling to men of piety and veracity. Then accustom them not to lavish praise upon you nor (to try to) gladden you by (attributing to you) a vanity you did not do, for lavishing of abundant praise causes arrogance and draws (one) close to pride.”¹

164. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.)—one of his companions had told him: “You are our commander and we are your subordinates. Through you God the Great and Almighty brought us forth from disgrace and for your glory He freed His servants from chains. You choose for us and carry them out and command as you wish and enforce it, because you are a speaker whose words are believed, a successful ruler and entrusted sovereign. We do not see lawful disobedience to you in any matter and we do not measure any knowledge with yours, as your status is so lofty to us and your superiority so great.” To which Imām responded: “If a man considers God’s glory as being high in his self and believes in his heart that God’s position is sublime, then it is his right that—on account of the greatness of these things—he should regard all other things as small. The person who most deserves to be as such is he who receives Gods bounty and favor most, because the bounty of God over any person does not increase without an increase in God’s right over him.

In the view of virtuous people, the worst position of rulers is that it may be thought about them that they love glory and their affairs may be taken to be based on pride. I would really hate that it may occur to your mind that I love high praises or to hear eulogies. By the grace of Allah I am not like this. Even If I had loved to be mentioned like this, I would have given it up in submissiveness before Allah, the Glorified, rather than accept greatness and sublimity to which He is more entitled. Generally people feel pleased at praise after good performances.”

“Do not mention for me glowing praise so that I can discharge my responsibilities towards God and towards you I have not yet carried out and injunctions that have to be performed. So do not address me in the manner despots are

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, p. 129, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 602, h. 744.

وَلَا تَتَحَفَّظُوا مِنِّي بِمَا يُتَحَفَّظُ بِهِ عِنْدَ أَهْلِ الْبَادِرَةِ^١، وَلَا تُخَالِطُونِي بِالمُصَانَعَةِ، وَلَا تَظُنُّوا بِي اسْتِثْقَالَ فِي حَقِّ قَبْلِ لِي، وَلَا التَّيَاسَّ إِعْظَامَ لِنَفْسِي لِأَنِّي لَا يَصْلُحُ لِي؛ فَإِنَّهُ مَنِ اسْتَنْقَلَ الْحَقَّ أَنْ يُقَالَ لَهُ، أَوِ الْعَدْلَ أَنْ يُعَرَّضَ عَلَيْهِ، كَانَ الْعَمَلُ بِهَا أَثْقَلَ عَلَيْهِ.

فَلَا تَكْفُوا عَنِّي مَقَالَةَ بِحَقِّ، أَوْ مَشُورَةَ بِعَدْلٍ؛ فَإِنِّي لَسْتُ فِي نَفْسِي بِفَوْقٍ مَا أَنْ أُخْطِئَ، وَلَا آمَنُ ذَلِكَ مِنْ فِعْلِي، إِلَّا أَنْ يَكْفِيَّ اللَّهُ مِنْ نَفْسِي مَا هُوَ أَمْلَكُ بِهِ مِنِّي، فَإِنَّمَا أَنَا وَأَنْتُمْ عِبِيدٌ تَمْلُكُونَ لِرَبِّ لَا رَبَّ غَيْرُهُ، يَمْلِكُ مِنَّا مَا لَا نَمْلِكُ مِنْ أَنْفُسِنَا، وَأَخْرَجْنَا مِمَّا كُنَّا فِيهِ إِلَى مَا صَلَحْنَا عَلَيْهِ، فَأَبَدَلْنَا بَعْدَ الضَّلَالَةِ بِالهُدَى، وَأَعْطَانَا الْبَصِيرَةَ بَعْدَ الْعَمَى^٢.

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الإلزام بالحق في معرفة الرجال

165. الأماشي للمفيد عن الأصبع بن ثباتة: دَخَلَ الْحَارِثُ الْهَمْدَانِيَّ عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ^٣ فِي تَقْرِيرٍ مِنَ الشَّيْعَةِ وَكُنْتُ فِيهِمْ، فَجَعَلَ الْحَارِثُ يَتَأَوَّدُ فِي مَشِيَّتِهِ، وَيَحِيطُ^٤ الْأَرْضَ بِمَحَجَّتِهِ^٥، وَكَانَ مَرِيضًا، فَأَقْبَلَ عَلَيْهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ^٦ - وَكَانَتْ لَهُ مِنْهُ مَنَزِلَةٌ - فَقَالَ: كَيْفَ نَحْدُكَ يَا حَارِثُ؟ فَقَالَ: نَالَ الدَّهْرُ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنِّي، وَزَادَنِي أَوَارًا^٧ وَعَلِيلًا إِيخْتِصَامُ أَصْحَابِكَ بِبَابِكَ، قَالَ: وَفِيمَ خُصُومَتُهُمْ؟ قَالَ: فَيْكَ وَفِي الثَّلَاثَةِ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ، فَمِنْ مُفْرِطٍ مِنْهُمْ غَالٍ، وَمُقْتَصِدٍ تَالٍ وَمِنْ مُتَرَدِّدٍ

١. البادية: الجدة؛ وهو ما يُدْر من جدة الرجل عند غضبه من قول أو فعل (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 48).

٢. الكافي: ج 8 ص 355 ح 550 عن جابر عن الإمام الباقر، نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 216 وفيه «التقية» بدل «البقية».

٣. الخطبة: الضرب (المصباح النير: ص 163).

٤. المخبئ: عصاً مُعَفَّقة الرأس كالصولجان، والميم زائدة (النهاية: ج 1 ص 347).

٥. الأوار - بالضم - : حرارة النار والشمس والعطش (النهاية: ج 1 ص 80) وهو هنا كناية عن الإيلاء.

addressed. Do not evade me as the irascible people are (to be evaded; do not meet me with flattery and do not think that I shall take it ill if a true thing is said to me; and do not entitle me with undue greatness. Certainly the person who feels disgusted and burdensome when truth is said to him or a just matter is placed before him would find it more difficult to act upon them.

Therefore do not abstain from saying the truth or pointing out a matter of justice because I do not regard myself above erring.¹ I am not immune from erring in my actions unless that God helps me (in avoiding errors) in matters in which He is more powerful than I. Certainly I and you are slaves owned by a Lord, other than Whom there is no Lord. He owns from ourselves that which we do not own. He brought us forth from where we were towards what brings prosperity to us. He altered our straying into guidance and gave us insight after blindness.²

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Commitment to the Truth in Knowing Men

165. *al-Amālī* –narrated by Aṣḥab ibn Nubāta: “Ḥārith ibn Hamdānī along with a group of Shi’ites, including myself, went to visit the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.). Being sick, Ḥārith walked in with a bent back and a walking stick. The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) came towards him, for Ḥārith was highly esteemed by him, and said: ‘How are you feeling Ḥārith?’

He said: “Life has done to me what it has pleased, O Commander of the Faithful, and the conflict of your companions at your doorstep is irritating and infuriating me.”

He asked: “What is their conflict about?”

He replied: “About you and the previous three caliphs. One

1. It is evident from what follows in his words that Imām ‘Alī (a.s.) regards his *‘isma* (infallibility) as a blessing from God and in accordance says if God does not help him in avoiding errors, he would be misguided. Therefore, this statement does not contradict the infallibility of the Imām.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 355, ḥ. 550, narrating from Jābir from Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.). *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 216.

مُرْتَابٍ، لَا يَدْرِي أَيُّقَدِّمُ أَمْ يُجَحِّمُ؟ فَقَالَ: حَسْبُكَ يَا أَخَاهُمَدَانُ، أَلَا إِنَّ خَيْرَ شَيْعَتِي
النَّمَطُ الْأَوْسَطُ، إِلَيْهِمْ يَرْجِعُ الْغَالِي، وَبِهِمْ يَلْحَقُ النَّالِي.

فَقَالَ لَهُ الْحَارِثُ: لَوْ كَشَفْتَ - فِدَاكَ أَبِي وَأُمِّي - الرِّينَ عَنْ قُلُوبِنَا، وَجَعَلْتَنَا فِي
ذَلِكَ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ مِنْ أَمْرِنَا. قَالَ: «: قَدْكَ فَإِنَّكَ أَمْرٌ مُلْبَسٌ عَلَيْكَ. إِنَّ دِينَ اللَّهِ لَا
يُعْرِفُ بِالرُّجَالِ، بَلْ بِآيَةِ الْحَقِّ؛ فَأَعْرِفِ الْحَقَّ تَعْرِفَ أَهْلَهُ.

يَا حَارِثُ، إِنَّ الْحَقَّ أَحْسَنُ الْحَدِيثِ، وَالصَّادِقُ بِهِ مُجَاهِدٌ.^٢

166. البيان والتبيين: يَهْضُ الْحَارِثُ بْنُ حَوْطٍ اللَّيْثِيُّ إِلَى عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَهُوَ عَلَى
الْمِنْبَرِ، فَقَالَ: أَتَنْظُرُنَّ أَنَا نَظْنُ أَنْ طَلَحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرَ كَانَا عَلَى ضَلَالٍ؟ قَالَ: يَا حَارِثُ، إِنَّهُ
مَلْبَسٌ عَلَيْكَ؛ إِنَّ الْحَقَّ لَا يُعْرِفُ بِالرُّجَالِ؛ فَأَعْرِفِ الْحَقَّ تَعْرِفَ أَهْلَهُ!^٣

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 3 ص 132 (التباس الأمر على من لا بصيرة له).

١. قَدْ: بمعنى حَسِبَ، ويقال للمخاطب: قَدْكَ: أَي حَسْبُكَ (التهذيب: ج 4 ص 19).

٢. الأماشي للمفيد: ص 3 ج 3، الأماشي للطوسي: ص 625 ج 1292 وفيه «في شأنك والبليّة من قبلك» بدل «فيك وفي
الثلاثة من قبلك» و«قال» بدل «نال»، بشارة المصطفى: ص 4 وفيه «وال» بدل «نال»، تأويل الآيات الظاهرة: ج 2
ص 649 ج 11، كشف الغمّة: ج 2 ص 37 كلاهما نحوه. وراجع: ج 5 ص 112 (السيد الحميري).

٣. البيان والتبيين: ج 3 ص 211، نشر الدرر: ج 1 ص 273، تاريخ العقوي: ج 2 ص 210 نحوه وراجع: نهج البلاغة:
الحكمة 262 وروضة الراعفين: ص 39.

of them is an extremists and zealot, another falls short, and a third is hesitant who does not know whether to go forth or back."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "Enough O brother from Hamadan! You should know that the best of my followers are the middle group; he who exceeds the due bounds shall be brought back to them, and he who falls short shall be made to reach them."

Ḥārith told him: "May my father and mother be your ransom! Would you cleanse our sullied hearts and elucidate our affairs for us!"

'Ali (a.s.) said: It is enough. You are confused in (certain) affairs. The religion of God is not known through men, but with the sign of the truth. So come to know the truth and you will only then know its people.

'O Ḥārith! Truth is the best of words, and he who declares it is a struggler (*mujāhid*)."¹

166. *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*: When 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) was on the pulpit, Ḥārith ibn Hawṭ al-Laythī stood up and said: "Do you think that we consider that Ṭalḥa and Zubair have gone astray?"

He replied: "O Ḥārith! You are confused. Certainly you are confused. The truth is not known through men. So come to know the truth and you will only then know its people."²

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*: (Confusion by those lacking insight).

1. *al-Amālī* by al-Mufīd, , vol. 3, p. 3. *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 625, ḥ. 1292, *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafa*, p. 4.

2. *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, vol. 3, p. 211, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 210.

الفصل الخامس

السِّيَاسَةُ الْإِقْصَادِيَّةُ

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الْحَثُّ عَلَى الْعَمَلِ

167. الإمام علي عليه السلام: إِنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ لَمَّا ازْدَوَجَتْ ازْدَوَجَ الْكَسْلُ وَالْعَجْزُ، فَتُجَا بَيْنَهُمَا الْفَقْرُ.^١
168. عنه عليه السلام: إِنِّي لَا بُغْضَ الرَّجُلِ يَكُونُ كَسْلَانٌ مِنْ أَمْرِ دُنْيَاهُ؛ لِأَنَّهُ إِذَا كَانَ كَسْلَانٌ مِنْ أَمْرِ دُنْيَاهُ فَهُوَ عَنْ أَمْرِ آخِرَتِهِ أَكْسَلُ.^٢
169. عنه عليه السلام: مَا عُذُوهُ أَحَدِكُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَعْظَمَ مِنْ عُذُوْتِهِ يَطْلُبُ لِوَلَدِهِ وَوَعِيَالِهِ مَا يُصْلِحُهُمْ.^٣
170. عنه عليه السلام: مَنْ طَلَبَ الدُّنْيَا حَلَالًا؛ تَعَطَّفًا عَلَى وَالِدٍ أَوْ وَلَدٍ أَوْ زَوْجَةٍ، بَعَثَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَوَجْهَهُ عَلَى صُورَةِ الْقَمَرِ لَيْلَةَ الْبَدْرِ.^٤
171. عنه عليه السلام: أَوْصِيَكُمْ بِاخْتِشَاءِ اللَّهِ فِي السِّرِّ وَالْعَلَانِيَةِ، وَالْعَدْلِ فِي الرِّضَا وَالْغَضَبِ، وَالْإِكْتِسَابِ فِي الْفَقْرِ وَالْغِنَى.^٥

١. كذا في المصدر، وفي تحف العقول: «فَتُجَا مِنْهَا»، ولعله أصوب.

٢. الكافي: ج 5 ص 86 ح 8 عن علي بن محمد رفعه، تحف العقول: ص 220.

٣. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 14 ح 2.

٤. السرائر: ج 2 ص 228، دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 15 ح 9، عوالي اللآلي: ج 3 ص 194 ح 6.

٥. مستند زيد: ص 255.

٦. تحف العقول: ص 390 عن هشام بن الحكم عن الإمام الكاظم عليه السلام، بحار الأنوار: ج 78 ص 304 ح 1.

Chapter Five

Economic Policies

1/5

Encouragement to Work

167. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "When things coupled one with another (chosen as pairs), laziness and incapability were connected and poverty was produced from them."¹
168. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Indeed I hate a man who is lazy in his worldly affairs; for if he is lazy in his worldly affairs, he will be more lazy in the affairs of the Hereafter."²
169. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "No early rising of any of you in the path of God is greater than the early rising of someone who seeks for that which improves [the conditions for] his children and household."³
170. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who seeks the world lawfully in order to take care of his parents, children or wife, God will resurrect him with his face radiating like a full moon."⁴
171. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "I advise you to fear God secretly and openly, to practice justice in pleasure and anger, and to earn livelihood in poverty and affluence."⁵

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 86, h. 8. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 220.

2. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 14, h. 2.

3. *Al-Sarā'ir*, vol. 2, p. 228, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 15, h. 9, *'Awālī al-Li'ālī*, vol. 3, p. 194, h. 6.

4. *Musnad* of Zaid, p. 255.

5. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 390, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 78, p. 304, h. 1.

172. عنه: **إِنْ طَلَبَ الْمَعَاشَ مِنْ جِلِّهِ لَا يَشْغَلُ عَنْ عَمَلِ الْآخِرَةِ**.^١
173. عنه: **فِي كِتَابِهِ لَا يَبْنِي الْحَسَنَ** -: لَا تَدْعِ الْعَلْبَ فِيهَا يَحِلُّ وَيَطِيبُ؛ فَلَا بُدَّ مِنْ بُلْغَةٍ، وَسَيَأْتِيكَ مَا قُدِّرَ لَكَ.^٢
174. عنه: **لِلْمُؤْمِنِ ثَلَاثُ سَاعَاتٍ: فَسَاعَةٌ يُنَاجِي فِيهَا رَبَّهُ، وَسَاعَةٌ يَرُومُ^٣ مَعَاشَهُ، وَسَاعَةٌ يُحَلِّي بَيْنَ نَفْسِهِ وَبَيْنَ لَذَّتِهَا فِيهَا يَحِلُّ وَيَجْمَلُ**.
وَلَيْسَ لِلْعَاقِلِ أَنْ يَكُونَ شَاخِصًا إِلَّا فِي ثَلَاثَ: مَرَمَّةً لِمَعَاشٍ، أَوْ خُطْوَةً فِي مَعَادٍ، أَوْ لَذَّةً فِي غَيْرِ مُحَرَّم.^٤
175. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد - في ذكرِ صَدَقَاتِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ -: كَانَ يَعْمَلُ بِيَدِهِ، وَيَحْرُثُ الْأَرْضَ، وَيَسْتَقِي الْمَاءَ، وَيَغْرُسُ النَّخْلَ، كُلُّ ذَلِكَ يُبَايِرُهُ بِنَفْسِهِ الشَّرِيفَةِ.^٥
راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 5 ص 440 (الجمع بين العبادة والعمل) و ص 466 (صدقاته).

2 / 5

عِمَارَةُ الْبِلَادِ^٦

176. الإمام علي -: **فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: هَذَا مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ عَلِيُّ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ**

١. الأُمَالِي لِلْمَقْبِد: ص 119 ح 3 عن الحسن بن أبي الحسن البصري، بحار الأنوار: ج 77 ص 422 ح 41.
٢. كنز العمال: ج 16 ص 177 ح 44215 نقلا عن وكيع والعسكري في المواعظ.
٣. رَمَ الشَّيْءَ: يَرُومُهُ: أَصْلَحَهُ (لسان العرب: ج 12 ص 252).
٤. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 390، تحف العقول: ص 203، الأُمَالِي لِلطُّوسِي: ص 147 ح 240 عن أبي وجزة السعدي عن أبيه وفيها «ساعة يجاسب فيها نفسه» بدل «ساعة يروم معاشه»، بحار الأنوار: ج 103 ص 12 ح 56.
٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 15 ص 147.
٦. العِمَارَةُ - لُغَةً -: نَقِيضُ الْخَرَابِ (مفردات ألفاظ القرآن: ص 586)، وعِمَارَةُ الْبِلَادِ: هِيَ كُلُّ عَمَلٍ مَا مِنْ شَأْنِهِ، تَوْفِيرُ الرَّاحَةِ وَالْحَيَاةِ الْإِنْسَانِيَةِ الْكَرِيمَةِ.
بعبارة أخرى: عِمَارَةُ الْبِلَادِ فِي قَامُوسِ الثَّقَافَةِ الْمَعَاصِرَةِ تَعْنِي «التَّنْمِيَّةُ» بِمَفْهُومِهَا الْعَامُّ الشَّامِلُ لِلتَّنْمِيَةِ الزَّرَاعِيَّةِ، وَالصَّنَاعِيَّةِ، وَالتِّجَارِيَّةِ، وَكُلِّ مَا يَضْمَنُ رِفَاقَةَ الْعَيْشِ لَدَى الْإِنْسَانِ مِنْ قِبَلِ تَوْفِيرِ الْمَاءِ، وَالْكَهْرِبَاءِ، وَحِمَايَةِ الْبَيْتَةِ، وَغَيْرِهَا.
ومن هنا فالعناوين التالية تُعَدُّ مِنْ قِبَلِ ذِكْرِ الْخَاصِّ بَعْدَ الْعَامِّ.

172. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Certainly, seeking a lawful livelihood does not prevent [man] from working for the Hereafter."¹
173. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to his son Ḥasan (a.s.): "Do not leave out what is lawful and agreeable, since the necessities of life must be met; and what is destined for you will reach you."²
174. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "A believer has three time periods [in life]: The period when he is in communion with God, the period when he manages for his livelihood and [thirdly] the period when he is free to enjoy what is lawful and pleasant. A wise person should not spend his time other than for three reasons: For the purpose of earning a living, or pursuing something for the next life or for enjoying what is not prohibited."³
175. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* –in the report about the benefactions of the Commander of the Faithful: "He used to work with his hands, cultivate the land, plant palm trees and would do all these by himself."⁴

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amīr al-Mu'minīn*:
(Bringing Together Worship and Work).
Ibid., ('Ali's (a.s.) benefactions).

5/2

City Developments

176. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "This is what 'Ali, the servant of God and Commander of the Faithful

1. *al-Amālī*, Mufīd, p.119, ḥ 3 *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 77, p. 422, ḥ. 41.

2. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 16, p. 177, ḥ. 44215.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 390, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 203, *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 147, ḥ. 240

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 15, p. 147.

مَالِكُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ الْأَشْثَرُ فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَيْهِ، حِينَ وَلَّاهُ مِصْرَ: جَبَايَةَ خَرَايجِهَا، وَجِهَادَ عَدُوِّهَا، وَاسْتِصْلَاحَ أَهْلِهَا، وَعِمَارَةَ بِلَادِهَا.^١

177. عنه: - بِمَا كَتَبَهُ إِلَى قَرْظَةَ بْنِ كَعْبِ الْأَنْصَارِيِّ -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّ رِجَالاً مِنْ أَهْلِ الذِّمَّةِ مِنْ عَمَلِكَ ذَكَرُوا نَهْرًا فِي أَرْضِهِمْ قَدْ عَفَا وَأَذْفَنَ، وَفِيهِ لَهُمْ عِمَارَةٌ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ، فَانْظُرْ أَنْتَ وَهُمْ، ثُمَّ اعْمُرْ وَأَصْلِحِ النَّهْرَ؛ فَلَعَمْرِي لَأَنْ يَعْمُرُوا أَحَبُّ إِلَيْنَا مِنْ أَنْ يَخْرُجُوا وَأَنْ يَعْجِزُوا أَوْ يُقْصَرُوا فِي وَاجِبٍ مِنْ صِلَاحِ الْبِلَادِ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^٢
178. عنه: - فَضِيلَةُ السُّلْطَانِ عِمَارَةُ الْبُلْدَانِ.^٣

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 2 ص 439 (سياسة أخذ الخراج).

3 / 5

التَّمْيِيزُ الزَّرَاعِيَّةُ

179. الإمام علي: - مَنْ وَجَدَ مَاءً وَتُرَابًا ثُمَّ افْتَقَرَ فَأَبْعَدَهُ اللَّهُ.^٤
180. عنه: - إِنَّ مَعَاشَ الْخَلْقِ حَسَنَةُ: الْإِمَارَةُ، وَالْعِمَارَةُ، وَالتَّجَارَةُ، وَالْإِجَارَةُ، وَالصَّدَقَاتُ... وَأَمَّا وَجْهُ الْعِمَارَةِ فَقَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: ﴿هُوَ أَنْشَأَكُمْ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ وَاسْتَعْمَرَكُمْ فِيهَا﴾^٥، فَأَعْلَمْنَا سُبْحَانَهُ أَنَّهُ قَدْ أَمَرَهُمْ بِالْعِمَارَةِ؛ لِيَكُونَ ذَلِكَ سَبَبًا لِمَعَاشِهِمْ بِمَا يَخْرُجُ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ؛ مِنْ الْحَبِّ، وَالشُّمَرَاتِ، وَمَا شَاكَلَ ذَلِكَ، بِمَا جَعَلَهُ اللَّهُ مَعَاشٍ لِلْخَلْقِ.^٦

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 126.

٢. تاريخ البغوي: ج 2 ص 203.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 6562، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 357 ح 6044.

٤. قرب الأستاذ: ص 115 ح 404 عن الحسين بن علوان عن الإمام الصادق عن أبيه، بحار الأنوار: ج 103 ص 65 ح 10.

٥. هود: 61.

٦. وسائل الشيعة: ج 13 ص 195 ح 10 نقلًا عن تفسير النعماني عن غياث بن إبراهيم عن الإمام الصادق: «...»

بحار الأنوار: ج 93 ص 46 و 47.

charged Mālik al-Ashtar in his instructions to him when he appointed him governor of Egypt: to collect its land tax, to struggle against its enemies, to improve the condition of the people and to engender prosperity in its cities [regions]."¹

177. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to Qarza ibn K'ab al-Anṣārī: "Indeed some men from among the protected people (*Ahl al-Dhimma*) in your area have reported that a river in their land has been destroyed and submerged. They have the rights over the Muslims to engender prosperity for them. See into this matter along with them, then repair and improve the river. By my life, bringing prosperity is more pleasant for us than their leaving or undergoing poverty or falling short of that which sets right the cities. Wassalām!"²
178. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The virtue of a ruler (*sulṭān*) is in the development of the cities."³

5/3

Agricultural Development

179. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who finds water and land and then becomes poor, God will send him far [from His Mercy]."⁴
180. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Verily, there are five ways of [earning] livelihood for people: rulership, developing, trading, leases and taxes...Concerning development, God Almighty says: "*He brought you forth from the earth and made it your inhabitation [to develop it].*"⁵ It is implied here that God the Exalted has commanded his servants to construct the earth so that it will be a means for their livelihood through what grows from it such as grain, fruits and other things which God has made as provision for people."⁶

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 126.

2. *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 203.

3. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 6562, *'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 357, ḥ. 6044.

4. *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 115, ḥ. 404, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 103, p. 65, ḥ. 10.

5. *Qur'ān*, 11: 61.

6. *Wasā'il al-Shi'a*, vol. 13, p. 195, ḥ. 10, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 93, p. 46 & 47.

181. الإمام الباقر: إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا كَانَ يَكْتُبُ إِلَى أُمَرَاءِ الْأَجْنَادِ: أَنْشُدْكُمْ اللَّهَ فِي فَلَاحِي الْأَرْضِ أَنْ يُظْلَمُوا قَبْلَكُمْ.¹

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ص 439 (سياسة أخذ الخراج)
و التنمية الاقتصادية في الكتاب والسنة: ص 152 (الزروع والغرس).

4 / 5

التَّهْنِئَةُ الصَّنَاعِيَّةُ

182. الإمام علي: حِرْفَةُ الْمَرْءِ كَنْزٌ.²
183. عنه: إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يُحِبُّ الْمُحْتَزِّفَ الْأَمِينَ.³
184. عنه: - فِي الْحُكْمِ الْمَنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: لَا تَطْلُبْ سُرْعَةَ الْعَمَلِ، وَاطْلُبْ تَجْوِيدَهُ؛ فَإِنَّ النَّاسَ لَا يَسْأَلُونَ فِي كَمِّ فَرَعٍ مِنَ الْعَمَلِ، إِنَّمَا يَسْأَلُونَ عَنْ جَوْدَةِ صَنْعَتِهِ.⁴
185. الكافي عن أُمِّ الْحَسَنِ النَّخَعِيَّةِ: مَرَّ بِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَقَالَ: أَيُّ شَيْءٍ تَصْنَعِينَ يَا أُمَّ الْحَسَنِ؟ قُلْتُ: أَغْزِلُ. فَقَالَ: أَمَا إِنَّهُ أَحْلُ الْكَسْبِ - أَوْ مِنْ أَحْلُ الْكَسْبِ -.⁵
186. تفسير العياشي عن محمد بن خالد الضَّبِّي: مَرَّ إِبْرَاهِيمُ النَّخَعِيُّ عَلَى امْرَأَةٍ وَهِيَ جَالِسَةٌ عَلَى بَابِ دَارِهَا بُكْرَةً، وَكَانَ يُقَالُ لَهَا: أُمُّ بَكْرٍ، وَفِي يَدِهَا مِغْزَلٌ تَغْزِلُ بِهِ، فَقَالَ: يَا أُمَّ بَكْرٍ، أَمَا كَبُرَتْ! أَلَمْ يَأْنِ لَكَ أَنْ تَضَعِي هَذَا الْمِغْزَلَ؟!

١. تحف الإسناد: ص 138 ح 489 عن أبي البخترى عن الإمام الصادق: «بحار الأنوار: ج 100 ص 33 ح 10.

٢. الحرفة: الاسم من الاحتراف؛ وهو الاكتساب بالصناعة والتجارة (جميع البحرين: ج 1 ص 389).

٣. المواظف المدونة: ص 55.

٤. الكافي: ج 5 ص 113 ح 1 عن محمد بن مسلم عن الإمام الصادق: «كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج 3 ص 158 ح 3580، الحُصَال: ص 621 ح 10 عن أبي بصير ومحمد بن مسلم عن الإمام الصادق عن آبائه عنه: «تحف العقول: ص 111.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 267 ح 103.

٦. الكافي: ج 5 ص 311 ح 32، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 382 ح 1127.

181. Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.): “‘Ali (a.s.) used to write to his commanders of the troops: ‘I implore by God to refrain from doing wrong to the farmers.’”¹

See 5/8 (*Levying Taxes*).

5/4

Development of Crafts

182. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “The profession of a person is a treasure.”²
183. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “Verily God Almighty loves one who has a profession and is trustworthy.”³
184. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – in an aphorism attributed to him: “Do not seek speed of action, rather seek good quality. Indeed people will not be asked how long they took to finish the job, but they will be asked about the excellence of the product.”⁴
185. *al-Kāfi* - narrated by Umm Ḥasan al-Nakha‘ī: “The Commander of the Faithful passed by me and asked: ‘Umm Ḥasan! What do you do?’”

I said, “I am a spinner.”

The Imām said, “Verily it is the most legitimate occupation [or] one of the most legitimate of occupations.”⁵

186. *Tafsīr al-Ayyāshī* – narrating from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḍabbī: “Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī passed by a woman who was sitting at her doorstep in the morning holding a spindle in her hands and spinning. Ibrāhīm told her: ‘O Umm Bakr! Have you not grown old! Is it not the time for you to put the spindle aside?’”

1. *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 138, ḥ. 489, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 100, p. 33, ḥ. 10.

2. *al-Mawā‘iz al-‘Adabiya*, p. 55.

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 113, ḥ. 1, *Man la Yahḍarahu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 158, ḥ. 358, *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 621, ḥ. 10.

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 267, ḥ. 103.

5. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 311, ḥ. 32. *Taḥdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 382, ḥ. 1127.

فَقَالَتْ: وَكَيْفَ أَضْعُهُ وَسَمِعْتُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عليه السلام يَقُولُ: هُوَ مِنْ طَيِّبَاتِ الْكَسْبِ^١

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التَّهْنِئَةُ لِلتَّجَارَةِ

187. الإمام علي عليه السلام: تَعَرَّضُوا لِلتَّجَارَةِ؛ فَإِنَّ فِيهَا غِنًى لَكُمْ عَمَّا فِي أَيْدِي النَّاسِ.^٢
188. عنه عليه السلام - لِلْمَوَالِي -: ائْتَجِرُوا، بَارَكَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ؛ فَإِنِّي قَدْ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله يَقُولُ: الرِّزْقُ عَشْرَةُ أَجْزَاءٍ؛ تِسْعَةٌ أَجْزَاءٍ فِي التَّجَارَةِ، وَوَاحِدَةٌ فِي غَيْرِهَا.^٣
189. عنه عليه السلام - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: ثُمَّ اسْتَوْصِ بِالتَّجَارِ وَدَوِي الصَّنَاعَاتِ، وَأَوْصِ بِهِمْ خَيْرًا، الْمُقِيمِ مِنْهُمْ وَالْمُضْطَرِّبِ بِإِلَيْهِ، وَالْمُتَرَفِّقِ بِبَدَنِهِ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ مَوَادُّ الْمَنَافِعِ، وَأَسْبَابُ الْمَرَافِقِ، وَجُلَّابُهَا مِنَ الْمَبَاعِدِ وَالْمَطَارِحِ^٤، فِي بَرِّكَ وَبَحْرِكَ، وَسَهْلِكَ وَجَبَلِكَ، وَحَيْثُ لَا يَلْتَمِثُ النَّاسُ لِمَوَاضِعِهَا، وَلَا يَجْتَرِثُونَ عَلَيْهَا؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ يَسْلُمُ لَا تُخَافُ بِإِلْقَائِهِ، وَصُلَحُ لَا تُخْشَى غَائِلَتُهُ. وَتَقَفَّدُ أُمُورَهُمْ بِحَضْرَتِكَ، وَفِي حَوَاشِي بِلَادِكَ.^٥
190. عنه عليه السلام - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ (فِي رَوَايَةِ تُخَفِّ الْعُقُولِ) -: ثُمَّ التَّجَارَ وَدَوِي الصَّنَاعَاتِ فَاسْتَوْصِ وَأَوْصِ بِهِمْ خَيْرًا؛ الْمُقِيمِ مِنْهُمْ، وَالْمُضْطَرِّبِ بِإِلَيْهِ، وَالْمُتَرَفِّقِ

١. تفسير العياشي: ج ١ ص ١٥٠ ح ٤٩٤، بحار الأنوار: ج ١٠٣ ص ٥٣ ح ١٥.

٢. الكافي: ج ٥ ص ١٤٩ ح ٩ عن محمد بن مسلم عن الإمام الصادق عليه السلام، كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج ٣ ص ١٩٣ ح ٣٧٢٣، الخصال: ص ٦٢١ ح ١٠ عن أبي بصير ومحمد بن مسلم عن الإمام الصادق عليه السلام عن آبائه عليهم السلام وزاد في آخره: «وإن الله عز وجل يحب العبد المحترف الأمين».

٣. الكافي: ج ٥ ص ٣١٩ ح ٥٩ عن الفضل بن أبي قرّة عن الإمام الصادق عليه السلام، كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج ٣ ص ١٩٢ ح ٣٧٢٢، عدة الداعي: ص ٧٢، عوالي اللآلي: ج ١ ص ٢٦٧ ح ٦٨ وفيه قوله عليه السلام.

٤. الطُّرْحُ: البُعد والمكان البعيد (لسان العرب: ج ٢ ص ٥٢٨).

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب ٥٣.

٦. المضطرب بهالة: المتردّد به بين البلدان.

Umm Bakr said: "How should I put it aside and I have heard 'Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) say: Spinning is among the good occupations."¹

See 5/5 (*Development of Trade*).

5/5

Development of Trade

187. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Engage in trade as it makes you self-sufficient and independent of what is in the hands of others."²
188. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to the freed slaves: "Carry on trade, may God grant you blessing. Verily, I heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say: "Provision is in ten parts. Nine parts are in trade, and one is in other occupations."³
189. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then make merchants and craftsmen –those who are permanently fixed, those who move about with their wares and those who profit from (the labor of) their own body– your own concern, and urge others to do so, for they are the bases of benefits and the means of attaining conveniences. They bring (benefits and conveniences) from remote and inaccessible places in the land, sea, plains and mountains, and from places where men neither gather together nor dare to go. They (the merchants and craftsmen) are gentle people from whom there is no fear of calamity and pacifying people from whom there is no worry of disruption. Examine their affairs in your presence and in every corner of your land."⁴
190. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar (as reported in *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*): "Now have the best intentions with merchants and craftsmen and give them good counsel whether they are settled (shopkeepers) or traders or laborers, because

1. *Tafsīr al-'Ayyāshī*, vol. 1, p. 150, ḥ. 494, *Bihar al-Anwār*, vol. 103, p. 53, ḥ. 15.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 149, ḥ. 9, *Man lā Yaḥḍarahu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 193, ḥ. 3723, *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 621, ḥ. 10.

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 319, ḥ. 59, *Man lā Yaḥḍarahu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 192, ḥ. 3722, *'Uddat al-Dā'i*, p. 72.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 53.

بِيَدِهِ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ مَوَادٌّ لِلْمَنَافِعِ، وَجُلَّالُهَا فِي الْبِلَادِ فِي بَرِّكَ وَبَحْرِكَ وَسَهْلِكَ وَجَبَلِكَ،
وَحَيْثُ لَا يَلْتَنِيُمُ النَّاسُ لِمَوَاضِعِهَا وَلَا يَجْتَرِثُونَ عَلَيْهَا مِنْ بِلَادٍ أَعْدَانِكَ مِنْ أَهْلِ
الصَّنَاعَاتِ الَّتِي أَجْرَى اللَّهُ الرَّفْقَ مِنْهَا عَلَى أَيْدِيهِمْ فَاحْفَظْ حُرْمَتَهُمْ، وَآمِنْ سُبُلَهُمْ،
وَخُذْهُمْ بِحَقُوقِهِمْ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ سِلْمٌ لَا تُخَافُ بِإِثْقَتِهِ، وَصُلْحٌ لَا تُحْذَرُ غَائِلَتُهُ، أَحَبُّ
الْأُمُورِ إِلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعُهَا لِلْأَمَنِ وَأَجْمَعُهَا لِلسُّلْطَانِ، فَتَفَقَّدْ أُمُورَهُمْ بِخَضَرَتِكَ، وَفِي
خَوَاشِي بِلَادِكَ.^١

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مُرَاقَبَةُ السُّوقِ مُبَاشَرَةً

191. الإمام الباقر: كَانَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ بِالْكُوفَةِ عِنْدَكُمْ يَغْتَدِي كُلَّ يَوْمٍ بُكَرَةً مِنَ
الْقَصْرِ، فَيَطُوفُ فِي أسَاقِ الْكُوفَةِ سَوْقًا سَوْقًا وَمَعَهُ الدَّرَّةُ عَلَى عَانِقِهِ، وَكَانَ لَهَا
طَرَفَانِ، وَكَانَتْ تُسَمَّى: السَّبِيَّةَ، فَيَقِفُ عَلَى أَهْلِ كُلِّ سَوْقٍ، فَيُنَادِي: يَا مَعْشَرَ
التَّجَارِ، اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ.

فَإِذَا سَمِعُوا صَوْتَهُ ﷺ أَلْقَوْا مَا بِأَيْدِيهِمْ، وَأَرْعَوْا إِلَيْهِ بِقُلُوبِهِمْ، وَسَمِعُوا بِأَذَانِهِمْ.
فَيَقُولُ ﷺ: قَدُمُوا الْإِسْتِخَارَةَ، وَتَبَرَّكُوا بِالسُّهُولَةِ، وَاقْتَرَبُوا مِنَ الْمُبْتَاعِينَ، وَتَزَيَّنُوا
بِالْخِلْمِ، وَتَنَاهَوْا عَنِ الْيَمِينِ، وَجَانِبُوا الْكَذِبَ، وَتَجَافَوْا عَنِ الظُّلْمِ، وَأَنْصِفُوا
الْمَظْلُومِينَ، وَلَا تَقْرَبُوا الرِّبَا، وَأَوْفُوا الْكَفِيلَ وَالْمِيزَانَ، وَلَا تَبَخَسُوا النَّاسَ أَشْيَاءَهُمْ،
وَلَا تَعْتَوُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ مُفْسِدِينَ. فَيَطُوفُ ﷺ فِي جَمِيعِ أسَاقِ الْكُوفَةِ، ثُمَّ يَرْجِعُ

١. مخف العقول: ص 140.

٢. أرعى إليه: استمع، وأرعيت فلاناً سمعي: إذا استمعت إلى ما يقول أو أصغيت إليه (لسان العرب: ج 14 ص 327).

they are sources of profits and their providers and bringers. They bring them from distant and remote areas throughout the lands and sea, plains or mountains, from where people do not feel at ease or dare to go, like the countries of your enemies they are people by whose hands God has brought comfort.

So protect their dignity, secure their paths and give them back their rights, for they are peaceful and there is no fear of their harm. The most favorable affairs for them are safeguarding their security and their authority. Look after their affairs in your presence and in every corner of your land."¹

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Direct Inspection of the Bazaars

191. Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.): "The Commander of the Faithful was among you in Kūfa and every morning he would leave the statehouse and walk through the markets of Kūfa one by one while carrying a double headed whip called a '*sabība*' on his shoulder. He would stop before people of every market and call out: "O Tradesmen! Be wary of God Almighty!"

When the marketers heard his call, they would give up what they were doing and attentively listen to him.

Then he would say: "Seek what is best, look for blessing by being lenient, be close to the customers, adorn yourself with tolerance refrain from swearing, avoid telling lies, beware of doing injustice and assist the oppressed in returning his right. Do not seek nearness to usury and observe fully the measure and the balance. Do not cheat the people of their goods and do not act wickedly on the earth, causing corruption."

He would walk around all the bazaars of Kūfa, then he

1. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 140.

فَيَعْدُ لِلنَّاسِ^١.

192. الإمام الحسين: إِنَّهُ [عَلِيًّا] رَكِبَ بَغْلَةً رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ الشَّهْبَاءَ بِالكُوفَةِ، فَأَتَى سَوْفًا سَوْفًا، فَأَتَى طَاقَ اللَّحَامِينَ، فَقَالَ بِأَعْلَى صَوْتِهِ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الْقَصَابِينَ، لَا تَنْخَعُوا، وَلَا تَعْجَلُوا الْأَنْفُسَ حَتَّى تَزْهَقَ، وَإِنَّاكُمْ وَالنَّفْعَ فِي اللَّحْمِ لِلْبَيْعِ؛ فَإِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَنْهَى عَنْ ذَلِكَ.

ثُمَّ أَتَى التَّمَّارِينَ فَقَالَ: أَظْهِرُوا مِنِّي رَدِّي بَيْعِكُمْ مَا تُظْهِرُونَ مِنِّي جَبْدِهِ.

ثُمَّ أَتَى السَّمَاكِينَ فَقَالَ: لَا تَبِيعُوا^٢ إِلَّا طَيِّبًا، وَإِنَّاكُمْ وَمَا طَفَا^٣.

ثُمَّ أَتَى الْكُنَّاسَةَ^٤ فَإِذَا فِيهَا أَنْوَاعُ التَّجَارَةِ: مِنِّي نَخَاسٍ، وَمِنِّي مَائِعٍ، وَمِنِّي قَمَاطٍ، وَمِنِّي بَائِعٍ إِبْرَ، وَمِنِّي صَبْرِي، وَمِنِّي حَنَاطٍ، وَمِنِّي بَرَّازٍ، فَنَادَى بِأَعْلَى صَوْتِهِ: إِنَّ أَسْوَاقَكُمْ هَذِهِ يَحْضُرُهَا الْأَيَّانُ، فَشُوبُوا أَيَّانَكُمْ بِالصَّدَقَةِ، وَكُفُّوا عَنِ الْحَلْفِ؛ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ لَا يَقْدُسُ مَن حَلَفَ بِاسْمِهِ كَاذِبًا^٥.

193. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن أبي الصَّهْبَاءَ: رَأَيْتُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ يَسْطُ الْكَلَاءَ يَسْأَلُ عَنِ الْأَسْعَارِ^٦.

١. الكافي: ج 5 ص 151 ح 3، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 7 ص 6 ح 17، الأُمالي للمفيد: ص 197 ح 31 كلها عن جابر، كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج 3 ص 193 ح 3726، الأُمالي للصدوق: ص 587 ح 809 وليس في الثلاثة الأخيرة من «اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ» إِلَى «بِأَذْنِهِمْ»، السررائر: ج 2 ص 230، تحف العقول: ص 216 نحوه.

٢. في المصدر: «تَبِيعُونَ» وهو تصحيف، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في دعائم الإسلام.

٣. في المصدر: «وَمَا حَلَفَا»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في دعائم الإسلام.

٤. الكُنَّاسَةُ: محلة بالكوفة، عندها واقع يوسف بن عمر الثقفي زيد بن علي بن الحسين (معجم البلدان: ج 4 ص 481).

٥. في دعائم الإسلام: «مِنِّي نَخَاسٍ وَقَمَاطٍ وَبَائِعٍ إِبِلٍ».

٦. الجعفریات: ص 238، دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 538 ح 1913 عن الأصمعي نحوه.

٧. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 547 ح 919، ذخائر العقبين: ص 192.

would return and sit for [seeing into the affairs of] the people.”¹

192. *Imām Ḥusain*: “‘Ali (a.s.) rode on the Prophet’s (ṣa.w.) mule called ‘Shahbā’ in Kūfa and visited every market. He entered the butcher’s market and called out: “O group of butchers! Do not cut the spinal cord of the animal nor make haste in taking its life. Let the soul gently leave its body. Avoid from blowing into the meat when selling it for I have heard the Messenger of God (ṣa.w.) prohibited doing so.”

Then he went to the date sellers and said: “Display the bad products just like you display the good ones.”

Then he went to the fish dealers and told them: “Do not sell except good fish, and refrain from selling what is caught dead [floating].”

Then he entered the Kunāsa area [in Kūfa] where various transactions were being made by the copper dealers, liquid sellers, sellers of swaddling clothes and needles, and there were also exchangers and sellers of camphor and cloth. He called out loudly to them: “Swearing oaths is common in your markets; protect yourselves from your oaths with charity and avoid swearing oaths, as God Almighty will not purify he who uses His Name in oath and tells lies.”²

193. *Faḍā’il al-Ṣaḥāba* – narrating from Abū al-Ṣaḥbā’: “I saw ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) passing by the side of a pasture and asking about the prices.”³

1. *al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 151, ḥ. 3, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 7, p. 6, ḥ. 17, *al-Amālī*, Mufid, p. 197, ḥ. 31.

2. *al-Ja’fariyāt*, p. 238, *Da’ā’im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 538, ḥ. 1913.

3. *Faḍā’il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 547, ḥ. 919, *Dhakhā’ir al-Uqba*, p. 192.

194. دعائم الإسلام: إِنَّهُ [عَلِيًّا] كَانَ يَمْشِي فِي الْأَسْوَاقِ، وَيَبِيدُهُ دِرَّةٌ يَضْرِبُ بِهَا مَنْ وَجَدَ مِنْ مُطَقَّفٍ أَوْ غَاشٍ فِي تِجَارَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ.

قَالَ الْأَصْبَغُ: قُلْتُ لَهُ يَوْمًا أَنَا أَكْفَيْكَ هَذَا يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَاجْلِسْ فِي بَيْتِكَ! قَالَ: مَا نَصَحْتَنِي يَا أَصْبَغُ.¹

195. تاريخ دمشق عن أبي سعيد: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ يَأْتِي السُّوقَ فَيَقُولُ: يَا أَهْلَ السُّوقِ، اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ، وَإِنَّاكُمْ وَالْحَلْفَ؛ فَإِنَّ الْحَلْفَ يُنْفِقُ السَّلْعَةَ، وَيَمَحَقُ الْبَرَكَةَ. وَإِنَّ التَّاجِرَ فَاجِرٌ، إِلَّا مَنْ أَخَذَ الْحَقَّ، وَأَعْطَى الْحَقَّ، وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ.²

196. ربيع الأبرار: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ يَمُرُّ فِي السُّوقِ عَلَى الْبَاعَةِ، فَيَقُولُ هُمْ: أَحْسِنُوا، أَرْخَصُوا بَيْعَكُمْ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أَعْظَمُ لِلْبَرَكَةِ.³

197. تاريخ دمشق عن زاذان: إِنَّهُ [عَلِيًّا] كَانَ يَمْشِي فِي الْأَسْوَاقِ وَحْدَهُ وَهُوَ وَالِ، يُرْشِدُ الضَّالَّ، وَيُعِينُ الضَّعِيفَ، وَيَمُرُّ بِالْبَيْعِ وَالْبَقَالِ فَيَفْتَحُ عَلَيْهِ الْقُرْآنَ. وَقَرَأَ: ﴿تِلْكَ الدَّارُ الْآخِرَةُ نَجْعَلُهَا لِلَّذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فَسَادًا﴾،⁴ فَقَالَ: نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ فِي أَهْلِ الْعَدْلِ وَالتَّوَّاضِعِ مِنَ الْوُلَاةِ، وَأَهْلِ الْقُدْرَةِ مِنْ سَائِرِ النَّاسِ.⁵

198. مكارم الأخلاق عن وشيكة: رَأَيْتُ عَلِيًّا يَتَزَرُّ فَوْقَ سُرَّتَيْهِ، وَيَرْفَعُ إِزَارَهُ إِلَى أَنْصَافِ سَاقَيْهِ، وَيَبِيدُهُ دِرَّةٌ يَدُورُ فِي السُّوقِ، يَقُولُ: اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ، وَأَوْفُوا الْكَيْلَ، كَأَنَّهُ مُعَلِّمٌ صَبِيَّانَ.⁶

١. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 538 ح 1913.

٢. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 409، المصنف لابن أبي شيبة: ج 5 ص 260 ح 4 عن زاذان نحوه إلى «البركة» «الغارات»: ج 1 ص 110.

٣. ربيع الأبرار: ج 4 ص 154.

٤. القصص: 83.

٥. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 489، البداية والنهاية: ج 8 ص 15، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 104 نحوه وليس فيه من «فقال: نزلت...»، مجمع البيان: ج 7 ص 420 وراجع: فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 2 ص 621 ح 1064.

٦. مكارم الأخلاق: ج 1 ص 247 ح 732.

194. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*: "He ['Ali] (a.s.) used to walk in the market places holding a whip in his hand with which he would punish the defrauders who used short measures and the cheaters in the trading with Muslims.
- Aṣḡagh said: "One day I told him: O Commander of the Faithful! You may stay home and I will do it for you." He replied: "O Aṣḡagh! You are not giving me good advice."¹
195. *Tārīkh Damashq* – narrating from Abū Sa'īd: 'Ali (a.s.) used to come to the market and say "O Tradesmen! Be wary of God and avoid taking oath, for taking oath will ruin the deeds and bring the blessings to naught. Indeed, a tradesman is vicious unless he receives right (fully) and pays the right. Wassalām."²
196. *Rabī' al-Abrār*: "'Ali (a.s.) would pass by the salesmen in the market and say to them: "Do good. Sell goods to the Muslims at cheap prices, because this will increase prosperity."³
197. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrating from Zādān: "When he ['Ali] (a.s.) was a ruler, he would walk around alone in the Markets. He would guide the lost ones, help out the poor and when he passed by the salesmen and the shopkeepers, he would open the Qur'ān and recite, "This is the abode of the Hereafter which We shall grant to those who do not desire to dominate in the earth nor to cause corruption."⁴ He would then say: "This verse is revealed concerning the just and humble leaders and the people who possess power."⁵
198. *Makārim al-Akhḡāq* – narrating from Washika: "I saw 'Ali (a.s.) who was wearing a short garment and had pulled his robe up to the middle of his foreleg while holding a whip in his hand and walking around the market saying: 'Be wary of God and observe the measure fully,' as if he was a teacher for children."⁶

1. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 538, ḡ. 1913.

2. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 409, *al-Muṣannif fī al-Aḡādīth wa al-Aḡbār*, vol. 5, p. 260, ḡ. 4, *al-Gḡarāt*, vol. 1, p. 110.

3. *Rabī' al-Abrār*, vol. 4, p. 154.

4. Qur'ān: 28: 83.

5. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 489, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 5, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 104.

6. *Makārim al-Akhḡāq*, vol. 1, p. 247, ḡ. 732.

199. الطبقات الكبرى عن جرْموز: رَأَيْتُ عَلِيًّا وَهُوَ يَخْرُجُ مِنَ الْقَصْرِ وَعَلَيْهِ قَطْرَتَانِ: إِذَا زِلَ إِلَى نِصْفِ السَّاقِ، وَرِدَاءُ مُشَمَّرٍ قَرِيبٌ مِنْهُ، وَمَعَهُ دِرَّةٌ لَهُ يَمْشِي بِهَا فِي الْأَسْوَاقِ، وَيَأْمُرُهُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ، وَحُسْنِ الْبَيْعِ، وَيَقُولُ: أَوْفُوا الْكَيْلَ وَالْمِيزَانَ، وَيَقُولُ: لَا تَنْفَخُوا اللَّحْمَ.^١

200. مكارم الأخلاق عن عبد الله بن عباس: لَمَّا رَجَعَ مِنَ الْبَصْرَةِ وَحَمَلَ الْمَالَ وَدَخَلَ الْكَوْفَةَ وَجَدَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ «ع» قَائِمًا فِي السُّوقِ، وَهُوَ يُنَادِي بِنَفْسِهِ: مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ، مَنْ أَصْبَنَاهُ بَعْدَ يَوْمِنَا هَذَا يَبِيعُ الْجُرِّيَّ وَالطَّافِيَّ وَالْمَارْمَاهِيَّ عَلُونَاهُ بِدِرَّتِنَا هَذِهِ - وَكَانَ يُقَالُ لِدِرَّتَيْهِ: السَّبْتَةُ - .

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: فَسَلَّمْتُ عَلَيْهِ، فَرَدَّ عَلَيَّ السَّلَامَ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا بَنَ عَبَّاسٍ، مَا فَعَلَ الْمَالُ؟ فَقُلْتُ: هَا هُوَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَحَمَلْتُهُ إِلَيْهِ، فَقَرَّبْتَنِي، وَرَحَّبَ بِي. ثُمَّ أَنَاهُ مُنَادٍ وَمَعَهُ سَيْفُهُ يُنَادِي عَلَيْهِ بِسَبْعَةِ دَرَاهِمٍ، فَقَالَ: لَوْ كَانَ لِي فِي بَيْتِ مَالٍ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ثَمَنُ سِوَالِكِ أَرَاكِ مَا بَعْتُهُ، فَبَاعَهُ، وَاشْتَرَى قَمِيصًا بِأَرْبَعَةِ دَرَاهِمٍ لَهُ، وَتَصَدَّقَ بِدِرْهَمَيْنِ، وَأَضَافَنِي بِدِرْهَمٍ ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ.^٢

201. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن أبي مَطَرٍ الْبَصْرِيِّ أَنَّهُ شَهِدَ عَلِيًّا أَنَّى أَصْحَابَ التَّمْرِ وَجَارِيَةَ تَبْكِي عِنْدَ النَّهَارِ، فَقَالَ: مَا سَأَلْتِكِ؟ قَالَتْ: بَاعَنِي تَمْرًا بِدِرْهَمٍ، فَرَدَّهُ مَوْلَايَ، فَأَبَى أَنْ يَقْبَلَهُ.

قَالَ: يَا صَاحِبَ التَّمْرِ، خُذْ تَمْرَكَ، وَأَعْطِهَا دِرْهَمَهَا؛ فَإِنَّهَا خَادِمٌ، وَلَيْسَ لَهَا أَمْرٌ. فَدَفَعَ عَلِيًّا، فَقَالَ لَهُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ: تَدْرِي مَنْ دَفَعَتْ؟!! قَالَ: لَا. قَالُوا: أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ!! فَصَبَّ تَمْرَهَا، وَأَعْطَاهَا دِرْهَمَهَا.

١. الطبقات الكبرى: ج 3 ص 28، تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 484، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 3 ص 1645 شرح الأخبار: ج 2 ص 364 ح 725 نحوه.

٢. مكارم الأخلاق: ج 1 ص 249 ح 740.

199. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* – narrating from Jarmūz: “I saw ‘Ali (a.s.) leaving his seat of reign and he had two pieces of cheap clothing on; a loincloth covering down to the middle of his foreleg and a robe which was rolled up close to the lower part of the loincloth. He was holding a whip and walking in the markets enjoining the marketers to be wary of God and make fair deals. He would say: “Be loyal in the measure and balance.” And: “Do not blow in the meat.”¹
200. *Makārim al-Akhḷāq* – narrating from ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Abbās: “When he [Ibn ‘Abbās] returned from Baṣra and entered Kūfa carrying money, he saw the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) standing in the market and shouting: “O People! From now on whomever I see selling hagfish, the fish caught dead [floating] and eels, I will punish them with this whip.” The whip he had was called ‘Sabtiyya’.”

Ibn ‘Abbās says, “I greeted him and he returned the greeting and then said, ‘O Ibn ‘Abbās! What happened to the money?’”

“I said, “Here it is, O Commander of the faithful!” I gave it to him and he brought me near to him and welcomed me.”

After that, a herald came to him carrying his sword, announcing the selling of it for seven dirhams and then he said: “If I had a share in the Muslims’ public treasury as little as the price of an Arāk tooth brush, I would not sell the sword.”

He sold the sword and bought himself a shirt for four dirhams, gave two dirhams as charity and treated me as a guest for three days with the remaining one dirham.”²

201. *Faḍā’il al-Ṣahāba* – narrating from Abū Maṭar al-Baṣrī who said: “I saw ‘Ali (a.s.) going towards the date sellers. A female slave was crying near a date seller. He [‘Ali] asked her: “What has happened to you?”

The female slave said: “He sold me some dates for one dirham, but my master returned them and he [the date seller] is not refunding the money.”

‘Ali (a.s.) said: “O owner of the dates! Take your dates back and refund her money as she is only a slave and she is not in authority.”

The date seller pushed ‘Ali (a.s.) back. The Muslims said to him: “Do you know whom you pushed back?” He said: “No I do not.” They said: “It is the Commander of the Faithful!” At this time, he took back the dates and refunded her the dirhams.

1. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, vol. 3, p. 28, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol.42, p. 484, *Tārīkh al-Islām*. Vol. 3 p. 645

2. *Makārim al-Akhḷāq*, vol. 1, p. 249, ḥ. 740.

قَالَ: أَحِبُّ أَنْ تَرْضَى عَنِّي! قَالَ: مَا أَرْضَانِي عَنْكَ إِذَا أَوْفَيْتَ النَّاسَ حُقُوقَهُمْ.^١
 202. مَكَارِمُ الْأَخْلَاقِ عَنْ مُخْتَارِ الثَّمَارِ: كُنْتُ أَيْتُ فِي مَسْجِدِ الْكُوفَةِ، وَأَنْزِلُ فِي الرَّحْبَةِ،
 وَأَكُلُ الْخُبْزَ مِنَ الْبَقَالِ - وَكَانَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ - فَخَرَجْتُ ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ، فَإِذَا رَجُلٌ
 يُصَوِّتُ بِي: اِرْقَعْ إِزَارَكَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أَنْقَى لِثَوْبِكَ، وَأَنْقَى لِرَبِّكَ. فَقُلْتُ: مَنْ هَذَا؟ فَقِيلَ:
 عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ.

فَخَرَجْتُ أَتْبَعُهُ وَهُوَ مُتَوَجِّهُ إِلَى سَوَاقِ الْإِبِلِ، فَلَمَّا أَنَا هَا وَهَنَا، وَقَفَ، وَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ
 الثُّجَّارِ، إِنَّا كُمْ وَالْيَمِينَ الْفَاجِرَةَ؛ فَإِنَّهَا تُنْفِقُ السَّلْعَةَ، وَتَمَحُقُ الْبَرَكَةَ.
 ثُمَّ مَضَى حَتَّى أَتَى إِلَى الثَّمَارِينَ، فَإِذَا جَارِيَةٌ تَبْكِي عَلَى ثَمَّارٍ، فَقَالَ: مَا لَكَ؟ قَالَتْ:
 إِنِّي أُمَةٌ، أَرْسَلَنِي أَهْلِي أَبْتَاعَ لَهُمْ بِدَرَاهِمٍ ثَمَرًا، فَلَمَّا أَتَيْتُهُمْ بِهِ لَمْ يَرْضَوْهُ، فَرَدَدْتُهُ، فَأَبَى
 أَنْ يَقْبَلَهُ! فَقَالَ: يَا هَذَا، خُذْ مِنْهَا الثَّمَرَ، وَرُدَّ عَلَيْهَا دِرْهَمَهَا. فَأَبَى، فَقِيلَ لِلثَّمَّارِ: هَذَا
 عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، فَقَبِلَ الثَّمَرَ، وَرَدَّ الدَّرْهَمَ عَلَى الْجَارِيَةِ، وَقَالَ: مَا عَرَفْتُكَ يَا
 أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، فَأَغْفِرْ لِي. فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ الثُّجَّارِ، اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ، وَأَحْسِنُوا مُبَايَعَتَكُمْ،
 يَغْفِرُ اللَّهُ لَنَا وَلَكُمْ.

ثُمَّ مَضَى حَتَّى أَتَى سَوَاقَ الْكَرَائِسِ، فَإِذَا هُوَ بِرَجُلٍ وَسِيمٍ، فَقَالَ: يَا هَذَا، عِنْدَكَ
 ثَوْبَانِ بِخَمْسَةِ دَرَاهِمٍ؟ فَوَثَبَ الرَّجُلُ فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، عِنْدِي حَاجَتُكَ. فَلَمَّا
 عَرَفَهُ مَضَى عَنْهُ. فَوَقَفَ عَلَى غُلَامٍ، فَقَالَ: يَا غُلَامُ، عِنْدَكَ ثَوْبَانِ بِخَمْسَةِ
 دَرَاهِمٍ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ عِنْدِي، فَأَخَذَ ثَوْبَيْنِ؛ أَحَدُهُمَا بِثَلَاثَةِ دَرَاهِمٍ، وَالْآخَرُ بِدَرْهَمَيْنِ،
 فَقَالَ: يَا قَنْبَرُ، خُذِ الَّذِي بِثَلَاثَةِ. فَقَالَ: أَنْتَ أَوْلَى بِهِ؛ تَصْعَدُ الْمُنْبَرَ، وَتَخْطُبُ النَّاسَ.

١. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 2 ص 621 ح 1062، ربيع الأبرار: ج 4 ص 153 نحوه، وراجع: المناقب للكويتي:

He then said to 'Ali (a.s.): "I would like you to be pleased with me."

'Ali (a.s.) said, "I will be pleased with you only when you fully observe the rights of people."¹

202. *Makārim al-Akhlāq* – narrating from Mukhtār al-Tammār: "I used to spend the nights in the mosques and stay in the open square and buy bread from a grocer (he was from Baṣra). One day, I went out and all of a sudden a man called upon me and said: 'Hold up your gown; it will stay cleaner this way and it will be closer to God-fearing.'"

I asked who he was and I was told that he was 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭalīb (a.s.).

I went after him while he was going towards the camels market. When he got there, he stopped and said: "O Tradesmen! Beware of false swearing, as it would ruin the goods and bring the blessings to naught."

He then continued moving till he reached the date sellers. At this time, a female slave was crying before a date seller.

He asked her, "What happened to you?"

She answered, "I am a slavegirl. My people have sent me to buy one dirham of dates for them. When I took the dates to them, they did not like it, so I returned them, but this man refuses to take them back."

He said, "O Man! Take the dates back and refund her money!"

He [the salesman] refused to do so. He was told: "This [man] is 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭalīb (a.s.)." Then he took back the dates and refunded her the money and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! I did not recognize you. Forgive me."

He said, "O tradesmen! Be wary of God and make your dealings fairly. May God forgive you and us."

He then left that place and arrived in the canvas market and encountered a handsome man. He said: "O Man! Do you have two garments for five dirhams?"

The man rose to his feet and said, "O Commander of the Faithful! I have what you want." Since the shop owner knew it was the Imām, he left him and went to another young person and said: "O Young man! Do you have two garments for five dirhams?"

He said: "Yes I do." He bought the two garments; one of them was for three dirhams and the other was for two. He said: "O Qanbar! You take the garment that is for three dirhams."

Qanbar said: "You deserve it more; you go on the pulpit and give sermons to people."

1. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 2, p. 621, ḥ. 1062, *Rabī' al-Abrār*, vol. 4, p. 153.

قَالَ: وَأَنْتَ شَابٌ وَلَكَ شِرَّةُ الشَّبَابِ، وَأَنَا أَسْتَحْيِي مِنْ رَبِّي أَنْ أَتَفَضَّلَ عَلَيْكَ؛ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: الْبِسُوهُمْ بِمَا تَلْبَسُونَ، وَأَطْعِمُوهُمْ بِمَا تَطْعَمُونَ.

فَلَمَّا لَبَسَ الْقَمِيصَ مَدَّ يَدَهُ فِي ذَلِكَ، فَإِذَا هُوَ يَقْضِلُ عَنْ أَصَابِعِهِ، فَقَالَ: إِقْطَعْ هَذَا الْفَضْلَ، فَقَطَّعَهُ، فَقَالَ الْغُلَامُ: هَلَمْ أَكْفَهُ، قَالَ: دَعَهُ كَمَا هُوَ؛ فَإِنَّ الْأَمْرَ أَسْرَعُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ.¹

203. تاريخ الطبري عن يزيد بن عدي بن عثمان: رَأَيْتُ عَلِيًّا عليه السلام خَارِجاً مِنْ هَمْدَانَ، فَرَأَى فِئْتَيْنِ يَقْتِيلَانِ، فَفَرَّقَ بَيْنَهُمَا، ثُمَّ مَضَى، فَسَمِعَ صَوْتاً: يَا غَوْثُ يَا غَوْثُ! فَخَرَجَ يُحْضِرُ نَحْوَهُ حَتَّى سَمِعْتُ خَفَقَ نَعْلِهِ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: أَنْتَ الْغَوْثُ، فَإِذَا رَجُلٌ يُلَازِمُ رَجُلًا، فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، بَعْتُ هَذَا ثَوْباً يَتَسَعَةُ دَرَاهِمَ، وَشَرَطْتُ عَلَيْهِ أَلَّا يُعْطِيَنِي مَغْمُوزاً² وَلَا مَقْطُوعاً. وَكَانَ شَرَطُهُمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ - فَأَتَيْتُهُ بِهِذِهِ الدَّرَاهِمِ لِيُيَدِّهَا لِي، فَأَبَى، فَلَزِمْتُهُ، فَلَطَمَنِي! فَقَالَ: أَبْدِلْهُ. فَقَالَ: بَيْتُكَ عَلَى اللَّطْمَةِ؟ فَأَنَاهُ بِالْبَيْتَةِ. فَأَقْعَدَهُ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: دُونَكَ فَأَقْتَصِرْ! فَقَالَ: إِنِّي قَدْ عَفَوْتُ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ. قَالَ: إِنَّمَا أَرَدْتُ أَنْ أَحْتَاطَ فِي حَقِّكَ، ثُمَّ صَرَبَ الرَّجُلُ يَسَعَ دَرَاتٍ، وَقَالَ: هَذَا حَقُّ السُّلْطَانِ.³

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مَنْعُ الْإِخْتِكَارِ

204. الإمام علي عليه السلام - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى رِفَاعَةَ -: إِنَّهُ عَنِ الْحُكْمَةِ، فَمَنْ رَكِبَ النَّهْيَ فَأَوْجَعَهُ، ثُمَّ عَاقِبَهُ بِإِظْهَارِ مَا احْتَكَرَ.⁴

١. مكارم الأخلاق: ج 1 ص 224 ح 659 وراجع: الغارات: ج 1 ص 105 والناقب للكوفي: ج 2 ص 602 ح 1103 وفضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 528 ح 878 والناقب من مسند عبد بن حميد: ص 62 ح 96 وتاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 485 وصفة الصغوة: ج 1 ص 134 والناقب للخوارزمي: ص 121 ح 136 والبداية والنهاية: ج 8 ص 4.
٢. ليس فيه منقزة: أي عيب (جمع البحرين: ج 2 ص 1335).

٣. تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 156، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 442 نحوه وفيه «رجلين» بدل «فتنين».

٤. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 36 ح 80.

He said: "And you are young and have youthful wishes, and I feel shy of myself before God to look superior to you. I have heard the messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say: "Clothe your servants from what you clothe yourselves and feed them from what you feed yourselves."

When he put on the garment he noticed that the sleeves were longer than his hands. He said: "Cut off the extra." And the young man did so. Then he said: "Come forward and let me stitch it."

'Ali (a.s.) replied: "Leave it as it is, as things will pass sooner than that [life shall come to an end soon]."¹

203. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī* – narrating from Yazid ibn 'Uday ibn 'Uthman: "I saw 'Ali (a.s.) passing by the Hamdān neighborhood. He saw two groups fighting there. He separated them and then kept on going and he heard someone say: "Come to my help for God's sake!"

He quickly ran towards him in such a way that I heard the sound of his footwear and he was calling out: "Help is coming to you."

At this moment, he saw a man who was holding on to another man's collar. He said: "O Commander of the Faithful! I sold a garment to this man for nine dirhams on the condition that he would not give me torn and defective dirhams (and this was their common condition of that time) and now I come to him to change these dirhams for me and he is refusing to do so. So I held on to him, and he slapped me."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "Change it for him!" He then said: "What is your proof for being slapped?"

The man showed his proof. Then 'Ali (a.s.) seated the man and told him [the complainant] to take revenge on him. The man said, "I forgive him O Commander of the Faithful!"

'Ali (a.s.) said, "I wanted to be cautious for your rights." Then he gave the man nine lashes and said, "This is the right of the state."²

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Prevention of Hoarding

204. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to Rifā'a: "Forbid hoarding, punish the one who commits it and penalize him by revealing what he had hoarded."³

1. *Makārim al-Akhlaq*, vol. 1, p. 224, ḥ. 659. Also cf., *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 105, *Manāqib al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minin*, vol. 2, p. 602, ḥ. 1103.

2. *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 156, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 442.

3. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 36, ḥ. 80.

205. عنه عليه السلام - في عهده إلى مالك الأشتر -: ثُمَّ اسْتَوْصِي بِالتُّجَّارِ وَذَوِي الصَّنَاعَاتِ... وَاعْلَمْ - مَعَ ذَلِكَ - أَنَّ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِنْهُمْ ضَيْقاً فَاحِشاً، وَشُحاً قَبِيحاً، وَاحْتِكَاراً لِلْمَنَافِعِ، وَتَحَكُّماً فِي الْبَيْعَاتِ، وَذَلِكَ بَابُ مَضَرَّةٍ لِلْعَامَّةِ، وَعَيْبٌ عَلَى الْوُلَاةِ، فَأَمْنَعُ مِنَ الْإِحْتِكَارِ، فَإِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ مَنَعَ مِنْهُ.

وَلَيْكُنَ الْبَيْعُ بَيْعاً سَمِحاً، بِمَوَازِينِ عَدْلٍ، وَأَسْعَارٍ لَا تُجْحِفُ بِالْفَرِيقَيْنِ مِنَ الْبَائِعِ وَالْمُبْتَاعِ.

فَمَنْ قَارَفَ حُكْرَةً بَعْدَ تَهْيِكَ إِنَاءِهِ فَتَكُلَّ بِهِ، وَعَاقِبُهُ فِي غَيْرِ إِسْرَافٍ.^١

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سِيَّاسَةُ اخِذِ الْخَرَجِ

206. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في كتابه إلى أمراء الخراج -: بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. مِنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلِيِّ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَى أُمَرَاءِ الْخَرَاجِ، أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ لَمْ يَحْذَرْ مَا هُوَ صَائِرٌ إِلَيْهِ لَمْ يُقَدِّمَ لِنَفْسِهِ وَلَمْ يُجَرِّزْهَا، وَمَنْ اتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ وَانْقَادَ لَهُ عَلَى مَا يَعْرِفُ نَفْعَ عَاقِبَتِهِ عَمَّا قَلِيلٍ لَيُصْبِحَنَّ مِنَ النَّادِمِينَ.

أَلَا وَإِنْ أَسْعَدَ النَّاسَ فِي الدُّنْيَا مَنْ عَدَلَ عَمَّا يَعْرِفُ ضَرَّهُ، وَإِنْ أَشْقَاهُمْ مَنْ اتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ. فَاعْتَبَرُوا.

وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ لَكُمْ مَا قَدَّمْتُمْ مِنْ خَيْرٍ، وَمَا يَسُوءُ ذَلِكَ وَدِدْتُمْ لَوْ أَنَّ بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَهُ أَمَداً بَعِيداً، وَيُحَذِّرُكُمْ اللَّهُ نَفْسَهُ، وَاللَّهُ رَؤُوفٌ وَرَحِيمٌ بِالْعِبَادِ. وَأَنَّ عَلَيْكُمْ مَا فَرَّطْتُمْ فِيهِ. وَإِنَّ الَّذِي طَلَبْتُمْ لَيْسَ بِرِ، وَإِنْ ثَوَابُهُ لَكَبِيرٌ.

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العفول: ص 140.

205. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Malik al-Ashtar: "Then do good to traders and craftsmen (or examine their affair). Know, nevertheless, that in many of them, there are shameful miserliness, detestable avarice, hording of benefits and arbitrariness in sales. They hoard goods for profiteering and fix high prices for the merchandise. This is a source of loss to all and a stain upon rulers. So prohibit hoarding, for the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) prohibited it. Let selling be openhanded one with justly balanced scales and prices, not harmful to either party, the seller or the buyer. Whoever lets himself be tempted to hoard after you have forbidden him (to do so), make an example of him and punish him, but not excessively."¹

5/8

Levying Taxes

206. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to the tax collectors: "In the Name of God the All-Beneficent, the All-Merciful. From the servant of God 'Ali, Commander of the Faithful to the tax collectors: So now, he who does not fear where he is going (viz. the Hereafter) does not send forward for himself that which could protect him; and he who follows his desires and surrenders to them (despite of his knowledge of benefits that exist in the hereafter), will soon be among the regretful.

Know that the most felicitous person in the world is he who withdraws from what he knows is detrimental to him; and the most wretched person is he who follows passions. So take heed!

Know that whatever good you forward [to the Hereafter] will belong to you; apart from that, whatever you send forth, you would like that there would be a long distance between you and that. God warns you to beware of [disobeying] Him and God is the most Affectionate and the most Merciful to His servants. Certainly the loss of what you were negligent of, would return to you. And what you have demanded, is little, and Allah's reward is great.

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 140.

وَلَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِيهَا شَيْءٌ عَنْهُ مِنَ الظُّلْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ عِقَابٌ يُخَافُ، كَانَ فِي ثَوَابِهِ مَا لَا عُدْرَ لِأَحَدٍ بِرُكِّ طَلَبَتِهِ، فَارْحَمُوا تُرَحَّمُوا، وَلَا تُعَذِّبُوا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ، وَلَا تُكَلِّفُوهُمْ فَوْقَ طَاقَتِهِمْ، وَأَنْصِفُوا النَّاسَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ، وَاصْبِرُوا لِحَوَائِجِهِمْ؛ فَإِنَّكُمْ خُزَانُ الرَّعِيَّةِ. لَا تَتَّخِذْ حُجَابًا، وَلَا تَحْجُبَنَّ أَحَدًا عَنْ حَاجَتِهِ حَتَّى يُنْهِيَهَا إِلَيْكُمْ، وَلَا تَأْخُذُوا أَحَدًا بِأَحَدٍ، إِلَّا كَفِيلًا عَمَّنْ كَفَّلَ عَنْهُ، وَاصْبِرُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ عَلَى مَا فِيهِ الْإِغْتِيَاظُ، وَإِيَّاكُمْ وَتَأْخِيرَ الْعَمَلِ، وَدَفْعَ الْخَيْرِ؛ فَإِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ النَّدَمَ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^١

207. الكافي عن مهاجر عن رجلٍ من ثقيف: استعملني عليُّ بنُ أبي طالب: «عَلَى بَانِقِيَا^٢ وَسَوَادٍ مِنَ سَوَادِ الْكُوفَةِ، فَقَالَ لِي - وَالنَّاسُ حُضُورٌ -: أَنْظِرْ خَرَاجَكَ فَجَدِّ فِيهِ، وَلَا تَتْرِكْ مِنْهُ دِرْهَمًا، فَإِذَا أَرَدْتَ أَنْ تَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَى عَمَلِكَ فَمُرْ بِي.

قَالَ: فَأَتَيْتُهُ، فَقَالَ لِي: إِنَّ الَّذِي سَمِعْتَ مِنِّي خُدْعَةٌ، إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تَضْرِبَ مُسْلِمًا أَوْ يَهُودِيًّا أَوْ نَصْرَانِيًّا فِي دِرْهَمٍ خَرَاكِ، أَوْ تَبِيعَ ذَابَّةَ عَمَلٍ فِي دِرْهَمٍ، فَإِنَّمَا أُمِرْنَا أَنْ نَأْخُذَ مِنْهُمْ الْعَفْوُ.^٣

208. السنن الكبرى عن عبد الملك بن عمير: أَخْبَرَنِي رَجُلٌ مِنْ ثَقِيفٍ قَالَ: اسْتَعْمَلَنِي عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) عَلَى بُزْرِ جَسَابُورَ^٤، فَقَالَ: لَا تَضْرِبَنَّ رَجُلًا سَوَطًا فِي جَبَايَةِ دِرْهَمٍ، وَلَا تَبِيعَنَّ هُمْ رِزْقًا، وَلَا كِسْوَةَ شِتَاءٍ وَلَا صَيْفٍ، وَلَا ذَابَّةَ يَعْتَمِلُونَ عَلَيْهَا، وَلَا تَقُمْ رَجُلًا قَائِمًا فِي طَلَبِ دِرْهَمٍ.

١. وقعه صفين: ص 108؛ المعيار والموازنة: ص 122 نحوه وراجع: نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 51.

٢. بَانِقِيَا: ناحية من نواحي الكوفة (معجم البلدان: ج 1 ص 331).

٣. الكافي: ج 3 ص 540 ح 8، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 4 ص 98 ح 275 عن إسماعيل بن إبراهيم بن مهاجر عن رجل من ثقيف، كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج 2 ص 24 ح 1605.

٤. بُزْرَجَسَابُور: من طساسبج بغداد (معجم البلدان: ج 1 ص 410).

If there were no punishment to be feared of in doing injustice and aggression that has been prohibited, there certainly is enough reward in avoiding it, leaving no excuse for anyone to give it up. Be merciful so that you may be granted (His) Mercy. Do not torture servants of God; and do not task them beyond their capacity. Be fair to people and be patient in fulfilling their needs, since you are the treasurers of the subjects. Do not keep doorkeepers for yourselves; and do not prevent anyone from gaining access to you to pursue his case. Do not take anyone for anyone else except he who has guaranteed for him. Make yourselves patient regarding the joys [of life]; and beware of postponing tasks and repelling goodness, for certainly there is regret in doing so. Wassalām!"¹

207. *al-Kāfī* – narrating from Muhājir, on the authority of a man from the Thaḳīf tribe: "‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) appointed me as tax collector in the region of Bānqiyā and a village in Kūfa and told me in the presence of the people, ‘See into the (land) taxes and make attempts in (collecting) them. Do not neglect even a single dirham, and whenever you want to go there come to me (first).’"

[He said,] "I went to him and he told me: ‘Indeed, what you heard from me was a kind of plan and tactic. Never beat a Muslim, a Jew or a Christian for a dirham of tax; or sell an animal used by people for [levying] taxes, because we are ordered to take from them the extras [to their income].’"²

208. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* – narrating from ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Umayr: "A man from the Thaḳīf tribe told me that ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) assigned me [to collect taxes] over the vast region of Shāpūr³ and said: ‘Never whip anyone for collecting a dirham of tax or sell their sustenance, their winter or summer clothes, or their animals that they use. And do not appoint a person to collect a dirham.’"

1. *Waq‘at Šiffīn*, p. 108, *Al-Mi‘yār al-Mawāzin*, p. 122, also cf., *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 51.

2. *al-Kāfī*, vol. 3, p. 540, ḥ. 8, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 4, p. 98, ḥ. 275, *Man lā yaḥḍarahu al-Faqīh*, vol. 2, p. 24, ḥ. 1605.

3. An area in Baghdad.

قَالَ: قُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِذَا أَرَجَعُ إِلَيْكَ كَمَا ذَهَبْتُ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ! قَالَ: وَإِنْ رَجَعْتَ كَمَا ذَهَبْتُ، وَيَحْتَكَ إِنَّمَا أَمَرْنَا أَنْ نَأْخُذَ مِنْهُمْ الْعَفْوَ - يَعْنِي الْفَضْلَ -^١

209. تاريخ دمشق عن عبد الملك بن عمير: حَدَّثَنِي رَجُلٌ مِنْ ثَقِيفٍ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا اسْتَعْمَلَهُ عَلَى عُكَبْرَاءَ - قَالَ: وَلَمْ يَكُنِ السَّوَادُ يَسْكُنُهُ الْمُصَلِّونَ - فَقَالَ لِي بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ: لَتَسْتَوِي خَرَاجَهُمْ، وَلَا يَجِدُونَ فِيكَ رُخْصَةً، وَلَا يَجِدُونَ فِيكَ ضَعْفًا. ثُمَّ قَالَ لِي: إِذَا كَانَ عِنْدَ الظُّهْرِ فَرَحُ إِلَيَّ. فَرَحْتُ إِلَيْهِ، فَلَمْ أَجِدْ عَلَيْهِ حَاجِبًا يَحْجُبُنِي دُونَهُ، وَجَدْتُهُ جَالِسًا وَعِنْدَهُ قَدَحٌ وَكَوْزٌ فِيهِ مَاءٌ، فَدَعَا مَطْيَبَهُ،^٢ فَقُلْتُ فِي نَفْسِي: لَقَدْ أَمَنَنِي حَتَّى يُخْرِجَ إِلَيَّ جَوْهَرًا^٣ - إِذْ لَا أُدْرِي مَا فِيهَا، فَإِذَا عَلَيْهَا خَاتَمٌ، فَكَسَرَ الْخَاتَمَ فَإِذَا فِيهَا سَوِيقٌ، فَأَخْرَجَ مِنْهُ وَصَبَّ فِي الْقَدَحِ، فَصَبَّ عَلَيْهِ مَاءً، فَشَرِبَ وَسَقَانِي.

فَلَمْ أَصْبِرْ أَنْ قُلْتُ لَهُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، أَتَصْنَعُ هَذَا بِالْعِرَاقِ!! طَعَامُ الْعِرَاقِ أَكْثَرُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ!!

قَالَ: أَمَا وَاللَّهِ مَا أَخْتِمُ عَلَيْهِ بُخْلًا عَلَيْهِ، وَلَكِنِّي ابْتِغَاءُ قَدَرٍ مَا يَكْفِينِي، فَأَخَافُ إِنْ نَمَيْ^٤ فَيَصْنَعُ فِيهِ مِنْ غَيْرِهِ، فَإِنَّمَا حِفْظِي لِدَلِيلِكَ، وَأَكْرَهُ أَنْ أُدْخِلَ بَطْنِي إِلَّا طَيِّبًا. وَإِنِّي لَمْ أَسْتَطِيعْ أَنْ أَقُولَ لَكَ إِلَّا الَّذِي قُلْتُ لَكَ بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ، إِنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ خُدَعٌ، وَلَكِنِّي أَمْرُكَ الْآنَ بِمَا نَأْخُذُهُمْ بِهِ، فَإِنْ أَنْتَ فَعَلْتَ وَإِلَّا أَخَذَكَ اللَّهُ بِهِ دُونِي، فَإِنْ يَبْلُغْنِي

١. السنن الكبرى: ج 9 ص 345 ح 18736، أسد الغابة: ج 4 ص 98 ح 3789 وفيه «مدرج سابور» بدل «بزرز سابور».

كثر العمال: ج 4 ص 501 ح 11488 نقلًا عن سنن سعيد بن منصور وفيه «برج سابور».

٢. عُكَبْرَاءُ: بلدة على دجلة فوق بغداد بعشرة فراسخ بينها وبين بعقوبة، وقد بناها سابور ذو الأكتاف ف ويطلقون عليها أيضاً «بزرز سابور» (راجع: تقويم البلدان: ص 301).

٣. كذا، وفي حلية الأولياء: «بطينة» وفي هامشه: «كذا في «ز» وفي «ج» بطنية، ولعله الصحيح، والظنية: جراب صغير أو هي شبه الخرطقة والكيس».

٤. في المصدر: «جوهر»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في حلية الأولياء.

٥. كذا في المصدر، وفي حلية الأولياء: «فأخاف أن يغنى فبصنع من غيره» وهي أظهر.

The man said: "I told him: 'O Commander of the Faithful! In that case I would return to you empty-handed as I left you empty-handed!'"

He said, "Even if you return as you left. Woe onto you! We are ordered to take from them the extras."¹

209. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrating from 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Umayr: "A man from Thaqīf told me that 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) assigned me [to collect taxes] over the region of 'Ukbarā (where no one who performed prayers lived) and told me in the presence of the people there: 'Taxes must be fully taken from them. Take care not to show them leniency.' Then he told me to go to him at noon time."

I went to him and I did not see any doorman (at his place) to stop me. I saw him sitting down, and there was a bowl and a water jug. He asked for his bag and I said to myself that maybe he wanted to do me a favor, as I did not know what was in the bag. I found that the bag was sealed and he broke the seal and there was *sawīq*² in it. He took it out, put it in a bowl and poured some water on it. He then drank from it and also gave me some to drink.

I could not help asking him: 'O Commander of the Faithful! Do you act like this in Iraq? The Iraqis have much better food than this.'

He said, "Know that by God, I do not seal it out of avarice; rather I buy as much as it meets my needs, for I fear that if it is not sealed, other things may be added to it. So I take care of it [by sealing it]³ and I dislike using anything other than clean food. As for what I said in the presence of the people, I had no option but to say what I said to you. They are deceitful people; but now I order you how to deal with them, for if you act that way, you will be saved; otherwise – besides me – God will also reprove you. If I am informed that you have acted contrary to

1. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 9, p. 345, h. 18736, *Usd al-Ghaba*, vol. 4, p. 98, h. 3789, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 4, p. 501, h. 11488.

2. A food made of wheat and barley flour.

3. It is clear that he means that if this food is added to, his friends and relatives might add better food to it, and this is why he buys to his need and seals the container.

عَنْكَ خِلَافَ مَا أَمَرْتُكَ عَزَلْتُكَ! فَلَا تَبِيعَنَّ^١ هُمْ رِزْقاً يَأْكُلُونَهُ، وَلَا كِسْوَةَ شِتَاءٍ وَلَا صَيْفٍ، وَلَا تُضَرِّبَنَّ رَجُلًا مِنْهُمْ سَوْطاً فِي طَلَبِ دِرْهَمٍ، وَلَا تُقَبِّحُهُ فِي طَلَبِ دِرْهَمٍ؛ فَإِنَّا لَمْ نُؤَمِّرْ بِذَلِكَ، وَلَا تَبِيعَنَّ هُمْ دَابَّةً يَعْمَلُونَ عَلَيْهَا، إِنَّمَا أُمِرْنَا أَنْ نَأْخُذَ مِنْهُمْ الْعَفْوَ.

قَالَ: قُلْتُ: إِذَا أُجِيزُكَ كَمَا ذَهَبْتُ! قَالَ: وَإِنْ فَعَلْتَ.

قَالَ: فَذَهَبْتُ فَتَبَّعْتُ مَا أَمَرَنِي بِهِ، فَرَجَعْتُ وَاللَّهِ مَا بَقِيَ عَلَيَّ دِرْهَمٌ وَاحِدٌ إِلَّا وَفَيْتُهُ.^٢

210. الإمام عليؑ - مِنْ عَهْدِهِ إِلَى بَعْضِ عُمَّالِهِ وَقَدْ بَعَثَهُ عَلَى الصَّدَقَةِ -: أَمْرُهُ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ فِي سَرَائِرِ أَمْرِهِ، وَخَفِيَّاتِ عَمَلِهِ، حَيْثُ لَا شَهِيدَ غَيْرُهُ، وَلَا وَكِيلَ دُونَهُ. وَأَمْرُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَلَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ فِيهَا ظَهَرَ، فَيُخَالِفَ إِلَى غَيْرِهِ فِيهَا أَسْرًا، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَخْتَلِفْ بَسْرُهُ وَعَلَانِيَتُهُ وَفِعْلُهُ وَمَقَالَتُهُ، فَقَدْ آدَى الْأَمَانَةَ، وَأَخْلَصَ الْعِبَادَةَ.

وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ لَا يَجِبَهُمْ، وَلَا يَعْصَهُمْ^٣، وَلَا يَرْغَبَ عَنْهُمْ، تَفْضُلًا بِالْإِمَارَةِ عَلَيْهِمْ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ الْإِخْوَانُ فِي الدِّينِ، وَالْأَعْوَانُ عَلَى اسْتِخْرَاجِ الْحَقُوقِ.

وإِنَّ لَكَ فِي هَذِهِ الصَّدَقَةِ نَصيباً مفروضاً، وحقاً معلوماً، وشركاء أهل مسكنة، وضُعفاء ذوي فاقة، وإنا مُوقِفُكَ حَقَّكَ، فَوْقَهُمْ حُقُوقَهُمْ، وَإِلَّا تَفْعَلْ فَإِنَّكَ مِنْ أَكْثَرِ النَّاسِ خُصُوماً يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَيُؤْسَى لِمَنْ خَصَمَهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْفُقَرَاءُ وَالْمَسَاكِينُ وَالسَّائِلُونَ وَالْمَدْفُوعُونَ وَالْغَارِمُونَ وَابْنُ السَّبِيلِ.

١. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «يتبعن» وهو تصحيف، والتصحيح من تاريخ دمشق «ترجمة الإمام عليؑ» تحقيق محمد باقر المحمودي (ج 3 ص 199 ح 1249).

٢. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 487، حلية الأولياء: ج 1 ص 82 وفيه إلى «طينياً» وراجع: المعيار والموازنة: ص 248 وكنز العمال: ج 5 ص 773 ح 14346 وشرح الأخبار: ج 2 ص 364 ح 726.

٣. العَصَةُ وَالْعِصَةُ وَالْعَضْبَةُ: الفالة الفريحة، وهي الإفك والبهتان والتنمية (لسان العرب: ج 13 ص 515).

what I have ordered you, I will dismiss you. Do not sell (take from) their daily foods and their summer and winter clothes; do not whip anyone for a dirham, nor disgrace them, as we are not ordered to do so; do not seize their draught horses, since we are ordered to take from them the extras."

The man said: "I told him that I would return the same way that I went (with empty hands)."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "Even if you do so."

The man said: "I went on to collect taxes as he had ordered me and by God; when I returned I gave him what was with me to the last dirham."¹

210. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to one of his administrators whom he had sent for (collecting) taxes: "I order him to be wary of God in his secret matters and hidden actions where there is no witness except He and no one watches save He.

I also order him that whatever he does in obedience to God openly should not be different from what he does secretly. He whose hidden position is not different from his open position and whose action is not different from his words has discharged his obligation and his worship is pure.

I also order him that he should not harass them, should not be harsh with them and should not turn away from them because of superiority of official position over them, for they are brethren in faith and help in the recovery of rights.

Certainly you have a fixed share and a known right in these alms, and there are other sharers who are poor, weak and starving. We shall fully discharge your rights. So you should fully discharge their rights. If you do not do so, you will have the largest number of enemies on the Day of Judgment. How wretched is the man whose enemies in view of Allah are the needy, the destitute, the beggars, the turned away, and the indebted and (penniless) travelers.

1. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 487, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, vol. 1, p. 82. Also cf., *al-Mi'yār al-Mawāzin*, p. 248.

وَمَنْ اسْتَهَانَ بِالْأَمَانَةِ، وَرَتَعَ فِي الْخِيَاةِ، وَلَمْ يُنْزِهِ نَفْسَهُ وَدِينَهُ عَنْهَا، فَقَدْ أَحَلَّ
بِنَفْسِهِ الذُّلَّ وَالْخِزْيَ فِي الدُّنْيَا، وَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ أَذَلُّ وَأَخْزَى. وَإِنَّ أَعْظَمَ الْخِيَاةِ
خِيَاةُ الْأُمَةِ، وَأَفْظَعَ الْغُشِّ غُشُّ الْأَيْمَةِ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^١

211. عنه: - مِنْ وَصِيَّةٍ لَهُ كَانَ يَكْتُبُهَا لِمَنْ يَسْتَعْمِلُهُ عَلَى الصَّدَقَاتِ^٢ -: إِنِطْلِقَ عَلَى تَقْوَى
اللَّهِ وَحَدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَلَا تُرَوِّعَنَّ مُسْلِمًا، وَلَا تَجْتَازَنَّ عَلَيْهِ كَارَهَا، وَلَا تَأْخُذَنَّ مِنْهُ
أَكْثَرَ مِنْ حَقِّ اللَّهِ فِي مَالِهِ، فَإِذَا قَدِمْتَ عَلَى الْحَيِّ فَاَنْزِلْ بِمَانِهِمْ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ تُخَالِطَ
أَبْيَانَهُمْ، ثُمَّ امْضِ إِلَيْهِمْ بِالسَّكِينَةِ وَالْوَقَارِ حَتَّى تَقُومَ بَيْنَهُمْ فَتُسَلِّمْ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَلَا
تُخْجِجَ^٣ بِالتَّحِيَّةِ لَهُمْ، ثُمَّ تَقُولَ: عِبَادَ اللَّهِ، أَرْسَلَنِي إِلَيْكُمْ وَلِيُّ اللَّهِ وَخَلِيفَتُهُ لِأَخْذِ مِنْكُمْ
حَقَّ اللَّهِ فِي أَمْوَالِكُمْ، فَهَلْ لِلَّهِ فِي أَمْوَالِكُمْ مِنْ حَقٍّ فَتُؤَدُّهُ إِلَى وَلِيِّهِ؟ فَإِنْ قَالَ قَائِلٌ:
لَا، فَلَا تُرَاجِعْهُ. وَإِنْ أَنْعَمَ لَكَ مُنْعِمٌ فَاَنْطَلِقْ مَعَهُ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ تُخْفِفَهُ أَوْ تُوعِدَهُ أَوْ
تُعْسِفَهُ أَوْ تُرْهِقَهُ، فَخُذْ مَا أَعْطَاكَ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ أَوْ فِضَّةٍ. فَإِنْ كَانَ لَهُ مَا شِئْتَ أَوْ إِبِلٌ فَلَا
تَدْخُلُهَا إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ، فَإِنْ أَكْثَرَهَا لَهُ، فَإِذَا أَتَيْتَهَا فَلَا تَدْخُلْ عَلَيْهَا دُخُولَ مُتَسَلِّطٍ عَلَيْهِ
وَلَا غَنِيْفٍ بِهِ.

وَلَا تُنْفَرَنَّ بِهَيْمَةٍ وَلَا تُفْرِزَنَّهَا، وَلَا تَسُوءَنَّ صَاحِبَهَا فِيهَا. وَاصْدَعْ الْمَالَ
صَدْعَيْنِ، ثُمَّ خَيْرُهُ، فَإِذَا اخْتَارَ فَلَا تَعْرِضَنَّ لِمَا اخْتَارَهُ. ثُمَّ اصْدَعْ الْبَاقِيَ صَدْعَيْنِ،
ثُمَّ خَيْرُهُ، فَإِذَا اخْتَارَ فَلَا تَعْرِضَنَّ لِمَا اخْتَارَهُ. فَلَا تَزَالُ كَذَلِكَ حَتَّى يَبْقَى مَا فِيهِ وَفَاءٌ
لِحَقِّ اللَّهِ فِي مَالِهِ، فَاقْبِضْ حَقَّ اللَّهِ مِنْهُ. فَإِنْ اسْتَفَالَكَ فَأَقِلَّهُ، ثُمَّ اخْلِطْهَا، ثُمَّ اصْنَعْ
مِثْلَ الَّذِي صَنَعْتَ أَوَّلًا حَتَّى تَأْخُذَ حَقَّ اللَّهِ فِي مَالِهِ.

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 26، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 528 ح 719 وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 252.

٢. قال الشريف الرضي: وإني ذكرنا هنا جملاً ليعلم بها أنه كان يقيم عهاد الحق ويشرع أمثلة العدل في صغير الأمور
وكبيرها ودقيقها وجليلها.

٣. الخداج: التفصان (لسان العرب: ج 2 ص 248).

He who treats the trust lightly, indulges in treachery and does not keep himself and his faith untarnished by it has certainly deserved humiliation in this world, and his humiliation and disgrace in the Hereafter will be greater. Surely the greatest treachery is treachery against the Muslim community and the ugliest deceit is deceit towards the Muslim leaders. Wassalām!"¹

211. **Imām 'Ali (a.s.)** – from his instructions that he used to write to whomever he appointed for the collection of taxes: "Move on with the fear of God who is One and has no partner. Do not frighten any Muslim. Do not pass over his lands without his consent. Do not take from him more than God's right in his wealth. When you go to a tribe, you should stay at their watering place instead of entering their houses. Then go to them maintaining your dignity, calm. When you are in their midst salute them and do not be negligent in greeting and respecting them.

Tell them: "O servants of God, the vicegerent of God and His caliph has sent me to you to collect from you God's right in your wealth. Is there anything of His right in your wealth? If so, give it to His vicegerent." If someone says no, then do not repeat the demand [accept his plea]. If someone speaks to you in the affirmative, then go with him without frightening him, threatening him, making him nervous or behaving with tyranny. Take what he gives you such as gold or silver (coins). If he has cattle or camels do not enter upon them save with his permission, because the major part is his. Therefore, when you get there do not enter upon them as one who has full control over them or in a violent manner.

Do not scare away and frighten any animal; do not tease and bother their owner. Divide the property into two parts and let the owner choose one. When he has chosen do not object to it. Then divide the remaining into two parts and let him choose one and when he has chosen do not raise any objection. Continue like this till only that much remains which is enough to satisfy God's dues, then take God's due from it. If he still disputes your action allow his views, then mix the two (separated) parts and repeat what you had done before until you take God's due from his wealth.

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 26, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 528, ḥ. 719. Also cf., *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 252.

ولا تَأْخُذَنَّ عَوْدًا، ولا هَرَمَةً، ولا مَكْسُورَةً، ولا مَهْلُوسَةً، ولا ذاتَ عَوَارٍ،
ولا تَأْمَنَنَّ عَلَيْهَا إِلَّا مَنْ تَثِقُ بِدِينِهِ، رَافِقًا بِهَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ حَتَّى يُوصِلَهُ إِلَى وَلِيِّهِمْ
فَيَقْسِمَهُ بَيْنَهُمْ، ولا تُوَكِّلْ بِهَا إِلَّا نَاصِحًا شَفِيقًا، وَأَمِينًا حَفِيزًا، غَيْرَ مُعَذِّبٍ ولا
مُجْحِفٍ،^١ ولا مُلْغِبٍ^٢ ولا مُتَعِبٍ. ثُمَّ احْذَرِ إِلَيْنَا مَا اجْتَمَعَ عِنْدَكَ نُصِيرُهُ حَيْثُ أَمَرَ
اللهُ بِهِ.

فَإِذَا أَخَذَهَا أَمِينُكَ فَأَوْعِزْ إِلَيْهِ أَلَّا يَحُولَ بَيْنَ نَاقَةٍ وَبَيْنَ فَصِيلِهَا، ولا يَمْصُرَ^٣ لَبَنَهَا
فَيَضُرَّ ذَلِكَ بَوْلِدَهَا، ولا يَجْهَدَهَا رُكُوبًا، وَلْيَعْدِلْ بَيْنَ صَوَاجِبَاتِهَا فِي ذَلِكَ وَبَيْنَهَا،
وَلْيُرْفَهُ عَلَى اللَّاعِغِ^٤.

وَلْيَسْتَأْنِ بِالنَّقَبِ^٥ وَالظَّالِعِ^٦، وَلْيُورِدْهَا مَا تَمُرُّ بِهِ مِنَ الْغُدْرِ، ولا يَعْدِلْ بِهَا عَنْ
تَبَتِ الْأَرْضِ إِلَى جَوَادِ الطَّرِيقِ، وَلْيُرَوِّحْهَا فِي السَّاعَاتِ، وَلْيُمِهِّلْهَا عِنْدَ النُّطَافِ^٧ وَالْأَعْشَابِ؛
حَتَّى تَأْتِيَنَا بِإِذْنِ اللهِ بُدْنًا مُنْقِيَاتٍ غَيْرَ مُتْعَبَاتٍ ولا مُجْهُودَاتٍ، لِنَقْسِمَها عَلَى كِتَابِ
اللهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ ﷺ؛ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَعْظَمُ لِاجْرِكَ، وَأَقْرَبُ لِرُشْدِكَ، إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ.^٨

١. الغُود: الجمال المُسَيَّر وفيه بقية (لسان العرب: ج 3 ص 321).

٢. العُظف: ضد الرفق، والعنيف: من لا يرفق له بركوب الخيل، وقيل: هو الذي لا يُجسِّن الركوب، والعنيف أيضاً:
الشديد من السير. وأجحف بهم فلان: كلّفهم ما لا يطيقون (تاج العروس: ج 12 ص 399 و ص 400 و ص 107).

٣. اللغوب: التعب والإعياء (لسان العرب: ج 1 ص 742).

٤. المَصْر: حلب كل ما في الضرع، وفي حديث عليّ: «ولا يَمْصُرْ لَبَنَهَا» يريد: لا يكثر من أخذ لبنها (لسان العرب: ج 5 ص 175).

٥. النَّقَب: رقة الأخفاف، يُنَبُّ البعيرُ بِنَقَبٍ فهو نَقَبٌ، وفي حديث عليّ: «ولبستان بالنقَب والظالِع» أي يرفق بهما،
ويجوز أن يكون من الجَرْب (لسان العرب: ج 1 ص 766).

٦. الظالِع: المائل، والظالِع: الأعوجاج يخلقه يكون في المشي مع الميل (لسان العرب: ج 8 ص 227).

٧. النُّطَافَة والنُّطَافَة: القليل من الماء (لسان العرب: ج 9 ص 335).

٨. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 25، الكافي: ج 3 ص 536 ح 1، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 4 ص 96 ح 274 كلاهما عن بريد بن
معاوية، المفصلة: ص 255 عن بريد العجلي، الفارقات: ج 1 ص 126 عن عبد الرحمن بن سليمان وكلّهما عن الإمام
الصادق عنه نحوه.

Do not take an old, decrepit, broken, limbed, sick or unsound animal. Do not entrust them (for custody) except to one whom you are confident of his faith and takes care of Muslims' wealth until he hands it over to their chief to distribute it. Do not entrust the animal to anyone except a well wisher, God-fearing, trustworthy and watchful, and a person who is not harsh on Muslims' wealth nor makes them exhausted too much, nor tires them, nor labors them. Then send to us all that you have collected and we shall deal with it as God has ordered.

When your trustee takes over (the animal) tell him that he should not separate the she-camel from its young and not to milk so much that nothing is left for its young and also that he should not exhaust it in riding, and should treat it and all rest fairly. He should allow camels (that are tired) to rest, and drive with ease those whose hoofs have been rubbed off. When passing a water spring he should take the camels there for drinking and should not take them away from vegetated land to barren paths. He should allow them rest now and then and give them time near water and grass. In this way when they reach us by will of God they will be fat with plenty of marrow and would not be fatigued or distressed. We will then distribute them according to the (commands of) the Book of God and the *sunna* of His Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). Certainly this will be a great source of reward for you and a means to secure your salvation by the will of God."¹

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 25, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 3, p. 536, ḥ. 1, *Tahdhib al-Aḥkām*, vol. 4, p. 96, ḥ. 274.

212. عنه: - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: وَتَقَعْدَ أَمْرَ الْحَرَّاجِ بِهَا يُصْلِحُ أَهْلَهُ؛ فَإِنْ فِي صَلَاحِهِ وَصَلَاحِهِمْ صَلَاحاً لَيْنٍ سِوَاهُمْ، وَلَا صَلَاحَ لَيْنٍ سِوَاهُمْ إِلَّا بِهِمْ؛ لِأَنَّ النَّاسَ كُلَّهُمْ عِيَالٌ عَلَى الْحَرَّاجِ وَأَهْلِيهِ. وَلَيْكُنْ نَظَرُكَ فِي عِمَارَةِ الْأَرْضِ أَبْلَغَ مِنْ نَظَرِكَ فِي اسْتِجْلَابِ الْحَرَّاجِ، لِأَنَّ ذَلِكَ لَا يُدْرِكُ إِلَّا بِالْعِمَارَةِ؛ وَمَنْ طَلَبَ الْحَرَّاجَ يَغَيِّرَ عِمَارَةَ أُخْرَبِ الْبِلَادِ، وَأَهْلَكَ الْعِبَادِ، وَلَمْ يَسْتَقِمْ أَمْرُهُ إِلَّا قَلِيلاً. فَإِنْ شَكُّوا ثِقَلًا أَوْ عِلَّةً، أَوْ انْقِطَاعَ شَرِبٍ أَوْ بَالَةٍ، أَوْ إِحَالَةَ أَرْضٍ اغْتَمَرَهَا غَرَقٌ، أَوْ أَجْحَفَ بِهَا عَطَشٌ، خَفَّفْتَ عَنْهُمْ بِمَا تَرْجُو أَنْ يُصْلِحَ بِهِ أَمْرُهُمْ؛ وَلَا يَثْقُلَنَّ عَلَيْكَ شَيْءٌ خَفَّفْتَ بِهِ الْمَوْثَنَةَ عَنْهُمْ، فَإِنَّهُ دُخْرٌ يَعُودُونَ بِهِ عَلَيْكَ فِي عِمَارَةِ بِلَادِكَ، وَتَزْيِينِ وَإِلَاتِكَ، مَعَ اسْتِجْلَابِكَ حُسْنَ ثَنَائِهِمْ وَتَبَجُّحِكَ بِاسْتِغَاثَةِ الْعَدْلِ فِيهِمْ، مُعْتَمِداً فَضْلَ قُوَّتِهِمْ بِهَا ذَخَرْتَ عَنْدهُمْ مِنْ إِجْهَامِكَ لَهُمْ، وَالثِّقَةَ مِنْهُمْ بِمَاعُودَتِهِمْ مِنْ عَدْلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَرِفْقِكَ بِهِمْ، فَرُبَّمَا حَدَّثَ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ مَا إِذَا عَوَّلْتَ فِيهِ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ احْتِمَالُوهُ طَبِئَةً أَنْفُسُهُمْ بِهِ؛ فَإِنَّ الْعُمَرَانَ مُحْتَمِلٌ مَا حَمَلْتَهُ، وَإِنَّمَا يُؤْتَى خَرَابُ الْأَرْضِ مِنْ إِعْوَاذِ أَهْلِهَا، وَإِنَّمَا يُعَوِّزُ أَهْلُهَا لِإِشْرَافِ أَنْفُسِ الْوَلَاةِ عَلَى الْجَمْعِ وَسُوءِ ظَنِّهِمْ بِالْبَقَاءِ، وَقَلَّةِ انْتِفَاعِهِمْ بِالْعَبَرِ.^١

213. عنه: - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ (في رِوَايَةِ تَحْفِيقِ الْعُقُولِ) -: فَاجْمَعْ إِلَيْكَ أَهْلَ الْحَرَّاجِ مِنْ كُلِّ بُلْدَانِكَ، وَمُرَّهُمْ فَلْيُعْلِمُوكَ حَالَ بِلَادِهِمْ وَمَا فِيهِ صَلَاحُهُمْ وَرَخَاءُ جِبَابَتِهِمْ، ثُمَّ سَلْ عَمَّا يَرْفَعُ إِلَيْكَ أَهْلُ الْعِلْمِ بِهِ مِنْ غَيْرِهِمْ؛ فَإِنْ كَانُوا شَكُّوا ثِقَلًا أَوْ عِلَّةً مِنْ انْقِطَاعِ شَرِبٍ أَوْ إِحَالَةِ أَرْضٍ اغْتَمَرَهَا غَرَقٌ أَوْ أَجْحَفَ بِهِمُ الْعَطَشُ أَوْ آفَةٌ خَفَّفْتَ عَنْهُمْ مَا تَرْجُو أَنْ يُصْلِحَ اللَّهُ بِهِ أَمْرَهُمْ، وَإِنْ سَأَلُوا مَعُونَةً عَلَى إِصْلَاحِ مَا يَقْدِرُونَ عَلَيْهِ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ فَآكِفِهِمْ مَوْثَنَتُهُ؛ فَإِنْ فِي عَاقِبَةِ كِفَايَتِكَ إِيَّاهُمْ صَلَاحاً، فَلَا

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53 وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 362.

212. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Investigate the situation of the land tax in a manner that will rectify the state of those who pay it, for in the correctness of the land tax and the welfare of the taxpayers is the welfare of others. The welfare of others will not be achieved except through them, for the people, all of them, are dependent upon the land tax and those who pay it. Let your care for the prosperity of the earth be deeper than your care for the collecting of land tax, for it will not be gathered except in prosperity. Whoever exacts land tax without prosperity has desolated the land and destroyed the servants (of God). His affairs will remain in order but briefly. So if your subjects complain of burden, of blight, of the cutting off of irrigation water, of lack of rain, or of the transformation of the earth through its being inundated by a flood or ruined by drought, lighten (their burden) to the extent you wish their affairs to be rectified. And let not anything by which you have lightened their burden weigh heavily against you, for it is a store which they will return to you by bringing about prosperity in your land and embellishing your rule. You will gain their fairest praise and pride yourself at the spreading forth of justice among them. You will be able to depend upon the increase in their strength (resulting) from what you stored away with them when you gave them ease; and upon their trust, since you accustomed them to your justice toward them through your kindness to them. Then perhaps matters will arise which afterwards they will undertake gladly if in these you depend upon them, for prosperity will carry that with which you burden it. Truly the destruction of the earth only results from the destitution of its inhabitants, and its inhabitants become destitute only when rulers concern themselves with amassing (wealth), when they have misgivings about the endurance (of their own rule) and when they profit little from warning examples."¹
213. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – in his instructions to Malik al-Ashtar (as narrated in *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*): "Gather tax-payers of all the regions under your dominion and order them to inform you of the situations of their regions including ways of prosperity and the ease in the collection of taxes. Then check the views raised by the experts other than tax-payers. If they complain of heaviness of taxes, or problem caused by the severing of the irrigation water, or of a change in the condition of the land either due to flood or drought or pestilence, you should remit the tax to the extent that you hope God will improve their position. If they seek help in rectifying what they can do with their own fortune, you should assist them; for your assistance will bring about prosperity.

1. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 53. Also cf., *Da'a'im al-Islam*, vol. 1, p. 362.

يُثْقَلَنَّ عَلَيْكَ شَيْءٌ خَفَّفْتَ بِهِ عَنْهُمْ الْمَوَانِتَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ دُخِرَ يَعُودُونَ بِهِ عَلَيْكَ لِعِبَارَةِ
بِلَادِكَ، وَتَزْيِينِ وَلَايَتِكَ، مَعَ اقْتِنَانِكَ مَوَدَّتِهِمْ وَحُسْنِ نِيَّاتِهِمْ، وَاسْتِفَاضَةِ الْحَقِيرِ، وَمَا
يُسَهِّلُ اللَّهُ بِهِ مِنْ جَلْبِهِمْ، فَإِنَّ الْحَرَّاجَ لَا يُسْتَخْرَجُ بِالْكَدِّ وَالْأَتْعَابِ، مَعَ أَنَّهَا عَقْدٌ
تَعْتَمِدُ عَلَيْهَا إِنْ حَدَثَ حَدَثٌ كُنْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ مُعْتَمِداً؛ لِفَضْلِ قُوَّتِهِمْ بِمَا دَخَرْتَ عَنْهُمْ
مِنَ الْجَهَامِ،^١ وَالثِّقَةِ مِنْهُمْ بِمَا عَوَّدْتَهُمْ مِنْ عَدْلِكَ وَرِفْقِكَ، وَمَعْرِفَتِهِمْ بِعُذْرِكَ فِيهَا
حَدَثٌ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ الَّذِي اتَّكَلْتَ بِهِ عَلَيْهِمْ، فَاحْتَمَلُوهُ بِطَبِيبِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ، فَإِنَّ الْعِمْرَانَ
مُحْتَمِلٌ مَا حَمَلْتَهُ، وَإِنَّمَا يُؤْتَى خَرَابُ الْأَرْضِ لِإِعْوَازِ أَهْلِهَا، وَإِنَّمَا يُعَوِّزُ أَهْلُهَا
لِإِسْرَافِ الْوُلَاةِ وَسُوءِ ظَنِّهِمْ بِالْبَقَاءِ وَقِلَّةِ انْتِفَاعِهِمْ بِالْعَبَرِ.^٢

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عَدَمُ التَّأَخُّرِ فِي تَوْزِيعِ أَمْوَالِ الْعَامَةِ

214. أنساب الأشراف عن أبي صالح السَّتْمَانِ: رَأَيْتُ عَلِيّاً دَخَلَ بَيْتَ الْمَالِ، فَرَأَى فِيهِ
مَالاً، فَقَالَ: هَذَا هَاهُنَا وَالنَّاسُ يَحْتَاجُونَ!! فَأَمَرَ بِهِ فَقُسِمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ، فَأَمَرَ بِالْبَيْتِ
فَكُنِسَ، فَنُضِضَ، وَصَلَّى فِيهِ.^٣

215. الغارات عن بكر بن عيسى - في ذِكْرِ سِيرَةِ الْإِمَامِ عَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ -: إِنَّهُ كَانَ يَقْسِمُ مَا فِي
بَيْتِ الْمَالِ، فَلَا تَأْتِي الْجُمُعَةُ وَفِي بَيْتِ الْمَالِ شَيْءٌ. وَيَأْمُرُ بِبَيْتِ الْمَالِ فِي كُلِّ عَشِيَّةٍ
كَحَمِيسٍ فَيُنْضِضُ بِالماءِ، ثُمَّ يُصَلِّي فِيهِ رَكَعَتَيْنِ.^٤

١. المُقَدِّمَةُ: كُلُّ شَيْءٍ يَسْتَوِثِقُ الرَّجُلُ بِهِ لِنَفْسِهِ وَيَعْتَمِدُ عَلَيْهِ (اللسان العرب: ج 3 ص 299).

٢. الجَهَامُ: الرَّاحَةُ (اللسان العرب: ج 12 ص 105).

٣. تحف العقول: ص 137.

٤. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 371، تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 476.

٥. الغارات: ج 1 ص 69 وراجع: حلية الأولياء: ج 7 ص 300.

The remission granted for the removal of distress from them should not be grudged by you, because it is an investment which they will return to you in the form of prosperity of your country, the progress of your dominion, the earning of their praise, well intention and happiness in addition to those which Allah makes easy for you to attract. The land tax cannot be collected through fatigue and exhaustion, yet, it is what you can depend upon. Besides, if something happens, you can depend upon them, that is because of the strength you preserved abundantly for yourself in them through catering for them and also because of their trust in you that you have gained through always treating them justly and also because you have shown to them that you have understood their excuses concerning the matters you relied on them and they happily accepted them. Indeed prosperity of towns guarantees what you expect and impose and the poverty and ruin of the land is because of the poverty of its people and people become poor when rulers turn towards extravagancy. As a result there remains very little hope for them (rulers) to remain in their post because of benefiting little from past lessons."¹

5/9

Refraining from Delaying the Distribution of Public Assets

214. *Ansāb al-Ashraf* – narrating from Abī Šāliḥ al-Sammān: "I saw 'Ali (a.s.) enter the public treasury and he noticed some money there and he said: "These are here while there are people in need?" He then ordered the money to be distributed among people. He had the place swept and sprinkled with water and he said his prayers there."²
215. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Bakr ibn 'Īsā mentioning the conduct (*sīra*) of Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Verily he distributed (among the people) whatever there was in the public treasury. There came no Friday when anything would remain in the treasury. Every Thursday evening, he ordered the treasury to be cleaned and sprinkled with water and he would then perform two units (*rak'as*) of prayers."³

1. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 137.

2. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 371. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 476.

3. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 69. Also cf., *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, vol.7, p. 300.

216. الغارات عن مُجَمِّع التَّيْمِيِّ: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا ۞ كَانَ يَنْصَحُ بَيْتَ الْمَالِ، ثُمَّ يَتَنَقَّلُ فِيهِ وَيَقُولُ: اشْهَدْ لِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ أَنِّي لَمْ أَحْبَسْ فِيكَ الْمَالَ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ.^١

217. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن مُجَمِّع التَّيْمِيِّ: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا كَانَ يَأْمُرُ بِبَيْتِ الْمَالِ فَيُكَنَسُ، ثُمَّ يُنْصَحُ، ثُمَّ يُصَلِّي؛ رَجَاءً أَنْ يَشْهَدَ لَهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَحْبَسْ فِيهِ الْمَالَ عَنِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ.^٢

218. تاريخ دمشق عن أبي حكيم صاحب الحفاء عن أبيه: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا أَعْطَى الْعَطَاءَ فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثَ مَرَّاتٍ، ثُمَّ أَتَاهُ مَالٌ مِنْ أَصْبَهَانَ، فَقَالَ: أُغْدُوا إِلَى الْعَطَاءِ الرَّابِعِ؛ إِنِّي لَسْتُ لَكُمْ بِخَازِنٍ. قَالَ: وَقَسَمَ الْجِبَالَ، فَأَخَذَهَا قَوْمٌ، وَرَدَّهَا قَوْمٌ.^٣

219. مروج الذهب - في حَوَادِثِ سَنَةِ 38 هـ -: قَبِضَ أَصْحَابُهُ [عَلِيٍّ] عَنْ عَلِيٍّ فِي هَذِهِ السَّنَةِ ثَلَاثَةَ أَرْزَاقٍ - عَلَى حَسَبِ مَا كَانَ يُحْمَلُ إِلَيْهِ مِنَ الْمَالِ مِنْ أَعْمَالِهِ - ثُمَّ وَرَدَ عَلَيْهِ مَالٌ مِنْ أَصْبَهَانَ، فَخَطَبَ النَّاسَ، وَقَالَ: أُغْدُوا إِلَى عَطَاءٍ رَابِعٍ؛ فَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَتَانَا لَكُمْ بِخَازِنٍ.

وكَانَ فِي عَطَائِهِ أَسْوَةٌ لِلنَّاسِ؛ يَأْخُذُ كَمَا يَأْخُذُ الْوَاحِدُ مِنْهُمْ.^٤

220. الأُمَالِي لِلطُّوسِي عَنْ هَلَالِ بْنِ مُسْلِمٍ الْجَعْفَرِيِّ: سَمِعْتُ جَدِّي جَرَّةً - أَوْ جَوْهَةً - قَالَ: شَهِدْتُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ ۞ أَنِّي بِهَالٍ عِنْدَ الْمَسَاءِ، فَقَالَ: اقْسِمُوا هَذَا الْمَالَ.

١. الغارات: ج 1 ص 149 تاريخ الخلفاء: ص 213 نحوه وراجع: المناقب للكويتي: ج 2 ص 32 ح 517.

٢. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 533 ح 886، تاريخ الإسلام للذهبي: ج 3 ص 643، تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 478، حلية الأولياء: ج 1 ص 81، الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 211 الرقم 1875 كلها نحوه وراجع: الغارات: ج 1 ص 46.

٣. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 477، الأموال: ص 284 ح 673، كنز العمال: ج 4 ص 584 ح 11703.

٤. مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 421.

216. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Mujamma' al-Taymī: "In truth, 'Ali (a.s.) would sprinkle the treasury with water and perform supererogatory prayers there, saying: "Bear witness on the Day of Resurrection that I did not lock the wealth of the Muslims in you."¹
217. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba* – narrating from Mujamma' al-Taymī: "'Ali (a.s.) would order the treasury to be swept and sprinkled with water. After that he would perform his prayers there in the hope that it would bear witness for him on the Day of Resurrection that he did not lock up wealth from people."²
218. *Tārikh Dimashq* – narrating from Abū Ḥakīm Ṣāhib al-Ḥifā' on the authority of his father: "'Ali (a.s.) would distribute the collected wealth [among people] three times a year. Once, some wealth was brought to him from Isfahan and he said: 'Proceed for the fourth distribution. Certainly I am not the one who amasses [wealth].'"

[The narrator says] "He distributed the ropes and some people took [their share] and some refused to take."³

219. *Murūj al-Dhahab* – regarding the events of the year 38 AH / 658 CE: "'Ali's (a.s.) companions received from him their provisions three times a year, depending on whatever wealth he would receive. He then received some wealth from Isfahan and he said: "The fourth distribution shall be next morning. By God, I am not the one who amasses [wealth]."

He was an exemplar for the people in the distribution of the public wealth and he would take a share for himself like any of the other people.⁴

220. *Al-Amālī* – narrating from Hilāl ibn Muslim al-Jahḍarī: "I heard my grandfather, Jarrah (or Jawwah) say: "I was in the presence of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) in an evening when some money was brought to him."

He said. "Distribute this!"

1. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 49, *Tārikh al-Khulafā*, p. 213. Also cf., *Manāqib al-Imam Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, vol. 2, p.32, ḥ. 517.

2. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 533, ḥ. 886, *Tārikh al-Islam*, vol. 3, p. 643.

3. *Tārikh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 477, *al-Amwāl*, p. 284, ḥ. 673, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 4, p. 584, ḥ. 11703.

4. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 421.

فَقَالُوا: قَدْ أَمْسَيْنَا يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ! فَأَخَّرَهُ إِلَى غَدٍ. فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: تَقْبَلُونَ لِي أَنْ أَعِيشَ إِلَى غَدٍ؟ قَالُوا: مَاذَا بِأَيْدِينَا! قَالَ: فَلَا تُؤَخِّرُوهُ حَتَّى تَقْسِمُوهُ، فَأَتَى بِشَمْعٍ، فَقَسَمُوا ذَلِكَ الْمَالَ مِنْ تَحْتِ لَيْلَتِهِمْ.^١

221. الغارات عن الضحّاك بن مزاحم عن الإمام عليّ: كَانَ خَلِيلِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ لَا يَجِسُّ شَيْئًا لِيَعْدِي، وَكَانَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ يَفْعَلُ، وَقَدْ رَأَى عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فِي ذَلِكَ أَنَّ دَوْنَ الدَّوَابِّ وَأَخَرُ الْمَالِ مِنْ سَنَةٍ إِلَى سَنَةٍ، وَأَمَّا أَنَا فَأَصْنَعُ كَمَا صَنَعَ خَلِيلِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ.

قَالَ: وَكَانَ عَلِيٌّ ﷺ يُعْطِيهِمْ مِنَ الْجُمُعَةِ إِلَى الْجُمُعَةِ وَكَانَ يَقُولُ:

هَذَا جَنَائِي وَخِيَارُهُ فِيهِ إِذْ كُلُّ جَانٍ يَدُهُ إِلَى فِيهِ^٢

222. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد عن عبد الرحمن بن عجلان: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ ﷺ يَقْسِمُ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ الْأَبْزَارَ^٣ وَالْكَثْمُونَ^٤، وَكَذَا وَكَذَا.^٥

١. الفبالة: الكفالة، وقيل - بالضم -: إذا صار قبيلاً، أي كنبلاً (لسان العرب: ج 11 ص 544).

٢. الأماشي للطبرسي: ص 404 ح 904، تنبيه الخواطر: ج 2 ص 173، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 93 عن سالم الجحدري وفيه إلى «حتى تقسموه».

٣. قال ابن الأثير: هذا مثل، أول من قاله عمرو بن أخت جزيمة الأبرشي كان يمني الكفأة مع أصحاب له، فكانوا إذا وجدوا خيار الكفأة أكلوها، وإذا وجدوا عمرو جعلها في كفه حتى يأتي بها خاله. وقال هذه الكلمة فسارت مثلاً. وأراد عليّ (رضي الله عنه) بقولها أنه لم يتلطف بشيء من في المسلمين بل وضعه مواضعه (النهاية: ج 1 ص 309).

٤. الغارات: ج 1 ص 47، بحار الأنوار: ج 100 ص 60 ح 9.

٥. البزور: التابل، وجمعه: أبزار، وأبازير جمع الجمع (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 56).

٦. الحرف: حبّ الرّشاد، واحده حرفة. وقال الأزهري: حبّ كالحردل (لسان العرب: ج 9 ص 45).

٧. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 2 ص 199، الغارات: ج 1 ص 60 عن عبد الرحمن بن عجلان عن جدته وزاد فيه «بصره صرأه بعد الأبزار»، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 136.

The people said: "O Commander of the Faithful! It is night now, put it off until tomorrow."

He said: "Do you guarantee that I will live until tomorrow?"

They replied: "It is not in our hands."

He said: "Then do not delay it and distribute it." A candle was brought in and the money was distributed on that same night."¹

221. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim from Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "My friend, the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) would not keep anything for the next day, but Abū Bakr did. 'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb, however, decided to establish bureaus and the distribution of the wealth to be on yearly basis; but I will do as did my friend, the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.)."

[The narrator said:] 'Ali (a.s.) used to distribute the wealth every Friday and would say:

"This is my harvest and the best of it is in it;

Yet, every harvester puts it with his own hand in his own mouth."^{2 3}

222. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* – narrating from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Ajlān: "'Ali (a.s.) used to distribute seeds of flax, pepper-grass, caraway, and other things among the people."⁴

1. *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 404, ḥ. 904, *Tanbih al-Khawāfir*, vol. 2, p. 173, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭalīb*, vol. 2, p. 95.

2. Ibn Athīr said, "This is a parable first uttered by 'Amr, Jadhima's nephew. He and his friends were picking mushrooms and whenever his friends found a good mushroom, they would put it in their mouth, but he would place it in his sleeve to take it to his [maternal] uncle. 'Ali (a.s.) has implied by this parable that he does not ruin the Muslims' wealth; rather, he puts it in its rightful place." *al-Nihāya*, vol. 1, p. 309.

3. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 47, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 100, p. 60, ḥ. 9.

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 199, *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 60, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 136.

223. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد عن الشعبي: دَخَلْتُ الرَّحْبَةَ بِالْكُوفَةِ - وَأَنَا غُلَامٌ - فِي غِلْمَانٍ، فَإِذَا أَنَا بِعَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَائِمًا عَلَى صُبرَتَيْنِ^١ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ وَفِضَّةٍ، وَمَعَهُ مِخْفَقَةٌ، وَهُوَ يَطْرُدُ النَّاسَ بِمِخْفَقَتِهِ، ثُمَّ يَرْجِعُ إِلَى الْمَالِ فَيَقْسِمُهُ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ، حَتَّى لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْهُ شَيْءٌ. ثُمَّ انْصَرَفَ وَلَمْ يَحْمِلْ إِلَى بَيْتِهِ قَلِيلًا وَلَا كَثِيرًا، فَرَجَعْتُ إِلَى أَبِي، فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ الْيَوْمَ خَيْرَ النَّاسِ أَوْ أَحَقَّ النَّاسِ! قَالَ: مَنْ هُوَ يَا بَنِي؟ قُلْتُ: عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، رَأَيْتُهُ يَصْنَعُ كَذَا، فَقَصَصْتُ عَلَيْهِ، فَبَكَى، وَقَالَ: يَا بَنِي، بَلْ رَأَيْتَ خَيْرَ النَّاسِ.^٢

224. الإمام الباقر عليه السلام: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا أَيْ بِالْمَالِ فَأَقْعَدَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ الْوُزَانَ وَالنَّقَادَ، فَكَوَّمَ كَوْمَةً مِنْ ذَهَبٍ، وَكَوْمَةً مِنْ فِضَّةٍ، فَقَالَ: يَا حَمْرَاءُ وَيَا بَيْضَاءُ، احْمَرِّي وَابْيَضِّي وَغُرِّي غَبْرِي. هَذَا جَنَائِي وَخِيَارُهُ فِيهِ وَكُلُّ جَانٍ يَدُهُ إِلَى فِيهِ^٣

225. تاريخ دمشق عن أبي صالح السمان: رَأَيْتُ عَلِيًّا دَخَلَ بَيْتَ الْمَالِ، فَرَأَى فِيهِ شَيْئًا، فَقَالَ: لَا^٤ أَرَى هَذَا هَاهُنَا وَبِالنَّاسِ إِلَيْهِ حَاجَةٌ!! فَأَمَرَ بِهِ فَقُسِمَ، وَأَمَرَ بِالْبَيْتِ فَكُنِسَ وَنُضِجَ، فَصَلَّى فِيهِ، أَوْ قَالَ^٥ فِيهِ؛ يَعْنِي نَامَ^٦.

١. الضبيرة: الكُدْس (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 441).

٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 2 ص 198 الغارات: ج 1 ص 54، ببحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 135.

٣. الأموال: ص 285 ح 675 عن عبد العزيز بن محمد عن الإمام الصادق عليه السلام: حَلَبَةُ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ: ج 1 ص 81 عن علي بن ربيعة الوالي، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 19 ص 126 من دون إسناد إلى أحد أهل البيت عليه السلام وكلاهما نحوه، كنز العمال: ج 13 ص 182 ح 136545 الثائب للكوفي: ج 2 ص 53 ح 541 عن سليمان بن بلال عن الإمام الصادق عليه السلام وفيه وأخرى من ورق بدل «وكومة من فضة».

٤. في المصدر: «ألا»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في تاريخ دمشق «ترجمة الإمام علي عليه السلام» تحقيق محمد باقر المحمودي (ج 3 ص 180 ح 1219).

٥. من القبولة: الاستراحة نصف النهار، وإن لم يكن معها نوم «النهاية: ج 4 ص 133».

٦. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «قام»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في تاريخ دمشق «ترجمة الإمام علي عليه السلام» تحقيق محمد باقر المحمودي.

٧. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 476، مستند ابن الجعد: ص 315 ح 2145.

223. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* – narrating from Sha‘bī: “I was a young man when I entered a square in Kūfa together with other young men. I saw ‘Ali (a.s.) who was standing over a pile of gold and silver and holding a whip in his hand with which he was keeping people off and at the same time distributing the property among people until there was nothing left of it. Then, he returned home without taking anything with him, neither little nor much.

I went back to my father and said to him: “Today, I saw the best of the people or the most foolish one!” He asked: O son, who he was.”

I said: “‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.), the Commander of the Faithful. I saw him acting in such and such a way”, and I told him the story.

My father wept and said: “My son! You have seen the best of the people.”¹

224. Imām al-Bāqir: “Some money was brought to ‘Ali (a.s.), and he seated the weighers and the exchangers next to him. He then made a pile of gold and a pile of silver and said: ‘O reds and O whites! Be whatever you want to be, red or white but deceive someone else!’”

“This is my harvest and the best of it is in it;

*Yet, every harvester puts it with his own hand in his own mouth.”*²

225. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrating from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān: “I saw ‘Ali (a.s.) enter the treasury and see something there, and he said: “I should not see it here, while people are in need of it.” Then he ordered it to be distributed, had the treasury swept and sprinkled with water, and he then performed prayers there or took an afternoon nap; or he slept there.”³

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 198, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 135.

2. *al-Amwāl*, p. 285, ḥ. 675, *Hilyatu’l Awliyā*, vol. 1, p. 81, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 19, p. 126.

3. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 476, *Musnad Ibn Ja’d*, p. 315, ḥ. 2145.

226. الدعوات: كَانَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ٢ إِذَا أُعْطِيَ مَا فِي بَيْتِ الْمَالِ أَمْرٌ بِهِ فَكُنِسَ، ثُمَّ صَلَّى فِيهِ، ثُمَّ يَدْعُو، فَيَقُولُ فِي دُعَائِهِ: اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يَحْبِطُ الْعَمَلَ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يُعَجِّلُ النَّقْمَ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يُغَيِّرُ النُّعْمَ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يَمْنَعُ الرِّزْقَ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يَمْنَعُ الدُّعَاءَ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يَمْنَعُ التَّوْبَةَ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يَهْتِكُ الْعِصْمَةَ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يُورِثُ النَّدَمَ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ ذَنْبٍ يَحْبِسُ الْقِسَمَ^١.

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تَزْيِجُ أَمْوَالِ الْعَامَةِ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ

227. الاختصاص - فِي بَيَانِ خِصَالِ وَفَضَائِلِ الْإِمَامِ عَلِيِّ ٢ -: الْقِسْمُ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ، وَالْعَدْلُ فِي الرَّعِيَّةِ؛ وَلَى بَيْتِ مَالِ الْمَدِينَةِ عَمَّارُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ وَأَبَا هَاشِمٍ بْنُ التَّيْهَانِ فَكَتَبَ: الْعَرَبِيُّ وَالْقُرَشِيُّ وَالْأَنْصَارِيُّ وَالْعَجَمِيُّ وَكُلُّ مَنْ كَانَ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ مِنْ قَبَائِلِ الْعَرَبِ وَأَجْنَاسِ الْعَجَمِ سَوَاءً.

فَأَتَاهُ سَهْلُ بْنُ حُنَيْفٍ بِمَوْلَى لَهُ أَسْوَدَ، فَقَالَ: كَمْ تُعْطِي هَذَا؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ٢: كَمْ أَخَذْتَ أَنْتَ؟ قَالَ: ثَلَاثَةُ دَنَانِيرَ، وَكَذَلِكَ أَخَذَ النَّاسُ. قَالَ: فَأَعْطُوا مَوْلَاهُ مِثْلَ مَا أَخَذَ؛ ثَلَاثَةَ دَنَانِيرَ^٢.

228. الأماشي للطوسي عن إبراهيم بن صالح الأنباطي رفعه: لَمَّا أَصْبَحَ عَلِيُّ ٢ بَعْدَ الْبَيْعَةِ، دَخَلَ بَيْتَ الْمَالِ، فَدَعَا بِهَالٍ كَانَ قَدْ اجْتَمَعَ، فَقَسَمَهُ ثَلَاثَةَ دَنَانِيرَ ثَلَاثَةَ دَنَانِيرَ بَيْنَ مَنْ

١. الدعوات: ص 60 ح 150، بحار الأنوار: ج 94 ص 93 ح 9.

٢. الاختصاص: ص 152، بحار الأنوار: ج 40 ص 107 ح 117.

226. **Al-Da'awāt:** "Whenever the Commander of the Faithful gave out what was in the treasury, he would order it to be swept and would perform prayers there and would say in his invocation: "O God! I seek Your protection from the sin that brings my deeds to naught; and I seek Your protection from the sin that expedites retribution; and I seek Your protection from the sin that alters blessings; and I seek Your protection from the sin that holds back provision; and I seek Your protection from the sin that averts repentance; and I seek Your protection from the sin that tears apart immunity; and I seek Your protection from the sin that brings about penitence; and I seek Your protection from the sin that withholds portion (in bounties)."¹

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Equality in Distributing Public Assets

227. *al-Ikhtisāṣ* - describing the characteristics and virtues of Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He made equal distributions and practiced justice among citizens. He appointed 'Ammār ibn Yāsir and Abū Haytham ibn Tayyḥān as directors of the treasury of Madina and wrote to them: "The Arabs, Qurayshites, Anṣārs, non-Arabs and whoever is a Muslim, whether from among the Arab or non Arab tribes are all equal."

Sahl Ibn Ḥanīf brought a freed black slave to him and asked: "How much would you give him?"

The Commander of the Faithful asked him: "How much have you received?"

He replied: "Three dīnārs. The others have received the same amount."

The Imām said: "Give the freed one the same amount as others: three dīnārs."²

228. **Al-Amālī** – narrating from Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Anmāṭī: "In the morning after the allegiance, he entered the treasury and distributed the wealth that gathered there among all the people present, giving three dīnārs to each one of them."

1. *al-Da'awāt*, p. 60, ḥ. 150, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 94, p. 93, ḥ. 9.

2. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 152, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 40, p. 107, ḥ. 117.

حَضَرَ مِنَ النَّاسِ كُلِّهِمْ. فَقَامَ سَهْلُ بْنُ حُنَيْفٍ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، قَدْ أَعْتَقْتُ هَذَا الْغُلَامَ! فَأَعْطَاهُ ثَلَاثَةَ دَنَانِيرَ؛ مِثْلَ مَا أُعْطِيَ سَهْلُ بْنُ حُنَيْفٍ.^١

229. الكافي عن أبي مخنف: أتى أمير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه رهط من الشيعة، فقالوا: يا أمير المؤمنين، لو أخرجت هذه الأموال ففرقتها في هؤلاء الرؤساء والأشراف، وفصلتهم علينا، حتى إذا استوسقت الأمور عُدت إلى أفضل ما عودك الله من القسم بالسوية، والعدل في الرعية!! فقال أمير المؤمنين: «أ تأمروني - وبحكم - أن أطلب النصر بالظلم والجور فيمن وليت عليه من أهل الإسلام! لا والله، لا يكون ذلك ما سمر السمر، وما رأيت في السماء نجماً، والله لو كانت أموالهم مالي لساويت بينهم، فكيف وإنما هي أموالهم»^٢

230. الإمام علي: «من خطبة له عندما عوتب على التسوية في الفيء -: فأما هذا الفيء فليس لأحد فيه على أحد أثر»^٣، قد فرغ الله عز وجل من قسمه، فهو مال الله، وأنتم عباد الله المسلمون، وهذا كتاب الله، به أقرنا، وعليه شهدنا، وله أسلمنا، وعهد نبينا بين أظهرنا، فسلموا ربحكم الله، فمن لم يرخص بهذا فليتول كيف شاء.^٤

231. عنه -: «من كتابه إلى مصقلة بن هبيرة الشيباني عامله على أردشير خرة»^٥ -: «ألا وإن حق من قبلك وقبلنا من المسلمين في قسمة هذا الفيء سواء، يردون عندي عليه ويصدرون عنه»^٦.

١. الأُمالي للطوسي: ص 686 ح 1457، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 111 عن مالك بن أوس بن الخدثان وفيه من «قام سهل...»، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 38 ح 24.

٢. الكافي: ج 4 ص 31 ح 3، تحف العقول: ص 185، نشر الدر: ج 1 ص 318 كلاهما نحوه وراجع: الأُمالي للمفيد: ص 175 ح 6 والمناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 95.

٣. الأثرية والمأثرة والمأثرة: المكرمة (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 7).

٤. تحف العقول: ص 184 «العبارة والموازنة: ص 112 وفيه «فليتول» بدل «فليتول»، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 7 ص 40.

٥. أردشير خرة: من أجل بقاء فارس، وقد بناها أردشير بابكان، ومنها مدينة شيراز وميمند وكازرون، وهي بلدة قديمة (راجع معجم البلدان: ج 1 ص 146).

٦. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 43، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 516 ح 712.

Sahl ibn Hunayf stood up and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! I freed this slave."

Then the Imām gave him [the freed slave] three dinārs; the same amount that he had given to Ḥanīf."¹

229. *al-Kāfi* – narrating from Abū Mikhnaf: "A group of the Shi'ites came to 'Alī (a.s.) and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful! Why don't you distribute these assets among the dignitaries and chiefs and give them priority to us so that things can settle down. Then, later you can return to the best of your character that God has bestowed on you, which is making equal distributions and practicing justice among citizens.'"

The Commander of the Faithful said: "Woe onto you! You are commanding me to seek support by doing injustice and inequity to the Muslims over whom I have been chosen as a guardian. By God, I will not do that as long as the world remains and as long as I see stars in the skies. By God, even if it were my wealth, I would distribute it equally among them; how could it be when the wealth is theirs?"²

230. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – in his sermon given when he was reprimanded for equal distribution of assets: "Regarding this booty, no one should enjoy precedence in the shares of the booty. God the Great and Almighty has completed its distribution. It is God's possession and you Muslim are the servants of God. This is the Book of God; we recognize it, declare it and submit to it. Our prophet's *Sunnah* (ways of conduct and teachings) is with us. Hence submit to the matter. May God's Mercy be upon you! Whoever does not yield to this matter may leave us in any way he chooses."³
231. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – from his letter to Maṣqala ibn Hubayra al-Shaybāni, his administrator in Ardashīr Khurrah:⁴ "Know that the right of those Muslims who are around you and those who are around me in this wealth is equal. For that reason they come to me to take it and return."⁵

1. *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 686, ḥ. 1457, *Manāqib 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb*, vol. 2, p. 111

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 31, ḥ. 3, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 185, *Nathr al-Durr*, vol. 1, p. 318. Also cf., *al-Amālī*, p. 175, ḥ. 6.

3. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 184, *al-Mi'yār al-Mawāḏin*, p. 112, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 7, p. 40.

4. A region in Fārs (a province in southern Persia) which Ardashīr Babakān developed and this area includes Shiraz and Kazirun.

5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 43, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 516, ḥ. 712.

232. عنه - من كتابه إلى حذيفة بن اليمان والي المدائن -: أَمُرَكَ أَنْ تُجِيبَ خُرَاجَ الْأَرْضِينَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ وَالنَّصْفَةِ، وَلَا تَتَجَاوَزَ مَا قَدَّمْتُ بِهِ إِلَيْكَ، وَلَا تَدَّعِ مِنْهُ شَيْئاً، وَلَا تَبْتَدِعَ فِيهِ أَمراً، ثُمَّ اقْسِمُهُ بَيْنَ أَهْلِهِ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ وَالْعَدْلِ.^١

233. الغارات عن أبي إسحاق الهمداني: إِنَّ امْرَأَتَيْنِ أَتَانَا عَلَيَّاهُ عِنْدَ الْقِسْمَةِ؛ إِحْدَاهُمَا مِنَ الْعَرَبِ، وَالْأُخْرَى مِنَ الْمَوَالِي، فَأَعْطَى كُلَّ وَاحِدَةٍ خَمْسَةَ وَعِشْرِينَ دِرْهماً وَكُفْراً مِنَ الطَّعَامِ.

فَقَالَتِ الْعَرَبِيَّةُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنِّي امْرَأَةٌ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ، وَهَذِهِ امْرَأَةٌ مِنَ الْعَجَمِ! أَفَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: إِنَّي وَاللَّهِ لَا أَجِدُ لِبَنِي إِسْمَاعِيلَ فِي هَذَا الْفِيءِ فَضْلاً عَلَى بَنِي إِسْحَاقَ!!^٢

234. أنساب الأشراف عن الحارث: كُنْتُ عِنْدَ عَلِيٍّ، فَأَتَتْهُ امْرَأَتَانِ، فَقَالَتَا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّا فَقِيرَتَانِ مِسْكِينَتَانِ. فَقَالَ: قَدْ وَجَبَ حَقُّكُمَا عَلَيْنَا وَعَلَى كُلِّ ذِي سَعَةٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِنْ كُنْتُمَا صَادِقَتَيْنِ، ثُمَّ أَمَرَ رَجُلًا فَقَالَ: انْطَلِقْ بِهِمَا إِلَى سَوْقِنَا، فَاشْتَرِ لِكُلِّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنْهُمَا كُفْراً مِنْ طَعَامٍ وَثَلَاثَةَ أَثْوَابٍ - فَذَكَرَ رِداءً أَوْ خِمَاراً وَإِزاراً - وَأَعْطَى كُلَّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنْهُمَا مِنْ عَطَانِي مِئَةَ دِرْهمٍ.

فَلَمَّا وَلَّتَا، سَفَرَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا وَقَالَتْ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَضَّلَنِي بِمَا فَضَّلَكَ اللَّهُ بِهِ وَشَرَّفَكَ! قَالَ: وَيَإِذَا فَضَّلَنِي اللَّهُ وَشَرَّفَنِي؟ قَالَتْ: بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ. قَالَ: صَدَقْتَ، وَمَا أَنْتِ؟ قَالَتْ: أَنَا امْرَأَةٌ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ وَهَذِهِ مِنَ الْمَوَالِي. قَالَ: فَتَنَاوَلْ شَيْئاً مِنَ الْأَرْضِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: قَدْ قَرَأْتُ مَا بَيْنَ اللُّوْحَيْنِ فَمَا رَأَيْتُ لَوْلَدِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ عَلَى وَلَدِ إِسْحَاقَ فَضْلاً وَلَوْ جَنَاحَ بَعُوضَةٍ.^٣

١. إرشاد القلوب: ص 321، الدرجات الرفيعة: ص 289، بحار الأنوار: ج 28 ص 88 ح 3.

٢. الغارات: ج 1 ص 70 وراجع: الاختصاص: ص 151 والسنن الكبرى: ج 6 ص 567 ح 12990 وكنز العمال: ج 6 ص 610 ح 17095.

٣. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 376.

232. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to Hudhayfa ibn Yaman, his governor of Madā'in: "I command you to collect land taxes rightfully and equally; do not violate what I sent you for and do not be negligent of it, nor make any innovation in it. Then distribute it equally and fairly among those who are entitled to it."¹
233. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Abū Ishāq al-Hamadānī: "Two women came to 'Ali (a.s.) at the time of the distribution [of the wealth], one was Arab and the other non-Arab and he gave each one of them twenty five dirhams and a measurement of corn.

The Arab woman said, "O Commander of the Faithful! I am an Arab and she is a non-Arab."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "By God! I do not see any preference for the children of Ismā'il (Ishmael) over the children of Ishāq (Isaac) in this booty."²

234. *Ansab al-Ashraf* – narrating from Hārith: "I was with 'Ali (a.s.) when two women came to him and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful! We are poor and needy.'"

Ali (a.s.) said: "If you are truthful, your rights would be incumbent upon us and all the well-to-do Muslims."

Then he ordered a man to go along with them to the market and to buy for each one of them a measurement of corn, three pieces of clothes –dresses, scarves, and veils– and to give one hundred dirhams from his own grants to each one of them.

When they returned, one of them unveiled her face and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! Favor me by what God has favored and honored you."

He asked: "How has Allah favored and honored me?"

She said: "By the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "You are right, who are you?"

She said: "I am an Arab woman and this woman is a freed slave."

[Hārith said:] "He took something from the ground and then said: 'I have read what was between the two tablets (the Quran) and I did not find any virtue for the children of Ismā'il over the children of Ishāq, even by an insect's wing.'"³

1. *Irshād al-Qulūb*, p. 321, *al-Darajāt al-Rafī'a*, p. 289, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 28, p. 88, h.3.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 70, *al-Ikhtisās*, p. 151, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 567, h. 12990.

3. *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 376.

235. أنساب الأشراف عن مُصعب: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ يَقْسِمُ بَيْنَنَا كُلَّ شَيْءٍ، حَتَّى يَقْسِمَ الْعُطُورَ بَيْنَ نِسَائِنَا.^١

236. أنساب الأشراف عن الحارث: سَمِعْتُ عَلِيًّا يَقُولُ وَهُوَ يَخْطُبُ: قَدْ أَمَرْنَا لِنِسَاءِ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ بِوَرَسٍ وَإِبْر. قَالَ: فَأَمَّا الْإِبْرُ فَأَخَذَهَا مِنْ نَاسٍ مِنَ الْيَهُودِ يَمَّا عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ الْجَزِيَّةِ.^٢

237. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن فضالة بن عبد الملك عن كريمة بنت همام الطابية: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ يَقْسِمُ فِينَا الْوَرَسَ بِالْكَوْفَةِ. قَالَ فَضَالَةُ: حَمَلْنَاهُ عَلَى الْعَدْلِ مِنْهُ.^٣

238. المناقب لابن شهر آشوب عن حكيم بن أوس: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ ﷺ يَبْعَثُ إِلَيْنَا بِزِقَاقٍ^٤ الْعَسَلِ فَيَقْسِمُ فِينَا، ثُمَّ يَأْمُرُ أَنْ يَلْعَقُوهُ. وَأُتِيَ إِلَيْهِ بِأَحْمَالٍ فَابْكِيهِنَّ، فَأَمَرَ بِبَيْعِهَا، وَأَنْ يُطَرَّحَ ثَمَنُهَا فِي بَيْتِ الْمَالِ.^٥

239. تاريخ دمشق عن كليب: قَدِمَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ مَالٌ مِنْ أَصْبَهَانَ، فَقَسَمَهُ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَهْلِهِ، فَوَجَدَ فِيهِ رَغِيغًا، فَكَسَرَهُ عَلَى سَبْعَةٍ، وَجَعَلَ عَلَى كُلِّ قِسْمٍ مِنْهَا كِسْرَةً، ثُمَّ دَعَا أُمَّرَاءَ الْأَشْيَاعِ فَأَقْرَعَ بَيْنَهُمْ لِيَنْظُرَ أَيُّهُمْ يُعْطَى أَوَّلًا.^٦

١. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 374.

٢. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 374.

٣. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 547 ح 920، ذخائر العقبى: ص 191، الرياض النضرة: ج 3 ص 221 وفيها «الطابية» بدل «الطابية» والمناقب للكوفي: ج 2 ص 77 ح 559 عن كريمة بنت عفة وليس فيه ذبله.

٤. الزُّقَى: كُلُّ وَعَاءٍ اتَّخَذَ لِلشَّرَابِ وَغَيْرِهِ، وَجَمْعُ أَزْقَاقٍ، وَزُقَاقٍ، وَزُقَانٍ (تاج العروس: ج 13 ص 196).

٥. المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 111، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 117 ح 24.

٦. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 476، فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 545 ح 913، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 442، الفهارات: ج 1 ص 51، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 112 كلها نحوه وراجع: حلية الأولياء: ج 7 ص 300.

235. *Ansāb al-Ashraf* – narrating from Muṣ‘ab: “‘Ali (a.s.) distributed everything among us; he even distributed perfume among our wives.”¹
236. *Ansāb al-Ashraf* – narrating from Ḥārith: “I heard ‘Ali (a.s.) say in his sermon: ‘We ordered to give red garments and needles to the *Muhājirīn* women.’ [Ḥārith says:] “He had taken the needles as poll tax (*jizya*) from a group of Jews.”²
237. *Faḍa’il al-Ṣaḥāba* – narrating from Faḍāla ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, on the authority of Karīma, daughter of Humām al-Ṭābiya: “‘Ali (a.s.) distributed red garments among us in Kūfa.” Faḍāla said: “We construed it as justice from him (a.s.).”³
238. *Al-Manāqib* – narrating from Ḥakīm ibn Aws: “‘Ali (a.s.) would send [leather] containers of honey to us to be distributed among us. He would then order the containers to be licked (cleaned). Several times fruits were brought to him and he ordered them to be sold and the money deposited in the treasury.”⁴
239. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrating from Kulayb: “Some wealth was brought to ‘Ali (a.s.) from Isfahan. He divided it into seven portions and found some bread in it and he also divided that bread into seven parts and allocated each part to one of the portions. He then called the chiefs of the tribes and drew lots among them to decide who to receive his portion first.”⁵

1. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 374.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Faḍa’il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 547, ḥ. 920, *Dhakhā’ir al-Uqba*, p. 191, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍra*, vol. 3, p. 221.

4. *Manāqib ‘Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 111, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 117, ḥ. 24.

5. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 476, *Faḍa’il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 545, ḥ. 913.

240. الغارات عن كُليب الجرمي: كُنْتُ عِنْدَ عَلِيٍّ ﷺ فَبَجَّاهُ مَالًا مِنَ الْجَبَلِ، فَقَامَ وَقُمْنَا مَعَهُ، حَتَّى انْتَهَيْنَا إِلَى خَرَبَنْدَجْنَ^١ وَجَمَالَيْنَ، فَاجْتَمَعَ النَّاسُ إِلَيْهِ، حَتَّى ارْزَحَمُوا عَلَيْهِ، فَأَخَذَ جِبَالًا فَوَصَّلَهَا بِيَدِهِ وَعَقَّدَ بَعْضَهَا إِلَى بَعْضٍ، ثُمَّ أَدَارَهَا حَوْلَ الْمَتَاعِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: لَا أَجُلَّ لِأَخَذِ أَنْ يُجَاوِرَ هَذَا الْحَبْلَ. فَقَعَدْنَا مِنْ وَرَاءِ الْحَبْلِ. وَدَخَلَ عَلِيٌّ ﷺ فَقَالَ: أَيْنَ رُؤُوسُ الْأَسْبَاعِ؟ فَدَخَلُوا عَلَيْهِ، فَجَعَلُوا يَحْمِلُونَ هَذَا الْجَوَالِقَ إِلَى هَذَا الْجَوَالِقِ، وَهَذَا إِلَى هَذَا، حَتَّى قَسَمُوهُ سَبْعَةَ أَجْزَاءٍ. قَالَ: فَوَجَدَ مَعَ الْمَتَاعِ رَغِيفًا، فَكَسَرَهُ سَبْعَ كِسْرٍ، ثُمَّ وَضَعَ عَلَى كُلِّ جُزْءٍ كِسْرَةً، ثُمَّ قَالَ:

هَذَا جَنَائِي وَخِيَارُهُ فِيهِ إِذْ كُلُّ جَانٍ يَدُهُ إِلَى فِيهِ

قَالَ: ثُمَّ أَقْرَعَ عَلَيْهَا، فَجَعَلَ كُلُّ رَجُلٍ يَدْعُو قَوْمَهُ، فَيَحْمِلُونَ الْجَوَالِقَ.^٢

241. مروج الذهب: اِنْتَرَعَ عَلِيٌّ أَمْلَاكَاً كَانَ عَثْمَانُ أَقْطَعَهَا جَمَاعَةً مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، وَقَسَمَ مَا فِي بَيْتِ الْمَالِ عَلَى النَّاسِ، وَلَمْ يُفْضَلْ أَحَدًا عَلَى أَحَدٍ.^٣

242. مروج الذهب - في ذكر حرب الجمل -: قَبَضَ [عَلِيٌّ ﷺ] مَا كَانَ فِي مُعَسَّكَرِهِمْ مِنْ سِلَاحٍ وَدَابَّةٍ وَمَتَاعٍ وَآلَةٍ وَغَيْرِ ذَلِكَ قِبَاعَهُ، وَقَسَمَهُ بَيْنَ أَصْحَابِهِ، وَأَخَذَ لِنَفْسِهِ كَمَا أَخَذَ لِكُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِّنْ مَّعَهُ مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ وَأَهْلِيهِ وَوُلْدِهِ؛ خَمْسَمِئَةٍ دِرْهَمٍ. فَأَنَاءَهُ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنِّي لَمْ أَخُذْ شَيْئًا، وَخَلَّفَنِي عَنِ الْحُضُورِ كَذَا - وَأَدْلَى بِعُنْدِي - فَأَعْطَاهُ الْخَمْسَمِئَةَ الَّتِي كَانَتْ لَهُ.^٤

١. كذا في المصدر، وفي هامشه: والظاهر - والله العالم - أنَّ العبارة كانت هكذا «خر بنده جن وجمالين»، و«خر بنده جن» كلمة فارسية مركبة من كلمتي «خر» و«بنده» ومعناها: صاحب الخمار ومؤجره ومكربه، وكلمة «جن» في آخرها علامة الجمع الفارسي «مَعْرَب» «گان» بالكاف الفارسية، و«خر بنده جن» معربة من «خر بندگان».

٢. الغارات: ج ١ ص 52، بحار الأنوار: ج 100 ص 60 ح 10.

٣. مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 362.

٤. مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 380 وراجع: شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 1 ص 250.

240. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Kulayb al-Jarmī: “I was with ‘Ali (a.s.) when some wealth was brought to him from the mountains. He stood up and we rose along with him too, and went toward the donkey-keepers and camel-drivers. People crowded around him. Then he took some pieces of rope, tied them together and made a fence around the wealth and said: “I shall not let anyone pass through this rope.”

We sat behind the rope and ‘Ali (a.s.) walked over the rope and said: “Where are the chiefs of the seven tribes?”

They went to him and began to move the saddlebags here and there until they divided them into seven portions.”

Kulayb said: “He [‘Ali (a.s.)] found some bread among the goods and he divided it into seven parts, then placed a piece of bread on each portion and said:

‘This is my harvest and the best of it is in it;

Yet, every harvester puts it with his own hand in his own mouth.’

Kulayb said, “Then he drew lots on the portions and the chiefs of each tribe called their tribesmen to carry away the saddlebags.”¹

241. *Murūj al-Dhahab*: “He took back the properties that ‘Uthmān had granted to a group of Muslims and distributed what was in the treasury, without favoring anyone over anyone else.”²

242. *Murūj al-Dhahab* – from the report on the battle of Jamal: “‘Ali (a.s.) took hold of what was [left] in the battlefield of the enemy such as arms, animals, wealth, etc., and he sold them and distributed the money among his companions (those present in his army), taking for himself as much as his other companions, household and children which was five hundred dirhams.

Then a man from among his companions came to him and said: “O Commander of the Faithful! I did not get anything because I was not present for such and such reason.” And he gave his excuse for not being present and ‘Ali (a.s.) gave his own five hundred dirhams to him.”³

1. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 52, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 100, p. 60, h. 10.

2. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 362.

3. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 380. Also cf., *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 250.

243. الجمل: ثُمَّ نَزَلَ [بَعْدَ وَقْعَةِ الْجَمَلِ]، وَاسْتَدْعَى جَمَاعَةً مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ، فَمَشَوْا مَعَهُ حَتَّى دَخَلَ بَيْتَ الْمَالِ، وَأَرْسَلَ إِلَى الْقُرَاءِ فَدَعَاهُمْ، وَدَعَا الْحِزَانَ، وَأَمَرَهُمْ بِفَتْحِ الْأَبْوَابِ الَّتِي دَاخِلُهَا الْمَالُ، فَلَمَّا رَأَى كَثْرَةَ الْمَالِ قَالَ:

هَذَا جَنَائِي وَخِيَارُهُ فِيهِ

ثُمَّ قَسَمَ الْمَالَ بَيْنَ أَصْحَابِهِ، فَأَصَابَ كُلَّ رَجُلٍ مِنْهُمْ سِتَّةَ آلَافٍ دِرْهَمٍ، وَكَانَ أَصْحَابُهُ اثْنِي عَشَرَ أَلْفًا، وَأَخَذَ هُوَ كَأَحَدِهِمْ. فَبَيْنَا هُمْ عَلَى تِلْكَ الْحَالَةِ إِذْ أَنَاءَ آتٍ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّ اسْمِي سَقَطَ مِنْ كِتَابِكَ، وَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِنَ الْبَلَاءِ مَا رَأَيْتُ! فَدَفَعَ سَهْمَهُ إِلَى ذَلِكَ الرَّجُلِ.^١

244. الغارات عن المغيرة الضبي: كَانَ أَشْرَافُ أَهْلِ الْكُوفَةِ غَاشِينَ لِغَيْلٍ، وَكَانَ هَوَاهُمْ مَعَ مُعَاوِيَةَ؛ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا كَانَ لَا يُعْطِي أَحَدًا مِنَ الْفَيِّ أَكْثَرَ مِنْ حَقِّهِ، وَكَانَ مُعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ جَعَلَ الشَّرَفَ فِي الْعَطَاءِ الْفَيِّ دِرْهَمٍ.^٢

245. عنه: - فِي قَوْمٍ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ لَحِقُوا بِمُعَاوِيَةَ -: قَدْ عَرَفُوا الْعَدْلَ وَرَأَوْهُ وَسَمِعُوهُ وَوَعَوْهُ، وَعَلِمُوا أَنَّ النَّاسَ عِنْدَنَا فِي الْحَقِّ أَسْوَدَ، فَهَرَبُوا إِلَى الْأَثَرَةِ، فَبُعِدُوا هُمْ وَشُحْقًا.^٣
 راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ص 481 (إقامة العدل).

١. الجمل: ص 400 وراجع: شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 1 ص 250.

٢. الغارات: ج 1 ص 44.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 70، نصوص الأئمة: ص 113 وفيه من «وعلموا...»، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 521 ح 714؛ أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 386 وفيه من «وعلموا...».

243. *al-Jamal*: [After the Battle of Jamal] 'Ali (a.s.) dismounted and summoned a group of his companions. They accompanied him to the treasury and entered it. He then sent for the Qur'ān reciters and called them in; he also summoned the treasurers and commanded them to open the doors behind which the assets were kept. When he saw the abundance of wealth, he said:

"This is my harvest, and the best of it."

Then he distributed the wealth among his companions, who consisted of twelve thousand people, giving six thousand dirhams to each one of them. He took for himself the same amount as others. At this time, a man came in and said "O Commander of the Faithful! My name has been left out of your registers and I have faced a lot of problems." 'Ali (a.s.) gave his own share to that man.¹

244. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from al-Mughayra al-Dabbī: "The nobles of Kūfa were dishonest to 'Ali (a.s.) and were inclined towards Mu'āwiya, as 'Ali (a.s.) did not grant anybody beyond their rights from the spoils. However, Mu'āwiya Ibn Abi Sufyān had allotted two thousand dirhams to each one of the chiefs."²
245. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – regarding a group of people in Madina who joined Mu'āwiya: "They have known justice, seen it, heard it and appreciated it. They have realized that according to us all people are equal in rights, but they ran away to selfishness and partiality. Let them be far away (from God's Mercy)."³

See 6/1 (Social Policies: Establishing Justice).

1. *al-Jamal*, p. 400.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 44.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 70, *Khaṣā'is al-A'imma*, p. 113, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 521, ḥ. 714.

An Explanation on the Method of Distribution of Public Revenue in Early Islam

The term "Public Treasury" in the *ḥadīth* texts is a general term for the public income of the Muslims that is left to the Islamic state to be spent. A comprehensive study of *ḥadīth* (narrations) reveals that there are two categories of expenditure for the public treasury: the specific and the general.

1. Specific Expenditure

This category includes a series of public expenditure that has specific titles, such as: providing for the poor, the needy, the disabled and the families of martyrs; providing salaries for judges and troops; education and health care; the prisoners expenditures; [discharging the] debts of the [desperate] debtors; [discharging] blood money (*diya*) for the murdered who had no personal perpetrators; the developing and building of cities, etc.

2. General Expenditure

In early Islam, after providing for the specific expenditure, the surplus of public treasury was distributed among the Muslims. In *ḥadīth* texts, this type of expenditure is referred to as the people's general right in the public treasury.

The ideal distribution of the public treasury from an Islamic viewpoint relies on two fundamental features: 1) Observing justice and fairness in distribution, 2) Not locking up any public assets.

1. *Observing justice in distribution*: Economic justice in the distribution of public facilities in Islam, incorporates two main criteria: giving priority to social welfare and fulfilling the needs of the underprivileged and vulnerable strata and increasing their welfare; observing justice regarding equal entitlements.

The clearest instance of these two criteria is seen in Imām 'Alī's (a.s.) distribution policies. In his letters to his governors, he would

always assert the allocation of part of treasury resources to the underprivileged and the low-income class. His strong emphasis on canceling undue and ambiguous privileges and granting equal rights to relatives and non-relatives, Arabs and non-Arabs, men and women, the famous and the unknown has displayed a brilliant image of human justice to those searching for justice in the world.

2. *Not locking up public assets*: Hastening in spending (*infāq*) and the avoidance of locking up public assets are among the basic characteristics of economic policies in Islam. Despite its emphasis on the necessity of moderation and even planning and precautions in spending, Islam has strongly condemned the locking up of the public property and stressed on speed in disbursement.

Considering the two above features, the ideal practice of spending from the public treasury can be stated as follows: Whenever part of the (state's) incomes is dedicated through certain planning to a particular purpose in a way that both the income and the expense are immediate, delay in spending in such cases is regarded as 'storing' and 'parsimony', and that is what the *ḥadīths* concerning the 'avoidance of accumulating public property' refer to.

The holy Prophet's (ṣ.a.w.) concern for observing this principle was so great that when even a small amount of the property that was supposed to be handed over to those who were entitled to it, remained in his hand, he would become very sorrowful. In the time of 'Umar, when there had been an unprecedented increase in public incomes, the government proceeded to establish public treasury and to set up state council. The public incomes were collected and stored all year round then finally distributed among Muslims at the end of the year.

Rejecting this policy, Imām 'Alī (a.s.) took up the Prophet's (ṣ.a.w.) procedure in this respect after he took reign over the government. His avoidance of delaying the distribution of the public treasury, even for a single night, and his emphasis on distributing what existed in the public treasury and even the dividing of a rope into seven portions indicates his great concern for refraining from piling up public property.

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تَوْفِيرُ الْحَاجَاتِ الصَّرَافَةِ لِلْجَمِيعِ

246. الإمام علي عليه السلام: إِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ قَرَضَ فِي أَمْوَالِ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ أَقْرَاتَ الْفُقَرَاءِ، فَمَا جَاعَ فَقِيرٌ إِلَّا بِمَا مُنَّعَ بِهِ غَنِيٌّ؛ وَاللَّهُ تَعَالَى سَائِلُهُمْ عَنْ ذَلِكَ.^١

247. عنه عليه السلام: إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَرَضَ عَلَى الْأَغْنِيَاءِ فِي أَمْوَالِهِمْ بِقَدْرِ مَا يَكْفِي فَقَرَاءَهُمْ؛ فَإِنْ جَاعُوا وَعَزَّوْا جَهْدُوا فِي مَنَعَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ؛ فَحَقُّ عَلَى اللَّهِ أَنْ يُحَاسِبَهُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَيُعَذِّبَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ.^٢

248. عنه عليه السلام: مَا أَصْبَحَ بِالكُوفَةِ أَحَدٌ إِلَّا نَاعِيًا؛ إِنَّ أَدْنَاهُمْ مَنَزِلَةٌ لَيَأْكُلُ مِنَ الْبُرِّ وَيَجْلِسُ فِي الظِّلِّ وَيَشْرَبُ مِنْ مَاءِ الْفُرَاتِ.^٣

249. تهذيب الأحكام عن محمد بن أبي حمزة عن رجل بلغ به أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام: مَرَّ شَيْخٌ مَكْنُوفٌ كَبِيرٌ يَسْأَلُ، فَقَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عليه السلام: مَا هَذَا؟ فَقَالُوا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، نَصْرَانِيٌّ! قَالَ: فَقَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عليه السلام: اسْتَعْمَلْتُمُوهُ، حَتَّى إِذَا كَبِرَ وَعَجَزَ مَنَعْتُمُوهُ؟! أَنْفَقُوا عَلَيْهِ مِنْ بَيْتِ الْمَالِ.^٤

١. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 328، روضة الراعظين: ص 497 نحوه، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 152 ح 13343 بتأنيع الورقة: ج 2 ص 249 ح 699 وفيها «منع» بدل «منع به».

٢. السنن الكبرى: ج 7 ص 37 ح 13206 عن محمد بن علي، كثر العمال: ج 6 ص 528 ح 16840.

٣. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 531 ح 883، المصنف لابن أبي شيبة: ج 8 ص 157 ح 15 كلاًهما عن عبد الله بن سفيان، كثر العمال: ج 14 ص 172 ح 38276 نقلاً عن هنادي الناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 99، بحار الأنوار: ج 40 ص 327.

٤. مهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 293 ح 811.

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Fulfillment of Basic Needs for All

246. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "God the Glorified has fixed the livelihood of the destitute in the wealth of the rich. Consequently, whenever a poor person remains hungry it is because a rich person has denied (him his share) and God Almighty will question them about it."¹
247. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "God has fixed in the wealth of the rich what is enough to suffice the poor. If the poor remain hungry and clotheless, attempts must be made to restrain the rich. It is a right upon God to judge the rich on the Day of Resurrection and punish them for this [negligence]."²
248. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "There is no one in Kūfa who does not have a good welfare. The lowest among them in rank has wheat bread, sits in the shade and drinks from the Euphrates."³
249. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* – narrating from Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥamza on the authority of a man who was met by 'Ali (a.s.): "An old blind person who was begging passed by and the Commander of the Faithful asked: "Who is that man?" They said: "O Commander of the Faithful! He is a Christian."

[The narrator says] "The Commander of the Faithful said: "You exploited him until he grew old and disabled, and then you deprive him? Spend on him from the Public Treasury."⁴

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 328, *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn*, p. 497, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 152, ḥ. 3343.

2. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 7, p. 37, ḥ. 13206, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 6, p. 528, ḥ. 16840.

3. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 531, ḥ. 883, *al-Muṣannif fī al-Aḥādīth wa al-Āthār*, vol. 8, p. 157, ḥ. 15.

4. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 293, ḥ. 811.

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حِجَاةُ الطَّبَقَةِ السُّفْلَى

250. الإمام عليؑ - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى قُتَيْبِ بْنِ الْعَبَّاسِ -: وَانْظُرْ إِلَى مَا اجْتَمَعَ عِنْدَكَ مِنْ مَالِ اللَّهِ فَاصْرِفْهُ إِلَى مَنْ قَبْلَكَ مِنْ ذَوِي الْعِيَالِ وَالْمَجَاعَةِ، مُصِيباً بِهِ مَوَاضِعَ الْفَاقَةِ وَالْحَلَاتِ^١، وَمَا فَضَّلَ عَنْ ذَلِكَ فَاحْمِلْهُ إِلَيْنَا لِنَقْسِمَهُ فِيمَنْ قَبْلَنَا.^٢

251. عنهؑ - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: ثُمَّ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ فِي الطَّبَقَةِ السُّفْلَى مِنَ الَّذِينَ لَا حِيلَةَ لَهُمْ، مِنَ الْمَسَاكِينِ وَالْمُحْتَاجِينَ وَأَهْلِ الْبُؤْسِ وَالزَّمْنِ^٣؛ فَإِنْ فِي هَذِهِ الطَّبَقَةِ قَانِعاً وَمُعْتِزاً^٤، وَاحْفَظْ لِلَّهِ مَا اسْتَحْفَظَكَ مِنْ حَقِّهِ فِيهِمْ، وَاجْعَلْ لَهُمْ قِسْماً مِنْ بَيْتِ مَالِكَ، وَقِسْماً مِنْ غَلَّتِ صَوَافِي^٥ الْإِسْلَامِ فِي كُلِّ بَلَدٍ، فَإِنَّ لِلْأَقْصَى مِنْهُمْ مِثْلَ الَّذِي لِلْأَدْنَى، وَكُلُّ قَدٍ اسْتُرِعِيَ حَقُّهُ، فَلَا يَسْغَلَنَّكَ عَنْهُمْ بَطَرٌ، فَإِنَّكَ لَا تُعْذَرُ بِتَضْيِيعِكَ النَّافَةِ لِأَحْكَامِكَ الْكَثِيرِ الْمُهِمِّ، فَلَا تُشْخِصْ هَمَّكَ عَنْهُمْ، وَلَا تُصْعِرْ خَدَّكَ لَهُمْ.

وَتَقَفَّدْ أُمُورَ مَنْ لَا يَصِلُ إِلَيْكَ مِنْهُمْ يَمِّنَ تَفْتَحُهُ الْعُيُونُ، وَتَحْفِرُهُ الرِّجَالُ، فَفَرِّغْ لِأَوْلِيكَ يَقْتَتَكَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْحَشِيَّةِ وَالتَّوَاضُعِ. فَلْيَرْفَعْ إِلَيْكَ أُمُورَهُمْ، ثُمَّ اْعْمَلْ فِيهِمْ بِالْإِعْذَارِ إِلَى اللَّهِ يَوْمَ تَلْقَاهُ، فَإِنَّ هَؤُلَاءِ مِنْ بَيْنِ الرَّعِيَّةِ أَحْوَجُ إِلَى الْإِنْصَافِ مِنْ غَيْرِهِمْ، وَكُلُّ فَاعِذِرٍ إِلَى اللَّهِ فِي تَأْدِيَةِ حَقِّهِ إِلَيْهِ.

١. جُمِعَ خَلْفَةُ: الْحَاجَةُ وَالْفَقْرُ (راجع: النهاية: ج 2 ص 72).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 67، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 497 ح 702.

٣. جُمِعَ زَمِينٌ: وَرَجُلٌ زَمِينٌ وَزَمِينٌ: أَيُ مُبْتَلًى بَيْنَ الزَّمَانَةِ. وَالزَّمَانَةُ: الْعَاقَةُ (راجع: لسان العرب: ج 13 ص 199).

٤. الْمُعْتَزُّ: هُوَ الَّذِي يَتَعَرَّضُ لِلسُّؤَالِ مِنْ غَيْرِ طَلَبٍ (النهاية: ج 3 ص 205).

٥. الصَّوَاوِي: الْأَمْلاكُ وَالْأَرْضُ الَّتِي جَلَا عَنْهَا أَهْلُهَا أَوْ مَاتُوا وَلَا وَارَثَ لَهَا، وَاحِدَتُهَا صَافِيَةٌ (لسان العرب: ج 14 ص 463).

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Supporting Lowest Class

250. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to Qutham ibn 'Abbās: “See into what has been collected with you of the funds of God (in the public treasury) and spend it on those around you from among the people with families, distressed, the starving and the empty-handed. Send the remaining to us for distribution among those who are next to us (throughout the state).”¹
251. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: “Then (fear) God, (fear) God regarding the lowest class, the wretched, the needy, those suffering and the disabled who have no means at their disposal, for in this class there is he who begs and he who is needy (but does not beg). Be heedful for God’s sake of those rights of theirs, which He has entrusted to you. Set aside for them a share of your treasury and a share from the crops of the lands taken over as booty for Islam in every area, for to the farthest away of them belongs the equivalent of what belongs to the nearest. You are bound to observe the right of each of them; therefore be not distracted from them by arrogance, for you will not be excused, if attending to the important affairs, you neglect the small matter and trifling. So avert not your solicitude from them and turn not your face away from them in contempt.”

“Attend to the affairs of those (of the lowest class) who are unable to gain access to you, those upon whom eyes disdain to gaze and whom men regard with scorn. Appoint to attend exclusively to them a person whom you trust from among the God-fearing and humble and let him submit to you their affairs (demands). Then act towards them in a manner that will absolve you before Allah on the day that you meet Him. For among the subjects these are more in need of equity than others; in the case of each of them prepare your excuse with Allah by accomplishing for him his rightful due.”

1. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 67, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 497, ḥ. 702.

وَتَعَهَّدَ أَهْلَ الْيُتِّمْ وَذَوِي الرَّقَّةِ فِي السَّنِ يَمِّنَ لَا حِيلَةَ لَهُ، وَلَا يَنْصِبُ لِلْمَسْأَلَةِ نَفْسَهُ. وَذَلِكَ عَلَى الْوَلَاةِ ثَقِيلٌ، وَالْحَقُّ كُلُّهُ ثَقِيلٌ.^١

252. عنه عليه السلام - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ (فِي رَوَايَةِ مُحْفِ الْعُقُولِ) :- وَتَعَهَّدَ أَهْلَ الْيُتِّمْ وَالزَّمَانَةِ وَالرَّقَّةِ فِي السَّنِ يَمِّنَ لَا حِيلَةَ لَهُ، وَلَا يَنْصِبُ لِلْمَسْأَلَةِ نَفْسَهُ؛ فَأَجْرُ هُمْ أَرْزَاقًا، فَإِنَّهُمْ عِبَادُ اللَّهِ، فَتَقَرَّبَ إِلَى اللَّهِ بِتَخَلُّصِهِمْ وَوَضْعِهِمْ مَوَاضِعَهُمْ فِي أَقْوَاتِهِمْ وَحُقُوقِهِمْ، فَإِنَّ الْأَعْمَالَ تَخْلُصُ بِصِدْقِ النِّيَّاتِ. ثُمَّ إِنَّهُ لَا تَسْكُنُ نُفُوسُ النَّاسِ أَوْ بَعْضُهُمْ إِلَى أَنَّكَ قَدْ قَضَيْتَ حُقُوقَهُمْ بِظَهْرِ الْغَيْبِ دُونَ مُشَافَهَتِكَ بِالْحَاجَاتِ، وَذَلِكَ عَلَى الْوَلَاةِ ثَقِيلٌ، وَالْحَقُّ كُلُّهُ ثَقِيلٌ، وَقَدْ يُخَفِّفُهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى أَقْوَامٍ طَلَبُوا الْعَاقِبَةَ فَصَبَرُوا نُفُوسَهُمْ، وَوَقَّعُوا بِصِدْقِ مَوْعِدِ اللَّهِ لِمَنْ صَبَرَ وَاحْتَسَبَ، فَكُنْ مِنْهُمْ وَاسْتَعِنْ بِاللَّهِ.^٢

253. عنه عليه السلام - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ، وَهُوَ فِي بَيَانِ طَبَقَاتِ النَّاسِ :- إَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الرِّعِيَّةَ طَبَقَاتٌ... ثُمَّ الطَّبَقَةُ السُّفْلَى مِنْ أَهْلِ الْحَاجَةِ وَالْمَسْكِنَةِ الَّذِينَ يَحْتَاجُونَ رِفْدَهُمْ وَمَعُونَتَهُمْ. وَفِي اللَّهِ لِكُلِّ سَعَةٍ، وَلِكُلِّ عَلَى الْوَالِي حَقٌّ بِقَدْرِ مَا يُصْلِحُهُ.^٣

254. عنه عليه السلام - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى بَعْضِ عُمَّالِهِ، وَقَدْ بَعَثَهُ عَلَى الصَّدَقَةِ :- إِنَّ لَكَ فِي هَذِهِ الصَّدَقَةِ نَصِيباً مَفْرُوضاً، وَحَقّاً مَعْلوماً، وَشُرَكَاءَ أَهْلِ مَسْكِنَةٍ، وَضَعْفَاءَ ذَوِي فَاقَةٍ، وَإِنَّا مُؤَفِّوُكَ حَقِّكَ، فَوَفِّهِمْ حُقُوقَهُمْ، وَإِلَّا تَفْعَلْ فَإِنَّكَ مِنْ أَكْثَرِ النَّاسِ خُصُوماً يَوْمَ

١. يقال: وقت عظام فلان إذا كبر وأسن (لسان العرب: ج 10 ص 122).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53 وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 366.

٣. تحف العقول: ص 141.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 132 وفيه «في في» الله بدل «في في» الله وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1

"Take upon yourself the upkeep of the orphans and aged from among those who have no means at their disposal and do not exert themselves in begging. (All of) This is a heavy burden upon rulers. The truth, all of it, is a heavy burden."¹

252. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar (as related in *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*): "Take upon yourself the upkeep of the orphans and aged from among those who have no means at their disposal and do not exert themselves in begging. Arrange pensions for them. They are the servants of God. Seek God's favor through relieving them [from their plights] and keeping them in their proper positions in provisions and rights, since deeds are regarded sincere when they are well intended. The people, or some of them, will not be tranquil even if you settle their needs and fulfill their rights in your absence, without attending to their problems physically present. This is a heavy burden upon the rulers. The truth, all of it, is a heavy burden. God lightens it for those who seek the next world and endure [hardships] upon themselves and trust in the truthfulness of God's promise to those who endure [hardships] and are sincere. So be one of them and seek God's help."²
253. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar on various classes of people: "Know that subjects are of various classes. Then there is the lowest class from among the needy and deprived who have the right to aid and assistance. With God there is ampleness for each [of these classes] and each has a claim upon the ruler to the extent that he will set them aright."³
254. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to one of his administrators sent for collecting taxes: "Indeed you have a fixed share and a known right in these taxes and there are other sharers who are poor, weak and starving. We shall fully discharge your rights, so you should also discharge their rights fully. If you do not do so, you will have the largest number of enemies on the Day of

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53. Also cf., *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 366.

2. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 141.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 132. Also cf., *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol.1, p. 357.

الْقِيَامَةِ، وَبُؤْسِي لِمَنْ خَصَّمَهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْفُقَرَاءُ وَالْمَسَاكِينُ، وَالسَّائِلُونَ، وَالْمَدْفُوعُونَ،
وَالْغَارِمُونَ، وَابْنُ السَّبِيلِ!¹

255. دعائم الإسلام: إِنَّهُ [عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ] أَوْصَى مَخْتَفَ بَنِ سُلَيْمِ الْأَزْدِيِّ - وَقَدْ بَعَثَهُ عَلَى الصَّدَقَةِ - بِوَصِيَّةٍ طَوِيلَةٍ أَمَرَهُ فِيهَا بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ رَبِّهِ، فِي سَرَائِرِ أُمُورِهِ وَخَفِيَّاتِ أَعْمَالِهِ، وَأَنْ يَلْقَاهُمْ بِسَطِّ الْوَجْهِ، وَلِينِ الْجَانِبِ، وَأَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَلْزِمَ التَّوَاضُّعَ، وَيَجْتَنِبَ التَّكَبُّرَ؛ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَرْفَعُ الْمُتَوَاضِعِينَ وَيَضَعُ الْمُتَكَبِّرِينَ. ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُ: يَا مَخْتَفَ بَنِ سُلَيْمِ، إِنَّ لَكَ فِي هَذِهِ الصَّدَقَةِ نَصِيباً وَحَقّاً مَفْرُوضاً، وَلَكَ فِيهِ شُرَكَاءُ: فَقَرَاءٌ، وَمَسَاكِينٌ، وَغَارِمِينَ، وَمُجَاهِدِينَ، وَأَبْنَاءَ سَبِيلٍ، وَمَعْلُوكِينَ، وَمُتَأَلِّفِينَ، وَإِنَّا مُوَفِّوكَ حَقَّكَ، فَوْقَهُمْ حُقُوقَهُمْ، وَإِلَّا فَإِنَّكَ مِنْ أَكْثَرِ النَّاسِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ خُصَمَاءً، وَبُؤْساً لِمَنْ يَكُونُ خَصْمُهُ مِثْلَ هَؤُلَاءِ!²

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الْعُنَايَةُ الْخَاصَّةُ بِالْإِيَّامِ

256. الكافي عن حبيب بن أبي ثابت: جَاءَ إِلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَسَلٌ وَتَيْنٌ مِنْ هَمْدَانَ³ وَحُلُوانَ⁴، فَأَمَرَ الْعُرَفَاءَ أَنْ يَأْتُوا بِالْيَتَامَى، فَأَمَكَّنَهُمْ مِنْ رُؤُوسِ الْأَزْقَاقِ⁵ يَلْعَقُونَهَا

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 26.

٢. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 252، بحار الأنوار: ج 96 ص 85 ح 7.

٣. هَمْدَانَ: مدينة تقع في غرب إيران، وهي مركز محافظة همدان، قرية من مدينة كرمانشاه.

٤. حُلُوان: مدينة عامرة ليس بأرض العراق بعد الكوفة والبصرة وواسط وبغداد وسر من رأى أكبر منها، وهي بقرب الجبل، وليس للعراق مدينة بقرب الجبل غيرها (معجم البلدان: ج 2 ص 291).

٥. جمع غريب: وهو الفئيم بأموال القبيلة أو الجماعة من الناس يلي أمورهم ويتعرف الأمير منه أحوالهم (النهاية: ج 3 ص 218).

٦. الرِّقَى: الشفاء يُنْقَلُ فِيهِ الْمَاءُ، أَوْ جِلْدٌ يُجَزَّ شَعْرُهُ وَلَا يُنْتَفَخُ الْأَدِيمُ. وقيل: الرِّقَى من الأُكْب: كل وعاء أُتِجِدَ لِلشَّرَابِ وغيره. والجمع أَرْقَاقٌ وَرَقَاقٌ وَرَقَانٌ (تاج العروس: ج 13 ص 196).

Judgment. How wretched is he whose enemies in the view of God are the needy, the poor, the beggars, the turned away, the indebted and the helpless traveler [who is without any means].”¹

255. *Da‘a‘im al-Islām*: “He [‘Ali] (a.s.) gave lengthy instructions to Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym al-Azdī –whom he had sent to collect taxes – in which he enjoined him to be wary of God who is his Lord in hidden affairs and secret actions and to meet people cheerfully and gently. He enjoined him to commit himself to humbleness and to avoid arrogance, as God elevates the humble and debases the arrogant.”

“Then he told Mikhnaf, ‘O Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym! Indeed you have a fixed share and a known right in these taxes and you have other sharers in them who are the poor, the destitute, the indebted, warriors, travelers (with no money), the slaves and those whose hearts are to be reconciled. We shall fully discharge your rights so you should also discharge their rights fully. If you do not do so, you will have the largest number of enemies on the Day of Judgment. How wretched is a man whose enemies are such people!”²

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Special Concern for the Orphans

256. *al-Kāfi* – narrating from Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit: “Honey and figs were brought for the Commander of the Faithful from Hamadān and Hulwān,³ and he ordered the authorities of the tribes to bring along the orphans. He seated them next to the [leather] containers of honey to eat from them while he distributed it among the people, container by container.”

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 26.

2. *Da‘a‘im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 252, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 96, p. 85, ḥ. 7.

3. An ancient city in Persia that the Arabs conquered in 660 CE and the Seljuqs set it on fire in 1046 CE, and it was destroyed by earthquake in 1149 CE.

وَهُوَ يَقْسِمُهَا لِلنَّاسِ قَدْحًا قَدْحًا، فَقِيلَ لَهُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، مَا هُمْ يَلْعَقُونَهَا؟ فَقَالَ:
إِنَّ الْإِمَامَ أَبُو الْيَتَامَى، وَإِنَّمَا أَلْعَقْتُهُمْ هَذَا بِرِيعَةِ الْآبَاءِ.^١

257. ربيع الأبرار عن أبي الطفيل: رَأَيْتُ عَلِيًّا - كَرَّمَ اللَّهُ وَجْهَهُ - يَدْعُو الْيَتَامَى فَيُطْعِمُهُمُ
الْعَسَلَ، حَتَّى قَالَ بَعْضُ أَصْحَابِهِ: لَوْ دِدْتُ أَنِّي كُنْتُ يَتِيمًا.^٢

258. أنساب الأشراف عن الحكم: شَهِدْتُ عَلِيًّا وَأَيَّ بَزْقَاقٍ مِنْ عَسَلٍ، فَدَعَا الْيَتَامَى وَقَالَ:
دَبُّوا^٣ وَالْعَقْوَا، حَتَّى تَمَيُّتُ أَنِّي يَتِيمٌ، فَقَسَمَهُ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ وَبَقِيَ مِنْهُ زَقٌّ،^٤ فَأَمَرَ أَنْ يُسْقَاهُ
أَهْلَ الْمَسْجِدِ.^٥

259. المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: نَظَرَ عَلِيٌّ إِلَى امْرَأَةٍ عَلَى كَيْفِهَا قَرْبَةُ مَاءٍ، فَأَخَذَ مِنْهَا الْقِرْبَةَ
فَحَمَلَهَا إِلَى مَوْضِعِهَا، وَسَلَّاهَا عَنْ حَالِهَا فَقَالَتْ: بَعَثَ عَلِيٌّ بَنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ صَاحِبِي
إِلَى بَعْضِ الثُّغُورِ فَقُتِلَ، وَتَرَكَ عَلِيٌّ صَبِيانًا يَتَامَى وَلَيْسَ عِنْدِي شَيْءٌ، فَقَدْ أَجْتَأَنِي
الضَّرُورَةُ إِلَى خِدْمَةِ النَّاسِ. فَانصَرَفَ وَبَاتَ لَيْلَتُهُ قَلِقًا.

فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحَ حَمَلَ زَنْبِيلاً فِيهِ طَعَامٌ، فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: أَعْطِنِي أَحِمْلُهُ عَنْكَ. فَقَالَ: مَنْ
يَحْمِلُ وَزْرِي عَنِّي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ! فَأَتَى وَقَرَعَ الْبَابَ، فَقَالَتْ: مَنْ هَذَا؟ قَالَ: أَنَا ذَلِكَ
الْعَبْدُ الَّذِي حَمَلَ مَعَكَ الْقِرْبَةَ، فَافْتَحِي فَإِنَّ مَعِيَ شَيْئًا لِلصُّبَّانِ. فَقَالَتْ: رَضِيَ اللَّهُ
عَنْكَ وَحَكَمَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ عَلِيٍّ بَنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! فَدَخَلَ وَقَالَ: إِنِّي أَحْبَبْتُ اكْتِسَابَ

١. الكافي: ج 1 ص 406 ح 5، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 123 ح 30.

٢. ربيع الأبرار: ج 2 ص 148، المعيار والموازنة: ص 251 نحوه، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 75.

٣. الديب: حركة على الأرض أخف من المشي (معجم مقاييس اللغة: ج 2 ص 263).

٤. في المصدر: «زقاً»، وهو تصحيف.

٥. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 373.

They asked him: "O Commander of the Faithful! Why do they lick the honey?"

He said: "The Imām is a father to the orphans, and as their father I made them eat honey."¹

257. *Rabī' al-Abrār* – narrating from Abū Ṭufayl: "I saw 'Ali (a.s.) calling orphans and giving them honey to eat, to the extent that one of the companions said: "I wish I were an orphan too!"²

258. *Ansāb al-Ashraf* – narrating from al-Ḥakam: "I saw 'Ali (a.s.) to whom several containers of honey were brought and he called the orphans and said: "Come here and eat!" to the extent that I wished I had been an orphan. Then he distributed the honey among people and one container was left and he ordered it to be given to the people of the mosque."³

259. *Al-Manāqib*: "'Ali (a.s.) saw a woman carrying a container of water on her shoulder. He took the container from her and carried it to her house and he asked about her situation. The woman said: "Ali ibn Abī Ṭalib sent my husband to a frontier region and he was killed and he left behind orphaned children to me. I have no wealth and I have to serve people as a housemaid."

'Ali (a.s.) returned and was distressed throughout the whole night. When the morning dawned, he took a basket of food on his back. Some people said: "Let us carry it for you."

He said: "Who will carry my sins for me on the day of Resurrection?"

Then he went to her house and knocked at the door.

The woman asked: "Who are you?"

'Ali (a.s.) replied: "The one who carried your water container for you yesterday. Open the door; I have brought some food for your children."

The woman said: "May God be pleased with you and judge between me and 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭalib."

He then entered the house and said: "I would like to earn some rewards; so choose between either you making dough and

1. *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 406, ḥ. 5, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 123, ḥ. 30.

2. *Rabī' al-Abrār*, vol. 2, p. 148, *al-Mi'yār wa al-Muwāzin*, p. 251, *Manāqib 'Ali Amir al-Mu'minin*, vol. 2, p. 75.

3. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 373.

الثَّوَابِ فَأَخْتَارِي بَيْنَ أَنْ تَعَجِّنِينَ^١ وَتُخْبِزِينَ، وَبَيْنَ أَنْ تُعَلِّلِينَ^٢ الصَّبِيَّانَ لِأَخِيرِ أَنَا. فَقَالَتْ: أَنَا بِالْخُبْزِ أَبْصُرُ وَعَلَيْهِ أَفْذَرُ، وَلَكِنْ شَأْنُكَ وَالصَّبِيَّانَ؛ فَعَلَّلَهُمْ حَتَّى أَفْرُغَ مِنَ الْخُبْزِ. فَعَمَدَتْ إِلَى الدَّقِيقِ فَعَجَجَتْهُ، وَعَمَدَ عَلِيٌّ^٣ إِلَى اللَّحْمِ فَطَبَخَهُ، وَجَعَلَ يُلْقِمُ الصَّبِيَّانَ مِنَ اللَّحْمِ وَالتَّمْرِ وَغَيْرِهِ، فَكُلَّمَا نَاولَ الصَّبِيَّانَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ شَيْئًا قَالَ لَهُ: يَا بُنَيَّ، اجْعَلْ عَلِيٌّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فِي حِلٍّ مِمَّا مَرَّ فِي أَمْرِكَ. فَلَمَّا اخْتَمَرَ الْعَجِينُ قَالَتْ: يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ، سَجِّرِ التَّنُورَ. فَبَادَرَ لِسَجْرِهِ، فَلَمَّا أَشْعَلَهُ وَلَفَحَ فِي وَجْهِهِ جَعَلَ يَقُولُ: ذُقْ يَا عَلِيُّ! هَذَا جَزَاءُ مَنْ ضَيَّعَ الْأَرَامِلَ وَالْيَتَامَى. فَرَأَتْهُ امْرَأَةٌ تَعْرِفُهُ فَقَالَتْ: وَيْحَكَ! هَذَا أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ. قَالَ: فَبَادَرَتْ الْمَرْأَةَ وَهِيَ تَقُولُ: وَاحْيَايَ مِنْكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ! فَقَالَ: بَلْ وَاحْيَايَ مِنْكَ يَا أُمَّةَ اللَّهِ فِيهَا قَصَّرْتُ فِي أَمْرِكَ!^٤

260. كشف اليقين: رُوِيَ أَنَّهُ [عَلِيًّا] اجْتَنَزَ لَيْلَةً عَلَى امْرَأَةٍ مَسْكِينَةٍ لَهَا أَوْفَالٌ صِغَارٌ يَكُونُ مِنَ الْجُوعِ، وَهِيَ تُشَاغِلُهُمْ وَتُلَهِّيهِمْ حَتَّى يَنَامُوا، وَكَانَتْ قَدْ أَشْعَلَتْ نَارًا تَحْتَ قَدْرِ فِيهَا مَاءٌ لَا غَيْرَ، وَأَوْهَمَتْهُمْ أَنَّ فِيهَا طَعَامًا فَطَبَخَهُ هُمْ، فَعَرَفَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ^٥ حَالَهَا، فَمَشَى^٦ وَمَعَهُ قَنْبَرٌ إِلَى مَنْزِلِهِ، فَأَخْرَجَ قَوْصَرَةً^٧ تَمْرٍ وَجِرَابٌ^٨ دَقِيقٍ وَشَيْئًا مِنَ الشَّحْمِ وَالْأُرْزِ وَالْخُبْزِ، وَحَمَلَهُ عَلَى كَتِفِهِ الشَّرِيفِ، فَطَلَبَ قَنْبَرٌ حَمْلَهُ فَلَمْ يَفْعَلْ.

١. كذا في المصدر وبحار الأنوار، ومقتضى القواعد النحوية المعمول بها اليوم أن يقال: «هذه تعجني وتخبيزي... وتعللي»؛ لمكان «أن» الناصبة للفعل المضارع. لكن ذكر صاحب النحو الوافي أن بعض القبائل العربية يهملها، فلا ينصب بها المضارع برغم استيفائها شروط نصبه؛ كقراءة من قرأ قوله تعالى: (وَالْوَلَدُ إِذَا تَبَرَّحَ يُرْجَعُ) أَوْفَدُهُمْ خَوْلَيْنِ تَابِلَيْنِ لِيَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُتِمَّ الرَّضَاعَةَ) يرفع المضارع «يتم» على اعتبار «أن» مصدرية مهمله. والأنسب اليوم ترك هذه اللغة لأهلها، والاقتصار على الإعمال حرصاً على الإبانة، ويُعدّأ عن الإلباس (النحو الوافي: ج 4 ص 267).

٢. عَلَّلَهُ بِطَعَامٍ وَحَدِيثٍ وَنَحْوِهَا: شَغَّلَهُ بِهَا (لسان العرب: ج 11 ص 469).

٣. اللغز لا ينسب لشعر أسوب: ج 2 ص 115، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 52 وراجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 5 ص 416 (إمام المستضعفين).

٤. هي وعاء من قصب يُعمل للشعر، ويُشَدُّ ويُخَفَّفُ (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 121).

٥. هو وعاء من إهاب [جلد] الشاة لا يؤمى فيه إلا يابس (لسان العرب: ج 1 ص 261).

baking bread or amusing the children and I will make bread?"

The woman said: "I am more acquainted with the baking and more capable of it. You stay with the children and keep them amused until I finish with the baking of bread." Then the woman took the flour and kneaded it and 'Ali (a.s.) picked up the meat, cooked it and made morsels of dates, meat and other foodstuff and put them in the children's mouth. Every time the children swallowed a mouthful, he would tell them: "My child! Forgive 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib for what has befallen you!"

While the woman kneaded the flour, she said: "O Servant of God! Make some fire in the oven!" 'Ali (a.s.) hastened to make the fire and when it flared up and the heat touched his face, he said: "O 'Ali! Taste it! This is the punishment of he who neglects the widows and the orphans."

Another woman who knew 'Ali (a.s.) saw him and she said to the widow: "Woe onto you! This is the Commander of the Faithful!"

The narrator said: "The woman hastily said: "I am ashamed before you, O Commander of the Faithful!"

'Ali (a.s.) said: "I feel ashamed before you, O servant of God, since I fell short of your affairs."¹

260. *Kashf al-Yaqīn*: "It is reported that one night 'Ali (a.s.) passed by a woman whose little children were crying out of hunger. The woman was amusing and playing with them to make them go to sleep, while she had set up a fire under a pot that contained just water so that the children would think that there is some food in the pot being cooked for them.

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) found out about the woman's condition. He went to his house along with Qanbar and he took a basket of dates; a sack of flour; some fat, rice and bread and put them on his back. Qanbar asked if he could carry it himself, but he (a.s.) refused.

1. *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib*, vol. 2, p. 115, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 52. Also cf., *Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*: vol. 5, p. 416: 'The Leader of the Oppressed'.

فَلَمَّا وَصَلَ إِلَى بَابِ الْمَرَّةِ اسْتَأْذَنَ عَلَيْهَا، فَأَذِنَتْ لَهُ فِي الدُّخُولِ، فَأَرَمَى شَيْئاً مِنْ
الْأُرْزُ فِي الْقِدْرِ وَمَعَهُ شَيْءٌ مِنَ الشَّحْمِ، فَلَمَّا فَرَّغَ مِنْ نَضْجِهِ عَرَفَهُ لِلصَّغَارِ^١ وَأَمَرَهُمْ
بِأَكْلِهِ، فَلَمَّا شَبِعُوا أَخَذَ يَطُوفُ بِالْبَيْتِ وَيُبْعِجُ هَمَّ، فَأَخَذُوا فِي الضَّحْكِ.

فَلَمَّا خَرَجَ^٢ قَالَ لَهُ قَنْبَرٌ: يَا مَوْلَايَ، رَأَيْتُ اللَّيْلَةَ شَيْئاً عَجَبِيّاً قَدْ عَلِمْتُ سَبَبَ
بَعْضِهِ وَهُوَ حَمْلُكَ لِلزَّادِ طَلَباً لِلثَّوَابِ، أَمَا طَوَّافُكَ بِالْبَيْتِ عَلَى يَدَيْكَ وَرِجْلَيْكَ
وَالْبَعْبَعَةُ فَمَا أَدْرِي سَبَبَ ذَلِكَ!

فَقَالَ^٣: يَا قَنْبَرُ، إِنِّي دَخَلْتُ عَلَى هَؤُلَاءِ الْأَطْفَالِ وَهُمْ يَبْكُونَ مِنْ شِدَّةِ الْجُوعِ،
فَأَحْبَبْتُ أَنْ أَخْرِجَ عَنْهُمْ وَهُمْ يَضْحَكُونَ مَعَ الشَّيْخِ، فَلَمْ أَجِدْ سَبَباً سِوَى مَا فَعَلْتُ.^٤

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الْخَبَرُ فِي الْجَوْدِ بِأَمْوَالِ الْعَامَّةِ

261. الإمام علي^{عليه السلام}: جودُ الولاية بقيَّةُ المسلمين جَوْرٌ وَخَيْرٌ^{١, ٢}.

262. عنه^{عليه السلام} - مِنْ كَلَامٍ لَهُ كَلَّمَ بِهِ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَمْعَةَ، وَهُوَ مِنْ شِيعَتِهِ، وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ قَدِمَ عَلَيْهِ
فِي خِلَافَتِهِ يَطْلُبُ مِنْهُ مَالاً -: إِنَّ هَذَا الْمَالَ لَيْسَ لِي وَلَا لَكَ، وَإِنَّمَا هُوَ فِي^٣ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ
وَجَلْبُ أَسْيَافِهِمْ؛ فَإِنْ شَرَكْتَهُمْ فِي حَرِيمِمْ كَانَ لَكَ مِثْلُ حَظِّهِمْ، وَإِلَّا فَجَنَازَةُ^٤ أَيْدِيهِمْ
لَا تَكُونُ لِغَيْرِ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ^٥.

١. هكذا في المصدر وفي هامشه ما يلي: في نسخة: «فلما فرغ من طبخه قرَّبه للصغار».

٢. كشف اليقين: ص 136 ح 129.

٣. الخبر: الغدير (النهاية: ج 2 ص 9).

٤. غرر الحكم: ج 4725.

٥. جنى الثمرة ونحوها ونجتها: تناولها من شجرتها. واجتنى: ما يجنى من الشجر، واحذته جنة، وقيل: الجنة كالجنى

(لسان العرب: ج 14 ص 155).

٦. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 232، المنافع لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 110، غرر الحكم: ج 3702 نحوه.

When he reached the woman's house, he asked permission to enter and the woman allowed him in. He put some rice in a pot together with some fat and when he finished preparing the food, he called the children and asked them to eat. When they became full, he began to hop around the room (mimicking the actions of a lamb) and bleating and making the children laugh.

When they left the house, Qanbar said: "O my master! I saw something astonishing tonight and I understood the reason for it that is your carrying of the food which was for the sake of earning reward, but I did not know the reason for your hopping around the room and bleating!"

The Imām (a.s.) said: "O Qanbar! I went to see these children while they were crying from starvation and I wanted to leave them while they are full and laughing. I found no way to make them laugh other than the way I did."¹

5/14

Prevention of Extravagance in Public Property

261. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The rulers' generosity in using public property of the Muslims is injustice and treachery."²
262. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – addressing 'Abdullah ibn Zam'a, one of his followers who came to him during his caliphate to ask for some money: "This money is neither for me nor for you, but it is the booty gained by the Muslims and the acquisition of their swords. If you had taken part with them in their fighting you would have a share equal to theirs, otherwise the earning of their hands cannot be for other than their mouths."³

1. *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, p. 136, ḥ. 129.

2. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 4725.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 232, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Talib*, vol. 2, p. 110, *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 3702.

263. دعائم الإسلام: إِنَّهُ [عَلَيْتاً] جَلَسَ يَقْسِمُ مَالاً بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، فَوَقَفَ بِهِ شَيْخٌ كَبِيرٌ فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنِّي شَيْخٌ كَبِيرٌ كَمَا تَرَى، وَأَنَا مُكَاتَّبٌ،^١ فَأَعْنِي مِنْ هَذَا الْمَالِ. فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ، مَا هُوَ بِكَدِّ يَدَيَّ وَلَا ثَرَانِي مِنَ الْوَالِدِ، وَلَكِنَّهَا أَمَانَةٌ أُرْعِيْتُهَا فَأَنَا أُؤَدِّيهِا إِلَى أَهْلِهَا، وَلَكِنْ اجْلِسْ. فَجَلَسَ وَالنَّاسُ حَوْلَ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، فَظَنَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ فَقَالَ: رَحِمَ اللَّهُ مَنْ أَعَانَ شَيْخاً كَبِيراً مُثْقَلاً! فَجَعَلَ النَّاسُ يُعْطُونَهُ.^٢

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عَدَمُ اسْتِثْنَاءِ الْأَوْلَادِ وَالْأَقْرَبَاءِ

264. الاستيعاب: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) ... لَا يَتْرُكُ فِي بَيْتِ الْمَالِ مِنْهُ إِلَّا مَا يَعِجُزُ عَنْ قِسْمَتِهِ فِي يَوْمِهِ ذَلِكَ، وَيَقُولُ: يَا دُنْيَا غُرِّي غَيْرِي! وَلَمْ يَكُنْ يَسْتَأْذِنُ مِنَ الْفَيءِ شَيْءاً، وَلَا يُخَصُّ بِهِ حَبِيباً وَلَا قَرِيباً.^٣

265. الاختصاص - في ذكر مناقب الإمام أمير المؤمنين (ع) -: دَخَلَ النَّاسُ عَلَيْهِ قَبْلَ أَنْ يُسْتَشْهَدَ بِيَوْمٍ، فَشَهِدُوا جَمِيعاً أَنَّهُ قَدْ وَقَرَ فَيْتَهُمْ، وَظَلَفَ^٤ عَنْ دُنْيَاهُمْ، وَلَمْ يَرْتَسِ^٥ فِي إِجْرَاءِ أَحْكَامِهِمْ، وَلَمْ يَتَنَاوَلَ مِنْ بَيْتِ مَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مَا يُسَاوِي عِقْلاً، وَلَمْ يَأْكُلْ مِنْ مَالِ نَفْسِهِ إِلَّا قَدَرَ الْبُلْغَةِ؛ وَشَهِدُوا جَمِيعاً أَنَّ أَبْعَدَ النَّاسِ مِنْهُمْ بِمَنْزِلَةِ أَقْرَبِهِمْ مِنْهُ!^٦

١. الكتابة: أن يُكَاتَّبَ الرجلُ عيَّده على مال يؤدِّيه إليه مُتَّجِلاً، فإذا أَذَاه صار حُرّاً (النهاية: ج 4 ص 148).

٢. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 310 ح 1171، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 110 نحوه وفيه «عاصم بن ميثم» بدل «شيخ كبير».

٣. الاستيعاب: ج 3 ص 210 ح 1875.

٤. رجلٌ ظَلَفَ النَّفْسَ: أي نَزَّهَا، وهو من قولهم: ظَلَفَهُ عَنْ كَذَا: إِذَا مَنَعَهُ (تاج العروس: ج 12 ص 367).

٥. في المصدر: «يرتشي»، وهو نصحيح.

٦. الاختصاص: ص 160.

263. *Da'a'im al-Islām*: "He ['Ali] (a.s.) was sitting and distributing some money among the Muslims and an elderly man stopped next to him and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! As you see, I am an aged man and I am a contracted slave (*mukātab*),¹ so help me from this money." He said: "By God, this wealth is not the earning of my hands, nor it is my father's bequest to me; rather it is a trust that I should keep and return to its owners; however, take a seat."

The old man sat down and the people gathered around the Commander of the Faithful. He looked at them and said: 'May God forgive him who helps this old man!' People started to help him out."²

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Refraining from Preferring One's Children and Kin over Others

264. *al-Isti'āb*: "'Ali (a.s.)...would not leave anything of the wealth in the treasury, unless he was unable to distribute it the same day and he would say: "O World! Deceive other than me!" He would not allocate anything of the booties for himself nor would he dedicate anything to his close ones or kin."³
265. *al-Ikhtisāṣ* - reporting on the merits of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.): "One day before his martyrdom, people came to his audience and all of them testified that he improved the public assets and withheld himself from their world. He did not take bribes, nor used the Muslims' treasury, even as little as a camel's shackle; he did not make use of his own wealth except for his dire need. All of them testified that the most distant people to him had the same position to him as the nearest ones."⁴

1. A *mukātab* slave is one who has contracted with his master that if he pays his price he will be freed.

2. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 310, ḥ. 1171, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭalīb*, vol. 2, p. 110.

3. *al-Isti'āb*, vol. 3, p. 210, ḥ. 1875.

4. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 160.

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الحَسَنُ وَالْحُسَيْنُ عليهما السلام

266. أنساب الأشراف عن داود بن أبي عوف عن رجلٍ من خُثَعمٍ: رَأَيْتُ الحَسَنَ وَالْحُسَيْنَ عليهما السلام يَأْكُلَانِ خُبْزاً وَخَلّاً وَبَقْلًا، فَقُلْتُ: أَتَأْكُلَانِ هَذَا فِي الرُّحْبَةِ^١ مَا فِيهَا أَفْقَالًا: مَا أَغْفَلَكَ عَنْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ^٢!

267. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد عن خالد بن مُعَمَّر السَّدُوسِيِّ - لِعِلْبَاءِ بْنِ الْهَيْثَمِ -: مَاذَا تُؤْمَلُ عِنْدَ رَجُلٍ أَرَدْتُهُ عَلَى أَنْ يَزِيدَ فِي عَطَاءِ الحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ ذُرِّيَّهَاتٍ يَسِيرَةً رَيْثَمَا يَرِيبَانِ^٣ بِهَا ظَلْفٌ^٤ عَيْشِيهِمَا، فَأَبَى وَغَضِبَ فَلَمْ يَفْعَلْ^٥!

268. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن أبي صالح: دَخَلْتُ عَلَى أُمِّ كُلثُومِ بِنْتِ عَلِيٍّ فَإِذَا هِيَ تَمْسُطُ فِي بَيْتِ بَنِي وَبَيْنَهَا، فَجَاءَ حَسَنٌ وَحُسَيْنٌ فَدَخَلَا عَلَيْهَا وَهِيَ جَالِسَةٌ تَمْتَسِطُ فَقَالَا: أَلَا تُطْعِمُونَ أَبَا صَالِحٍ شَبِيئًا؟ قَالَ: فَأَخْرَجُوا لِي قِصْعَةً فِيهَا مَرَقٌ بِحُبُوبٍ، قَالَ: فَقُلْتُ: تُطْعِمُونِي^٦ هَذَا وَأَنْتُمْ أَمْرَاءُ! فَقَالَتْ أُمُّ كُلثُومٍ: يَا أَبَا صَالِحٍ، كَيْفَ لَوْ رَأَيْتَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ - يَعْنِي عَلِيًّا^٧ -.

١. رَحْبَةُ الْمَكَانِ - كَالْمَسْجِدِ وَالْدَارِ - : سَاحَتُهُ وَمَتْنُهُ (تاج العروس: ج 2 ص 18).

المُرَادُ بِهِ هُنَا رَحْبَةُ بَيْتِ الْمَالِ.

٢. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 375، الورع لابن أبي النجيب: ص 90 ح 129 نحوه، النقيب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 108.

٣. رَأَبٌ: أَضْلَحَ وَجَبَرَ (النهاية: ج 2 ص 176).

٤. ظَلْفُ الْعَيْشِ: بُؤْسُهُ وَشِدَّتُهُ وَخُسُوفُهُ (النهاية: ج 3 ص 159).

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 10 ص 250.

٦. كَذَا فِي الْمَصْدَرِ، وَفِي ذَخَائِرِ الْعُقْبَى وَالرِّيَاضِ النَّظْرَةُ: «تُطْعِمُونَ»، وَلَعَلَّهُ أَنْسَبُ.

٧. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 540 ح 901، المصنف لابن أبي شيبة: ج 8 ص 156 ح 7 نحوه، ذخائر العقبي:

ص 191، الرِّيَاضُ النَّظْرَةُ: ج 3 ص 221.

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Ḥasan and Ḥusain

266. *Ansāb al-Ashraf* – narrating from Dāwūd ibn Abī 'Awf, on the authority of a man from the Khath'am tribe: "I saw Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.) eating bread, vinegar and vegetable and I said to them: "You are eating such food, whereas there are various foods in *Ruḥba*¹ [for you to eat]?" They said: "How unaware you are of the Commander of the Faithful!"²
267. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* –narrating from Khālid ibn Mu'ammār al-Sadūsī who was addressing 'Albā' ibn al-Haytham: "What do you expect from a man whom when I asked to add a few dirhams to the share of Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.) so that they could possibly make up for the shortages of their lives, he rejected, got infuriated and did not do so."³
268. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba* – from Abū Ṣāliḥ: "I went to visit Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of 'Alī (a.s.) who was sitting behind a curtain that was between her and me and she was combing her hair. Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.) came in and went to her while she was still sitting there combing her hair.

They said to her: "Why don't you give anything to Abū Ṣāliḥ to eat?"

Abū Ṣāliḥ said: "They brought in a bowl containing some soup and grains and I asked: "You serve me with such food while you are masters?!"

Um Kulthūm said: "O Abū Ṣāliḥ! What would you say if you see the Commander of the Faithful?"⁴

1. *Ruḥba* has several meanings. It is the name of a village near al-Qādisiyya; it also means the public square as well as the courtyard to a mosque. Here it seems to mean the city's public square.

2. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 375, al-Warā', p. 90, ḥ. 129, *Manāqib 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 108.

3. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 10, p. 250.

4. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 540, ḥ. 901, *al-Muḥannif fi al-Aḥādith wa al-Āthār*, vol. 8, p. 156, ḥ. 7.

269. تاريخ دمشق عن عبد الله بن أبي سفيان: أهدى إليّ دهقان^١ من دهاقين السواد بُرداً، وإلى الحسن أو الحسين بُرداً مثله، فقام عليّ يخطب بالمداين^٢ يوم الجمعة، فرآه عليهما، فبعث إليّ وإلى الحسين فقال: ما هذان البردان؟ قال: بعث إليّ وإلى الحسين دهقان من دهاقين السواد. قال: فأخذهما فجعلهما في بيت المال.^٣

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أُمُّ كُلثُوم

270. الاختصاص: بُعث إليه [عليّ] عليه السلام من البصرة من غوصي البحر بثحية لا يُدري ما قيمتها، فقالت له ابنته أُمُّ كُلثُوم: يا أمير المؤمنين، اتجمل به ويكون في عُنقي؟ فقال: يا أبا رافع، أدخله إلى بيت المال؛ ليس إلى ذلك سبيل حتى لا تبقى امرأة من المسلمين إلا ولها مثل ذلك!^٤

271. المصنف لابن أبي شيبه عن أبي رافع: كُنتُ خازناً لِعليّ، قال: رَئِيتُ ابنتَهُ يُلَوِّؤُهُ مِنَ الْمَالِ قَدْ عَرَفَهَا، فَرَأَاهَا عَلَيْهَا، فَقَالَ: مِنْ أَيْنَ لَهَا هَذِهِ؟ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَيَّ أَنْ أَقْطَعَ يَدَهَا. قَالَ: فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُ ذَلِكَ قُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، رَئِيتُ بِهَا بِنْتَ أَخِي، وَمِنْ أَيْنَ كَانَتْ تَقْدِرُ عَلَيْهَا أَفَلَمَّا رَأَى ذَلِكَ سَكَتَ.^٥

١. الدهقان: رئيس القرية ومقدم البناء وأصحاب الزراعة. وهو معرب (النهاية: ج 2 ص 145).

٢. المداين: أصل تسميتها هي: المداين السبعة، وكانت مقر ملوك الفرس. وهي تقع على نهر دجلة من شرقها تحت بغداد على مرحلة منها. وفيها إيوان كسرى. فُتحت هذه المدينة في (14 هـ. ق) على يد المسلمين (راجع: تقويم البلدان: ص 302).

٣. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 478، ترجمة الإمام عليّ: «تحقيق محمد باقر المحمودي (ج 3 ص 182 ح 1223).

٤. الاختصاص: ص 151، بحار الأنوار: ج 40 ص 106 غلاً عن كتاب ابن داب.

٥. المصنف لابن أبي شيبه: ج 7 ص 622 ح 6، تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 156 نحوه.

269. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrating from ‘Abdullah ibn Abī Sufyān: “One of the chiefs of the villages in the region of Sawād (in Iraq) brought a cotton garment to me as a gift and he presented similar garments to Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.). Then when ‘Ali (a.s.) proceeded to give the Friday Sermon in al-Madā’in, he saw Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.) wearing the garments. He sent someone to me and Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.) to ask [us] where the garments were from.

‘Abdullah ibn Abī Sufyān replied: “One of the chiefs of the villages in the region of Sawād sent these garments [as gifts] to me and Ḥusain (a.s.).”

He went on to say: “‘Ali (a.s.) took them from us and put them in the treasury.”¹

5/15 – 2

Umm Kulthūm

270. *al-Ikhtisās*: “A gift from the sea was brought for ‘Ali (a.s.) from Baṣra whose price was not known, so his daughter Umm Kulthūm said to him: “O Commander of the Faithful! Will you give it to me to wear it around my neck as ornament?”

The Imām said: “O Abū Rāfi’! Put it in the Treasury! It is impossible, except when all Muslim women have one like that.”²

271. *al-Muṣannaf* – narrated by Abū Rāfi’ who was ‘Ali’s (a.s.) treasurer: “I gave ‘Ali’s (a.s.) daughter a pearl from the Treasury, of which the Commander of the Faithful had knowledge, to ornament herself with. He saw it on her and he asked: “Where did she get this from? I am responsible in front of God to cut off her hand.”

Abū Rāfi’ said: “When I found out about this, I said: ‘O Commander of the Faithful! I gave it to my brother’s daughter, otherwise where could she have gotten it from?’ When he heard this, he kept silent.”³

1. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 478 “*Tarjumat al-Imām ‘Ali (a.s.)*” researched by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī” (vol. 3, p. 182, ḥ. 1223).

2. *al-Ikhtisās*, p. 151, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 40, p. 106.

3. *al-Muṣannaf fī al-Aḥādīth wa al-Āthār*, vol. 7, p. 622, ḥ. 6, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabari*, vol. 5, p. 156.

272. تهذيب الأحكام عن علي بن أبي رافع: كُنْتُ عَلَى بَيْتِ مَالِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ ؑ وَكَانَتْهُ، وَكَانَ فِي بَيْتِ مَالِهِ عِقْدُ لَوْلِي كَانَ أَصَابَهُ يَوْمَ الْبَصْرَةِ، قَالَ: فَأَرْسَلْتُ إِلَيْ بِنْتِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ ؑ .

فَقَالَتْ لِي: بَلَّغْنِي أَنَّ فِي بَيْتِ مَالِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ؑ عِقْدُ لَوْلِي وَهُوَ فِي يَدِكَ، وَأَنَا أُحِبُّ أَنْ تَعِيرَنِيهِ أَتَجَمَّلُ بِهِ فِي أَيَّامِ عِيدِ الْأَضْحَى، فَأَرْسَلْتُ إِلَيْهَا: عَارِيَّةٌ مَضْمُونَةٌ مَرْدُودَةٌ يَا بِنْتَ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ؟

فَقَالَتْ: نَعَمْ، عَارِيَّةٌ مَضْمُونَةٌ مَرْدُودَةٌ بَعْدَ ثَلَاثَةِ أَيَّامٍ، فَدَفَعْتُهَا إِلَيْهَا. وَإِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ؑ رَأَاهَا عَلَيْهَا فَعَرَفَهُ.

فَقَالَ لَهَا: مِنْ أَيْنَ صَارَ إِلَيْكَ هَذَا الْعِقْدُ؟

فَقَالَتْ: اسْتَعْرَضْتُهُ مِنْ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي رَافِعٍ خَازِنِ بَيْتِ مَالِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لِاتِّزَانِهِ بِهِ فِي الْعِيدِ ثُمَّ أَرَدْتُهُ.

قَالَ: فَبَعَثْتُ إِلَيْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ؑ فَجِئْتُهُ.

فَقَالَ لِي: أَتُخَوِّنُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ يَا بِنْتَ أَبِي رَافِعٍ؟!

فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: مَعَاذَ اللَّهِ أَنْ أَخُونَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ!

فَقَالَ: كَيْفَ أَعَرْتَ بِنْتَ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْعِقْدَ الَّذِي فِي بَيْتِ مَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِغَيْرِ إِذْنِي وَرِضَاهُمْ؟!

فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّمَا ابْتَنَيْتُكَ وَسَأَلْتَنِي أَنْ أُعِيرَهَا إِيَّاهُ تَتَزَيَّنُ بِهِ؛ فَأَعَرْتُهَا إِيَّاهُ عَارِيَّةً مَضْمُونَةً مَرْدُودَةً، فَضَمَمْتُهُ فِي مَالِي، وَعَلَيَّ أَنْ أَرُدَّهُ سَلِيمًا إِلَى مَوْضِعِهِ.

272. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* – narrating from ‘Ali ibn Abī Rāfi’: “I was the treasurer and scribe of the Commander of the Faithful and there was a necklace in his Treasury which had been obtained in the battle of Baṣra.

The daughter of ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) sent a message to me saying: “I have heard that there is a pearl necklace in the Treasury of the Commander of the Faithful and that it is at your disposal. I would like you to lend it to me to wear during the celebration of *‘Īd al-aḍḥā*.”

I replied the message asking: “O Daughter of the Commander of the Faithful! Is it as a guaranteed loan to be returned?”

She replied: “It is a guaranteed loan to be returned in three days.” So I handed it over to her. The Commander of the Faithful found it with her and recognized it and he asked: “How did this necklace happen to be with you?”

She said: “I borrowed it from ‘Ali ibn Abī Rāfi’, the treasurer of the Commander of the Faithful in order to wear it as an ornament during *‘Īd al-aḍḥā* and then return it to him.”

The Commander of the Faithful sent for me and I went to him. He told me: “O Son of Abū Rāfi’! Are you betraying the Muslims?!”

I said: “I seek refuge in God from betraying the Muslims.”

He said: “How did you lend to the daughter of the Commander of the Faithful a necklace from the treasury of the Muslims without my permission and their consent?”

I said: “O Commander of the Faithful! She is your daughter and she asked me to lend it to her to wear it as an ornament so I lent it to her as a loan guaranteed to be returned; and I guaranteed it with my own wealth and it is upon me to return it safely to its place.”

قَالَ: فَرُدُّهُ مِنْ يَوْمِكَ، وَإِنَّا لَكُنَّا نَعُودُ لِمِثْلِ هَذَا فَتَنَّاكَ عُقُوبَتِي! ثُمَّ قَالَ:
أُولِي إِبْنَتِي لَوْ كَانَتْ أَخَذَتْ الْعِقْدَ عَلَى غَيْرِ عَارِيَةٍ مَضْمُونَةٍ مَرْدُودَةٍ لَكَانَتْ إِذَا
أَوَّلَ هَاشِمِيَّةٍ قُطِعَتْ يَدُهَا فِي سِرْقَةٍ.

قَالَ: فَبَلَغَ مَقَالَتَهُ ابْنَتَهُ، فَقَالَتْ لَهُ:

يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، أَنَا ابْنُكَ وَبَضْعَةٌ مِنْكَ، فَمَنْ أَحَقُّ بِلُبْسِهِ مِنِّي!
فَقَالَ لَهَا أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: يَا بِنْتَ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! لَا تَذْهَبِينَ بِنَفْسِكَ عَنْ
الْحَقِّ، أَكُلَّ نِسَاءِ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ تَتَزَيَّنُ فِي هَذَا الْعَيْدِ بِمِثْلِ هَذَا؟!
قَالَ: فَخَبَضَتْهُ مِنْهَا وَرَدَدَتْهُ إِلَى مَوْضِعِهِ.^١

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عَقِيل

273. الإمام الصادق: لَمَّا وُلِّيَ عَلِيٌّ صَعِدَ الْمِنْبَرَ فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنِّي
وَاللَّهِ لَا أَرْزُؤُكُمْ^٢ مِنْ فَيْئِكُمْ دِرْهَمًا مَا قَامَ لِي عَدَقٌ^٣ يَبْتَرِبُ، فَلْيَصْذُقْكُمْ أَنْفُسُكُمْ،^٤
أَفَرَوْتُمْ مَا نَعَا نَفْسِي وَمُعْطِيَكُمْ؟
قَالَ: فَقَامَ إِلَيْهِ عَقِيلٌ فَقَالَ لَهُ: وَاللَّهِ لَتَجْعَلَنِي وَأَسْوَدَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ سَوَاءً! فَقَالَ:
إِجْلِسْ، أَمَا كَانَ هَاهُنَا أَحَدٌ يَتَكَلَّمُ غَيْرَكَ! وَمَا فَضْلُكَ عَلَيْهِ إِلَّا بِسَابِقَةٍ أَوْ بِتَقْوَى^٥

١. مضارع متكلم من آل: أي خلف (راجع: لسان العرب: ج 14 ص 40).

٢. نهيب الأحكام: ج 10 ص 151 ح 606، تنبيه الخواطر: ج 2 ص 3 وراجع: الثغاب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 108.

٣. ما رزأ فلاناً شيئاً: أي ما أصاب من ماله شيئاً ولا نقص منه (لسان العرب: ج 1 ص 85).

٤. العَدَقُ: النخلة (النهاية: ج 3 ص 199).

٥. أي ارجعوا إلى أنفسكم وأنصفوا، ولْيُقْلُ أَنْفُسَكُمْ لَكُمْ صِدْقًا فِي ذَلِكَ (مرآة العقول: ج 26 ص 72).

٦. الكافي: ج 8 ص 182 ح 204 عن محمد بن مسلم، تنبيه الخواطر: ج 2 ص 151، الاختصاص: ص 151 نحوه.

He said: "Return it today! Take care that this should not be repeated or you will receive my punishment!"

Then he said: "I swear that if my daughter had taken that necklace by any means other than the way of a guaranteed loan to be returned, she would have been the first Hāshimī woman that I would have had her hand cut off for theft."

The words reached her daughter and she told her father: "O Commander of the Faithful! I am your daughter and part of your flesh. Who is more deserving to wear it than I am?"

The Commander of the Faithful said to her: "O daughter of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib! Do not be tempted by your desires to ignore the truth. Do all the women of the *Muhājirīn* ornament themselves on this 'īd with such a necklace?"

'Ali ibn Abī Rāfi' said: "I took the necklace from her and returned it to its place."¹

5/15 – 3

'Aqīl

273. Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.): "When Imām 'Ali (a.s.) took up government, he ascended the pulpit and after praising God he said: "By God, I would not take a dirham from your treasury as long as I have a palm tree in Madīna. Return to yourselves (conscious) and be fair! Do you suppose that I deprive myself and bestow onto you (with no reason)?"

The [narrator] says: "[At this time] 'Aqīl stood up and said to him: "By God, will you equate between me and a black man in Madīna?"

The Imām said: "Sit down! Was there no other person than you to speak? You have no precedence over him [the black man] except by precedence in religion or Godwariness."²

1. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 10, p. 151, ḥ. 606. *Tanbīh al-Khawātir*, vol. 2, p. 3. Also cf., *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 108.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 182, ḥ. 204, *Tanbīh al-Khawātir*, vol. 2, p. 151, *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 151.

274. الإمام علي عليه السلام: وَاللَّهِ لَأَنْ أُبَيَّتَ عَلَى حَسَنِكَ السَّعْدَانِ مُسَهَّدًا^١، أَوْ أُجَرَّ فِي الْأَغْلَالِ مُصَفَّدًا، أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ أَلْقَى اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ ظَالِمًا لِبَعْضِ الْعِبَادِ، وَغَاصِبًا لِبَعْضٍ مِنَ الْخَطَامِ! وَكَيْفَ أَظْلِمُ أَحَدًا لِنَفْسٍ يُسْرِعُ إِلَى الْبَلَى قَفُولَهَا^٢، وَيَطُولُ فِي الثَّرَى حُلُولَهَا؟!

وَاللَّهِ، لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ عَقِيلًا وَقَدْ أَمْلَقَ حَتَّى اسْتَمَاحَنِي مِنْ بُرْكُمْ صَاعًا، وَرَأَيْتُ صَبِيَانَهُ شُعْتَ الشُّعُورِ، غُبَرَ الْأَلْوَانِ مِنْ فَقَرِهِمْ، كَأَنَّمَا سُودَتْ وُجُوهُهُمْ بِالْعِظْلِمِ^٣، وَعَاوَدَنِي مُؤَكَّدًا، وَكَرَّرَ عَلَيَّ الْقَوْلَ مُرَدَّدًا، فَأَصْغَيْتُ إِلَيْهِ سَمْعِي، فَظَنَنْتُ أَنِّي أَبِيعُهُ دِينِي، وَأَتَّبِعُ قِيَادَهُ مُفَارِقًا طَرِيقَتِي.

فَأَحْمَيْتُ لَهُ حَدِيدَةً، ثُمَّ أَدْنَيْتُهَا مِنْ جِسْمِهِ لِيَعْتَبِرَ بِهَا، فَضَجَّ صَجِيجٌ ذِي دَنْفٍ^٤ مِنْ أَلْيَها، وَكَأَذَنْ يَحْتَرِّقُ مِنْ مِسْمِها،^٥ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: نَكَلَتْكَ الثَّوَاكِلُ يَا عَقِيلُ! أَتَيْنُ مِنْ حَدِيدَةٍ أَحْمَاهَا إِنْسَانُهَا لِلْعَبِي، وَتَحْرُّنِي إِلَى نَارٍ سَجَرَهَا جَبَّارُهَا لِبَغْضِيهِ؟! أَتَيْنُ مِنَ الْأَذَى وَلَا أَتِنُ مِنْ لَظْيٍ؟!

275. المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: قَدِمَ عَلَيْهِ [عَلِيٌّ] عَقِيلٌ فَقَالَ لِلْحَسَنِ: أَكُسْ عَمَّكَ، فَكَسَاهُ قَمِيصًا مِنْ قَمِيصِهِ^٦ وَرِدَاءً مِنْ أَرْدِيَّتِهِ. فَلَمَّا حَضَرَ الْعِشَاءَ فَإِذَا هُوَ خُبِرٌ وَمِلْحٌ، فَقَالَ عَقِيلٌ: لَيْسَ [إِلَّا] مَا أَرَى؟

١. السَّعْدَانِ: نَيْتٌ ذُو شَوْكٍ، وَمَنْبُتُهُ شَهُولُ الْأَرْضِ، وَهُوَ مِنْ أَطْيَبِ مَرَاغِي الْإِبِلِ مَا دَامَ رَطْبًا. وَهَذَا النَّبْتُ شَوْكٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ خَسَكَةُ السَّعْدَانِ. وَالشَّهَادُ: نَقِيضُ الرُّفَادِ، وَقُلَانٌ يُسَهَّدُ: لَا يُتْرَكُ أَنْ يَنَامَ (لسان العرب: ج 3 ص 215 و ص 224).

٢. أَيِ رَجُوعِهَا. يُقَالُ: قَفَّلَ مِنْ سَفَرِهِ: أَيِ رَجَعَ (أنظر: المصباح المنير: ص 511).

٣. الْعِظْلِمُ: عَصَارَةُ بَعْضِ الشَّجَرِ وَقِيلَ: هُوَ الْوَسْمَةُ (لسان العرب: ج 12 ص 412).

٤. الدَّنْفُ: الْمَرَضُ اللَّازِمُ الْخَاوِرِ (لسان العرب: ج 9 ص 107).

٥. الْيَنْسَمُ: الْيَكْوَاةُ (لسان العرب: ج 12 ص 636).

٦. نَسَجَ الْبَلَاغَةُ: الْخُطْبَةُ 224 وَرَاجِعُ: الْأَمَالِيُّ لِلصَّدُوقِيِّ: ص 719 ح 988.

٧. فِي الْمَصْدَرِ: «قَمِيصُهُ»، وَالصَّحِيحُ مَا أَثْبَتْنَاهُ كَمَا فِي بَحَارِ الْأَنْوَارِ تَقْلًا عَنِ الْمَصْدَرِ.

٨. مَا بَيْنَ الْمُعْذُوفِينَ سَقَطَ مِنَ الْمَصْدَرِ، وَأَثْبَتْنَاهُ فِي بَحَارِ الْأَنْوَارِ.

274. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "By God, I would rather pass a night in wakefulness on prickly thorns or be driven in chains as a prisoner than to meet God and His Messenger on the Day of Resurrection as an oppressor of some people and a usurper of some worldly wealth. How can I oppress any one for the sake of a life that is fast moving towards destruction and [a body which] is to remain under the earth for a long time? By God, I saw [my brother] 'Aqīl fallen in destitution and he asked me for a *ṣā'*¹ out of your wheat. I also saw his children with messy hair and a dusty face due to starvation, as though their faces had been blackened by an indigo color. He came to me several times and repeated his request to me again and again. I heard him and he thought I would sell my faith to him and I would follow his path leaving my own way. Then I heated a piece of iron and took it near his body so that he might take a lesson from it, and he cried the way a person in protracted illness cries with pain and he was about to get burnt with its branding. Then I said to him: "May moaning women moan over you, O 'Aqīl! Do you cry on account of this iron which has been heated by a man for fun while you are dragging me towards the fire which Almighty God has prepared for [a manifestation of] His wrath? Should you cry from pain, but I should not cry from the (Divine) Furnace?"²

275. *Al-Manāqib*: "'Aqīl went to him ['Ali] (a.s.) and asked Ḥassan: "Clothe your uncle!" Ḥassan clothed him with a garment and a robe of his own and when dinner was prepared, there was only bread and salt.

'Aqīl said: "Is there nothing else beside what I see?"

'Ali (a.s.) said: "Is this not God's blessings? All praise be to Him."

1. A *Ṣā'* is about three kilograms in weight.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 224. Also cf., *al-Amālī* by al-Ṣadūq, p. 719, ḥ. 988.

فَقَالَ: أَوَلَيْسَ هَذَا مِنْ نِعْمَةِ اللَّهِ؟^١ فَلَهُ الْحَمْدُ كَثِيرًا.

فَقَالَ: أَعْطِنِي مَا أَقْضِي بِهِ دِينِي وَعَجِّلْ سِرَاحِي حَتَّى أَرْحَلَ عَنْكَ.

قَالَ: فَكَمْ دَيْنُكَ يَا أَبَا يَزِيدَ؟

قَالَ: مِئَةُ أَلْفٍ دِرْهَمٍ.

قَالَ: وَاللَّهِ مَا هِيَ عِنْدِي وَلَا أَمْلِكُهَا، وَلَكِنْ أَصْبِرْ حَتَّى يَخْرُجَ عَطَانِي فَأَوَاسِيكَهُ،

وَلَوْ لَا أَنَّهُ لَا بُدَّ لِلْعِيَالِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ لَأَعْطَيْتُكَ كُلَّهُ.

فَقَالَ عَقِيلٌ: بَيْتُ الْمَالِ فِي يَدِكَ وَأَنْتَ تُسَوِّفُنِي إِلَى عَطَانِكَ؟ وَكَمْ عَطَاؤُكَ وَمَا

عَسَى يَكُونُ وَلَوْ أَعْطَيْتَنِيهِ كُلَّهُ!

فَقَالَ: مَا أَنَا وَأَنْتَ فِيهِ إِلَّا بِمَنْزِلَةِ رَجُلٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ - وَكَانَا يَتَكَلَّمَانِ فَوْقَ قَصْرِ

الإِمَارَةِ مُشْرِفَيْنِ عَلَى صَنَادِيقِ أَهْلِ السُّوقِ - فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ^٢: إِنْ أُبَيَّتَ يَا أَبَا يَزِيدَ مَا

أَقُولُ فَأَنْزِلْ إِلَى بَعْضِ هَذِهِ الصَّنَادِيقِ فَأكْبِرْ أَقْفَالَهُ وَخُذْ مَا فِيهِ.

فَقَالَ: وَمَا فِي هَذِهِ الصَّنَادِيقِ؟

قَالَ: فِيهَا أَمْوَالُ التُّجَّارِ.

قَالَ: أَتَأْمُرُنِي أَنْ أَكْبِرَ صَنَادِيقَ قَوْمٍ قَدْ تَوَكَّلُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ وَجَعَلُوا فِيهَا أَمْوَالَهُمْ؟!

فَقَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: أَتَأْمُرُنِي أَنْ أَفْتَحَ بَيْتَ مَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فَأَعْطِيكَ أَمْوَالَهُمْ وَقَدْ

تَوَكَّلُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ وَأَقْفَلُوا عَلَيْهَا؟! وَإِنْ شِئْتَ أَخَذْتَ سَيْفَكَ وَأَخَذْتَ سَيْفِي

وَخَرَجْنَا جَمِيعًا إِلَى الْحَيْرَةِ^١ فَإِنَّ بِهَا تِجَارَةً مَيَاسِيرَ^٢، فَدَخَلْنَا عَلَى بَعْضِهِمْ فَأَخَذْنَا مَالَهُ!

فَقَالَ: أَوْ سَارِقًا جِئْتُ؟!

١. الجيزة: مدينة جاهلية، كثيرة الأنهار، وهي عن الكوفة على نحو فرسخ، وكانت منازل آل النعمان بن المنذر (تقويم البلدان: ص 299).

٢. جمع مُوسِر، وأيسر الرجل: صار ذا غنى (تاج العروس: ج 7 ص 634).

'Aqīl said; "Give me some money to discharge my debt and be quick to fulfill my request so that I may go away from you."

He asked him: "O Abū Yazīd! How much is your debt?" He said: "One hundred thousand dirhams."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "By God, there is not such an amount of money with me and I do not own this much; but wait until I receive my share [of the treasury] so that I help you with half of it and if it were not for the needs of my household, I would grant it all to you."

'Aqīl said: "The treasury is at your disposal and you put me off to [the time of receiving] your own share? Now, how much is your share? And if you give your entire share to me, how much would it be?"

He said: "You and I are [treated] like anyone of the Muslims in this wealth."

They were talking together on top of *dār al-ḥukūma* (the seat of rule) overlooking the [safe] boxes of the marketers and 'Ali (a.s.) told him: "O Abū Yazīd! If you do not accept my words, go down, break the boxes, and take what is in there!"

'Aqīl said: "What is in these boxes?"

He replied: "The wealth of the traders."

'Aqīl said: "Do you command me to break the boxes of the people who have trusted God and placed their wealth in there?"

The Commander of the Faithful said: "Do you command me to break into the treasury of the Muslims and give their wealth to you while they have trusted God and locked it? If you like, take your sword and I will also take my sword and go to Ḥīra,¹ as wealthy merchants live there and we will ambush them and take their wealth!"

'Aqīl said: "Did I come here as a thief?"

1. An ancient city near Kūfa in which the house of 'Ali Nu'mān Mundhar is located. It had many rivers and a better climate than Kūfa.

قَالَ: تَسْرِقُ مِنْ وَاحِدٍ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَنْ تَسْرِقَ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ جَمِيعاً!

قَالَ لَهُ: أَفَتَأْذَنُ لِي أَنْ أَخْرُجَ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ؟

فَقَالَ لَهُ: قَدْ أَذِنْتُ لَكَ.

قَالَ: فَأَعِنِّي عَلَى سَفَرِي هَذَا.

قَالَ: يَا حَسَنُ، أَعْطِ عَمَّكَ أَرْبَعِينَ دِرْهَمًا.

فَخَرَجَ عَقِيلٌ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ:

سَيُعْزِلُنِي الَّذِي أَغْنَاكَ عَنِّي وَيَقْضِي دَيْنَنَا رَبِّ قَرِيبٌ^١

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عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ

276. الغارات عن حبيب بن أبي ثابت: قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ لِعَلِيِّؑ: يَا

أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، لَوْ أَمَرْتَ لِي بِمَعُونَةٍ أَوْ نَفَقَةٍ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ مَا عِنْدِي إِلَّا أَنْ أَبِيعَ بَعْضَ عُلُوقَتِي.

قَالَ لَهُ: لَا وَاللَّهِ، مَا أَجِدُ لَكَ شَيْئاً إِلَّا أَنْ تَأْمُرَ عَمَّكَ أَنْ يَسْرِقَ فَيُعْطِيكَ!^٢

5-15 / 5

حَفِيدَةُ الْإِمَامِؑ

277. أنساب الأشراف عن مسلم صاحب الحناء: لَمَّا قَرَعَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ مِنْ أَهْلِ

الْجَمَلِ أَتَى الْكُوفَةَ فَدَخَلَ بَيْتَ مَالِهَا... ثُمَّ جَاءَتْ ابْنَةُ لِلْحَسَنِ - أَوْ لِلْحُسَيْنِ -

١. المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 108، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 113 ح 23. والظاهر أَنَّ عَقِيلَ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ لَمْ

يَأْتِ مُعَاوِيَةَ قَبْلَ اسْتِشْهَادِ الْإِمَامِ عَلِيٍّؑ.

٢. الغارات: ج 1 ص 166 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 2 ص 200 عن هارون بن سعيد وفيه «دائني» بدل

«بعض عُلُوقَتِي».

He said: "It is better that you steal from one person than to steal from all Muslims!"

'Aqil said: "Do you permit me to go to Mu'āwiya?"

He said: "I permit you."

'Aqil said: "Then help me with this journey."

He said: "O Ḥasan! Pay your uncle four hundred dirhams."

'Aqil left the place saying:

"Soon he will make me needless (of you), He who made you needless of me;

*And the Proximate Lord will soon discharge our debts."*¹

5/15 – 4

'Abdullah ibn Ja'far

276. *al-Ghārāt* –narrating from Ḥabīb ibn Abi Thābit: "'Abdullah ibn Ja'far, ibn Abū Ṭālib told 'Ali (a.s.): "O Commander of the Faithful! Give an order so that I am being helped or provided with an allowance. By God, I have nothing except that I sell some of the forages."

'Ali (a.s.) said: "No, I do not find anything [of a share] for you, except that you command your uncle to steal and give it to you!"²

5/15 – 5

The Imām's Granddaughter

277. *Ansāb al-Ashraf* – narrating from Muslim, the author of *al-Hanā*: "When 'Ali (a.s.) was through with the Battle of Jamal, he came to Kūfa and entered the treasury.... Then the daughter of Ḥasan –or Ḥusain- (a.s.) came in and took something from it.

1. *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 108, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 113, ḥ. 23.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 66, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 200.

فَتَنَاوَلَتْ مِنْهُ شَيْئًا، فَسَعَى وَرَاءَهَا فَقَفَّ يَدَهَا وَتَزَعَهُ مِنْهَا. قَالَ: فَقُلْنَا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّ لَهَا فِيهِ حَقًّا! قَالَ: إِذَا أَخَذَ أَبُوهَا حَقَّهُ فَلْيُعْطِهَا مَا شَاءَ.^١

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أُخْتُ الْإِمَامِ

278. الاختصاص: دَخَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ أُخْتُهُ أُمُّ هَانِي بِنْتُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، فَدَفَعَ إِلَيْهَا عِشْرِينَ دِرْهَمًا، فَسَأَلَتْ أُمُّ هَانِي مَوْلَاتَهَا الْعَجَمِيَّةَ فَقَالَتْ: كَمْ دَفَعَ إِلَيْكَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ؟ فَقَالَتْ: عِشْرِينَ دِرْهَمًا، فَانْصَرَفَتْ مُسَخَّطَةً، فَقَالَ لَهَا: إِنْصَرِفِي رَجَحِكِ اللَّهُ! مَا وَجَدْنَا فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ فَضْلًا لِإِسْمَاعِيلَ عَلَى إِسْحَاقَ!!^٢

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أُمُّ وَلَدِ الْإِمَامِ

279. المصنّف لابن أبي شيبة عن أُمِّ عَثْمَانَ أُمِّ وَلَدِ لِعَلِيٍّ: جِئْتُ عَلِيًّا وَبَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ قَرْنُفُلٌ^٣ مَكْبُوبٌ فِي الرَّحْبَةِ، فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، هَبْ لِابْنَتِي مِنْ هَذَا الْقَرْنُفُلِ قِلَادَةً، فَقَالَ هَكَذَا وَنَقَرَ بِيَدَيْهِ: أَرِنِي^٤ دِرْهَمًا جَيِّدًا؛ فَإِنَّا هَذَا مَالُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، وَإِلَّا فَاصْبِرِي حَتَّى يَأْتِيَنَا حَظُّنَا مِنْهُ فَتَهَبَ لِابْنَتِكَ مِنْهُ قِلَادَةً.^٥

١. أنساب الأشراف: ج 2 ص 370.

٢. الاختصاص: ص 151.

٣. القَرْنُفُل: شجرة شفاة الهند. وهو أفضل الأفاويه الحارّة وأذكاهها (تاج العروس: ج 15 ص 614 و 615).

٤. رَحْبَةُ الْمَكَانِ - كالمسجد والدار - ساحته ومنشعه (تاج العروس: ج 2 ص 18). والمراد به ظاهراً رَحْبَةُ بَيْتِ الْمَالِ.

٥. أَرِنِي: صَوِّتْ (تاج العروس: ج 18 ص 246).

٦. المصنّف لابن أبي شيبة: ج 8 ص 157 ح 18 و ج 7 ص 622 ح 2 وفيه «أُمُّ عَثْمَانَ» بدل «أُمُّ عَثْمَانَ» و«ارمي درهم»

بدل «أَرِنِي درهماً جيّداً» المتأخّر لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 109 وفيه «هالكِ ذا» ونقد بيده إلى درهماً - بدل «هكذا

ونقر بيديه أَرِنِي درهماً جيّداً»، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 115.

He ['Ali] (a.s.) went after her, opened her fist and took it back from her."

We said: "O Commander of the Faithful! There is a right for her in the treasury!"

He said: "When her father receives his share, he can give her as much as he wishes."¹

5/15 – 6

The Imām's Sister

278. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*: "'Ali's (a.s.) sister Umm Hānī, the daughter of Abū Ṭālib came to visit him and he gave her twenty dirhams.

Umm Hānī asked her non-Arab freed slave girl: "How much did the Commander of the Faithful give you?"

She said: "Twenty dirhams."

Umm Hānī angrily returned [to 'Ali (a.s.)] and 'Ali (a.s.) said to her: "Go back! May God have Mercy on you! We did not find any precedence for Ismā'il (Ishmael) over Ishāq (Isaac) in the Book of God."²

5/15 – 7

The Imām's Maidservant

279. *Al-Muṣannaf* – narrating from Umm 'Uthmān, a maidservant who had a son from 'Ali (a.s.): "I went to visit 'Ali (a.s.) and saw carnations before him scattered in the yard. I asked him to give some flowers to my daughter and he said: "Like this (gesturing with his hands meaning "show me a good one dirham"); because these belong to the Muslims, or wait until we receive our share, then I shall give a bunch to your daughter."³

1. *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 2, p. 370.

2. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 151.

3. *al-Muṣannif fī al-Aḥādīth wa al-Āthār*, vol. 8, p. 157, ḥ. 18 and vol.7, p. 622, ḥ. 2, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 109.

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التَّقَشُّفُ فِي الْإِحْتِيَاظِ فِي النَّفَقَةِ مِنْ بَيْتِ الْمَالِ

280. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في كتابه إلى عماله -: أدقوا أفلانكم، وقاربوا بين سطوركم، واحذفوا عني فضولكم، واقصدوا قصد المعاني، وإياكم والإكثار؛ فإن أموال المسلمين لا تحتمل الإضرار.^١

281. إحقاق الحق: كان أمير المؤمنين علي عليه السلام دخل ليلة في بيت المال يكتب قسمة الأموال، فورد عليه طلحة والزبير، فأطفأ السراج الذي بين يديه، وأمر بإحضار سراج آخر من بيته، فسأله عن ذلك، فقال: كان زيتي من بيت المال، لا ينبغي أن نصاحبكم في ضوئه.^٢

282. مكارم الأخلاق عن عقيل بن عبد الرحمن الخولاني: كانت عمتي تحت عقيل بن أبي طالب، فدخلت على علي عليه السلام بالكوفة وهو جالس على بردعة^٣ حمار مبتلة^٤، قالت: فدخلت على علي عليه السلام امرأة له من بني تميم فقلت لها: ويحك! إن بيتك تملي متاعاً وأمير المؤمنين عليه السلام جالس على بردعة حمار مبتلة!

فألت: لا تلميني، فوالله ما يرى شيئاً ينكره إلا أخذه فطرحه في بيت المال.^٥

١. الخصال: ص 310 ح 85 عن محمد بن إبراهيم النوفلي رفعه إلى الإمام الصادق عن آبائه عليه السلام، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 105 ح 6.

٢. إحقاق الحق: ج 8 ص 539، المناقب المرتضوية: ص 289.

٣. البردعة والبردعة: ما يوضع على الحمار أو البغل ليركب عليه، كالسرج للفرس (المعجم الوسيط: ج 1 ص 48).

٤. أي مقطعة. يقال: بئلة: قطعة، كبئلة (راجع: تاج العروس: ج 14 ص 40).

٥. مكارم الأخلاق: ج 1 ص 286 ح 894، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 97 نحوه.

5/16

Simplicity and Caution in Spending from the Public Treasury

280. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to his administrators: "Sharpen your pens, shorten the space between the lines, [in writing to me] be brief and terse in wording and attend to the meaning, and avoid excessive writing; for the public treasury will not withstand to incur loss."¹
281. *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaq*: "One night 'Ali (a.s.) entered the treasury and was writing down the distribution of the wealth when Ṭalḥa and Zubair came in. He turned off the light in front of him and ordered a light to be brought in from his house.

Ṭalḥa and Zubair asked him for the reason and he said: "The oil of the light belongs to the public treasury and it is not correct for me to speak with you under its light."²

282. *Makārim al-Akhlāq* – narrating from 'Aqīl ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khawlānī: "My aunt was the wife of 'Aqīl, son of Abū Ṭālib and she went to visit 'Ali (a.s.) in Kūfa and he was sitting on a worn out donkey packsaddle. She said: "At this time 'Ali's (a.s.) wife from the Banī Tamīm tribe arrived and I told her: "Woe onto you! Your house is full of goods and the Commander of the Faithful is sitting on a torn packsaddle?"

The woman said: "Do not reproach me. By God, whatever he sees that is unfamiliar to him, he places it in the treasury."³

1. *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 310, ḥ. 85, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 105, ḥ. 6.

2. *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaq*, vol. 8, p. 539, *al-Manāqib al-Murtaḍawiya*, p. 289.

3. *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, vol. 1, p. 286, ḥ. 894, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 97.

283. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن الأعمش: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ يُغْدِي وَيُعْشِي، وَيَأْكُلُ هُوَ مِنْ شَيْءٍ يَجِيزُهُ مِنَ الْمَدِينَةِ.^١

284. الغارات عن بكر بن عيسى: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ يَقُولُ: يَا أَهْلَ الْكُوفَةِ! إِذَا أَنَا خَرَجْتُ مِنْ عِنْدِكُمْ بِغَيْرِ رَحْلِي وَرَاحِلَتِي وَغُلَامِي فَأَنَا خَائِنٌ. وَكَانَتْ تَفَقُّهُ ثَاتِيهِ مِنْ غَلَّتِهِ بِالْمَدِينَةِ مِنْ يَنْبُعٍ.^٢

285. الجمل عن أبي مخنف لوط بن يحيى عن رجاله: لَمَّا أَرَادَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ التَّوَجُّعَ إِلَى الْكُوفَةِ قَامَ فِي أَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ فَقَالَ: مَا تَنْقِمُونَ عَلَيَّ يَا أَهْلَ الْبَصْرَةِ؟ وَأَشَارَ إِلَى قَمِيصِهِ وَرَدَائِهِ فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ إِنَّهُمَا لَمِنْ غَزَلِ أَهْلِي.

ما تَنْقِمُونَ مِنِّي يَا أَهْلَ الْبَصْرَةِ؟ وَأَشَارَ إِلَى صُرَّةٍ فِي يَدِهِ فِيهَا تَفَقُّهُ فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ مَا هِيَ إِلَّا مِنْ غَلَّتِي بِالْمَدِينَةِ؛ فَإِنِ أَنَا خَرَجْتُ مِنْ عِنْدِكُمْ بِأَكْثَرِ مِمَّا تَرَوْنَ فَأَنَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مِنَ الْخَائِنِينَ.^٣

286. تاريخ دمشق عن عنتر: دَخَلْتُ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ بِالْحَوْرَنِيِّ وَعَلَيْهِ سَمَلٌ قُطِيفَةٌ وَهُوَ يُرْعَدُ فِيهَا، فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ جَعَلَ لَكَ وَلِأَهْلِ بَيْتِكَ فِي هَذَا الْمَالِ نَصِيئًا وَأَنْتَ تَفْعَلُ هَذَا بِنَفْسِكَ! قَالَ: فَقَالَ: إِنِّي وَاللَّهِ مَا أَرَزُّوكُمْ شَيْئًا، وَمَا هِيَ إِلَّا قُطِيفَتِي الَّتِي أَخْرَجْتُهَا مِنْ بَيْتِي - أَوْ قَالَ: مِنَ الْمَدِينَةِ -.^٤

١. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج ١ ص 536 ح 892، حلية الأولياء: ج ١ ص 82، الرياض النضرية: ج 3 ص 221.

٢. الغارات: ج 1 ص 168 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 2 ص 200 وراجع: المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 98.

٣. الجمل: ص 422، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 98 وفيه «يا أهل البصرة ما تنقمون مني إن هذا من غزل أهل» وأشار إلى قميصه.

٤. الحوَرَنِيُّ: موضع بالكوفة. وقيل: الحوَرَنِيُّ: قصر كان يظهر الحبرة (معجم البلدان: ج 2 ص 401).

٥. سَمَلُ الثوب: أخلق، فهو سَمَلٌ (لسان العرب: ج 11 ص 345).

٦. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «اللتين أخرجهما»، والتصحيح من تاريخ دمشق «ترجمة الإمام علي» تحقيق محمد باقر المحمودي (ج 3 ص 181).

٧. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 477 و ص 481، الأموال: ص 284 ح 671، حلية الأولياء: ج 1 ص 82، البداية والنهاية: ج 8 ص 3.

283. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba* – narrating from al-A'mash: "'Ali (a.s.) used to have breakfast and dinner and eat from what was brought to him from Madīna."¹
284. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Bakr ibn 'Īsā: "Imām 'Ali (a.s.) would say: 'O Kufans! If I leave you with something other than my mount, my travelling apparatus and my servant, then I am a traitor!'" His income came to him from his products from Yanbu' in Madīna."²
285. *al-Jamal* – narrating from Abū Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā on the authority of his narrators: "When the Commander of the Faithful decided to set out for Kūfa, he stood up among the people of Baṣra and said: 'O People of Baṣra! By which do you want to criticize me for?' He pointed to his clothes and said: 'By God, these [two pieces of clothes] are made from my wife's spinning. How can you criticize me, O People of Baṣra?' He pointed to a bag in his hand which contained his income and he then said: 'By God, this is from my crops in Madīna, so if I leave you and you see more than what is with me, then I will be among the traitors in the eyes of God.'"³
286. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrating from 'Antara: "I went to visit 'Ali (a.s.) in the region of Khuwarnaq⁴ and he was wearing an old garment and shivering. I said: 'O Commander of the Faithful! God has allotted a share for you and your family in this wealth and you are treating yourself like this?' He said: 'By God, I would not take anything from yours, and this is but the garment that I took from my house (or he said, 'from Madīna')."⁵

1. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 536, ḥ. 892, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, vol. 1, p. 82, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍra*, vol. 3, p. 221.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 68, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 2, p. 200. Also cf., *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 98.

3. *al-Jamal*, p. 422, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 98.

4. A place around Kūfa.

5. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 477 and 481, *al-Amwāl*, p. 284, ḥ. 671, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, vol. 1, p. 82.

287. الغارات عن زاذان: انطلقت مع قنبر إلى علي^{عليه السلام} فقال: قُم يا أمير المؤمنين، فقد خَبأتُ لك خبيثة. قال: فما هو؟ قال: قُم معي. فقام وانطلق إلى بيته، فإذا بآسنه^١ مملوءة جامات^٢ من ذهب وفضة، فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، إنك لا تترك شيئاً إلا قَسَمْتَهُ، فاذْخَرْتُ هذا لك.

قال علي^{عليه السلام}: لقد أَحْبَبْتَ أَنْ تُدْخِلَ بَيْتِي ناراً كثيرة! فسل سيفه فصرَبها، فانتشرت من بين إناء مقطوع نصفه أو ثلثه. ثم قال: اقسموه بالحِصص. ففعلوا، فجعل يقول:

هذا جنائي وخياره فيه
إذ كل جان يده إلى فيه^٣

يا بيضاء غري غري، يا صفراء غري غري!

288. الاختصاص - في ذكر طعام الإمام علي^{عليه السلام} -: سَمِعَ مَقْلَى فِي بَيْتِهِ، فَهَضَّ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ:
فِي ذِمَّةِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ مَقْلَى الْكَرَّاكِزِ^٤؟ قَالَ: فَفَرَعَ عِيَالَهُ وَقَالُوا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ،

١. كذا في المصدر، وفي تاريخ دمشق والأموال: «فما هي»، وهو أنسب.

٢. البأسنة: كالجوايق [وهو وعاء معروف] غليظ يُتخذ من مُشَاةِ الْكُتَانِ أَغْلَظَ مَا يَكُونُ، وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَهْمُزُهَا. وَقَالَ الْفَرَّاءُ: الْبَاسِنَةُ: كِسَاءٌ خَيْطٌ يُجْعَلُ فِيهِ طَعَامُ (لسان العرب: ج 13 ص 52).

٣. يجمع جام - والواحدة جامة -: مِنَ الْأَيْنَةِ (المحيط في اللغة: ج 7 ص 206).

٤. هذا مثل، أول من قاله عمرو ابن أخت جزيمة الأبرش، كان يحنى الكُثْمَاءَ مع أصحاب له، فكانوا إذا وجدوا بخيار الكُثْمَاءَ أَكَلُوهَا، وَإِذَا وَجَدَهَا عَمْرُوً جَعَلَهَا فِي كُمِّهِ حَتَّى بَأَى بِهَا خَالَه. وَقَالَ هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةُ فَسَارَتْ مَثَلًا. وَأَرَادَ عَلِيٌّ (رضي الله عنه) بِقَوْلِهَا أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَتَلَطَّعْ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ فِيهِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بَلْ وَضَعَهُ مُوَاضِعَهُ (النهاية: ج 1 ص 309).

٥. الغارات: ج 1 ص 55، المناقب للكوبي: ج 2 ص 33 ح 519 نحوه وراجع: المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 108 وتاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 477 و 478 والأموال: ص 284 ح 674.

٦. قوله: «فِي ذِمَّةِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ مَقْلَى الْكَرَّاكِزِ» استنهام استنكاري خُذْتُ مِنْهُ أَدَاةَ الْاسْتِنْهَامِ، وَكَأَنَّ مَفَادَهُ: أَنَّ مَا يُقَالُ فِي بَيْتِهِ مِنْ لَحْمٍ فِي ذِمَّتِهِ وَمَحَاسِنٍ عَلَيْهِ إِنْ كَانَ دَخُولُهُ بَيْتَهُ مِنْ غَيْرِ مَا أَحَلَّهُ اللَّهُ لَهُ. وَكَأَنَّهُ: «عَبَّرَ بِالْكَرَّاكِزِ كُنَايَةً عَنِ اللَّحْمِ الطَّيِّبِ؛ فَإِنَّ الْكَرَّاكِزَ - كَمَا عَنْ ابْنِ الْأَثِيرِ -: جَمْعُ كَزْكِرَةٍ: رُؤُوسُ» [صدر] البعير الذي إذا يَرَكُ أَصَابَ الْأَرْضَ، وَهِيَ نَائِتَةٌ عَنْ جَسَمِهِ كَالْفَرَسَةِ. وَمِنْ حَدِيثِ عُمَرَ: «مَا أَجْهَلُ عَنْ كَرَّاكِزٍ وَأُسَيْمَةٍ»؛ فَإِنَّهَا مِنْ أَطْيَابِ مَا يُؤْكَلُ مِنَ الْإِبِلِ (النهاية: ج 4 ص 166).

287. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Zādān: “I went together with Qanbar to visit ‘Ali (a.s.) and Qanbar said to him: “O Commander of the Faithful! Stand up as I have hidden something valuable for you.”

He asked: “What is it?”

Qanbar said: “Come with me.”

‘Ali (a.s.) stood up and left for his home and there he saw bags full of gold and silver cups. Qanbar said: “O Commander of the Faithful! You do not leave anything without dividing it, so I saved these for you.”

‘Ali (a.s.) said: “You liked to bring a huge fire into my house! Then he unsheathed his sword and struck down on the cups and cleaved each into two or three parts. He then said: “Divide them into portions!” They did so, and then he uttered the following poem:

This is my harvest, and the best of it is in it;

Yet, every harvester put it with his own hand in his own mouth.

O white (silver), deceive someone else! O yellow (gold), deceive someone else!”¹

288. *al-Ikhtisās* – concerning the food of Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “He heard [the sizzling of] meat being roasted in his house and he rose to his feet and said: “Woe betide ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib if he eats this roasted meat (*karaker*)²!”

The narrator goes on to say: “His family got scared and said: “O Commander of the Faithful! A camel has been slaughtered

1. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 55, *Manāqib al-Imām Amir al-Mu'minin*, vol. 2, p. 33, ḥ. 519. Also cf., *Manāqib ‘Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 108.

2. This statement means that if the meat being roasted in ‘Ali’s house is procured by unlawful means, he will be punished for it. *Karaker* here means tasty meat, as it is from the breast part of the camel’s meat which is its most delicious part. *al-Nihāya*, vol. 4, p. 166.

إِنَّهَا أَمْرَاتُكَ فَلَانَتْ نَحَرَتْ جَزُوراً فِي حَيِّهَا، فَأُخِذَ لَهَا نَصِيبٌ مِنْهَا، فَأَاهَدَى أَهْلَهَا إِلَيْهَا. قَالَ: فَكُلُّوا هَنِيئاً مَرِيئاً.^١

289. تاريخ دمشق عن عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكرة: لَمْ يَرَزْ أَعْلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ مِنْ بَيْتِ مَالِنَا - يَعْنِي بِالْبَصْرَةِ - حَتَّى فَارَقَنَا غَيْرَ جُبَّةٍ مُحْشَوَةٍ أَوْ خَمِيصَةٍ دَرَابِجَرْدِيَّةٍ.^٢

290. الغارات عن أبي رجاء: إِنَّ عَلِيّاً ﷺ أَخْرَجَ سَيْفَهُ لَهُ إِلَى السُّوقِ فَقَالَ: مَنْ يَشْتَرِي مِنِّي هَذَا؟ فَلَوْ كَانَ مَعِيَ ثَمَنُ إِزَارٍ مَا بَعْتُهُ. فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، أَنَا أَبِيعُكَ إِزَاراً وَأُنِيسُكَ ثَمَنَهُ إِلَى عَطَانِكَ، فَبِعْتُهُ إِزَاراً إِلَى عَطَانِهِ، فَلَمَّا قَبِضَ عَطَاءَهُ أَعْطَانِي حَقِّي.^٣

١. الاختصاص: ص 152.

٢. الخميصة: ثوبٌ غَرٌّ أو صُوفٌ مُغْلَمٌ. وقيل: لا تُسَمَّى خميصةً إلَّا أن تكون سوداء مُغْلَمَةً (النهاية: ج 2 ص 81). والدَرَابِجَرْدِيَّة: نسبة إلى دَرَابِجَرْد: كورة بفارس (معجم البلدان: ج 2 ص 446).

٣. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 476، الأموال: ص 283 ح 670.

٤. الغارات: ج 1 ص 63؛ حلية الأولياء: ج 1 ص 83، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 2 ص 200 كلاهما نحوه.

in your wife's tribe and her family has brought her a share as a gift." He said: "Eat it, may it be pleasant and pure!"¹

289. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrating from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakrah: "'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) did not take anything from our treasury (of Baṣra) until he parted from us, except for a cheap fur garment or a black tunic from the region of Dārābgard [in Shiraz]."²
290. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Abū Rajā': "'Ali (a.s.) brought a sword to the market and said: 'Who will buy this from me? If I had enough for [buying] a garment, I would not sell this.' I said: 'O Commander of the Faithful! I sell you a garment on credit until you receive your share [of the public treasury].'"

So I sold him the garment [on credit] until the time of distribution of treasury, and when he received his share, he paid me my due."³

1. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 152.

2. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 476, *al-Amwāl*, p. 283, ḥ. 670.

3. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 63, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, vol. 1, p. 83, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 200.

السِّيَاسَةُ الْإِجْتِمَاعِيَّةُ

1 / 6

إِقَامَةُ الْعَدْلِ

291. الإمام عليّ عليه السلام - في كتابه لابن عباسٍ -: فَقَدْ قَدِمَ عَلَيَّ رَسُولُكَ، وَذَكَرْتَ مَا رَأَيْتَ وَبَلَغْتَكَ عَنْ أَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ بَعْدَ انْصِرَافِي، وَسَأَخِيرُكَ عَنِ الْقَوْمِ: هُمْ بَيْنَ مُقِيمٍ لِرَغْبَةٍ يَرْجُوها، أَوْ عُقُوبَةٍ يَخْشَاها، فَأَرْغِبُ رَاغِبَهُمْ بِالْعَدْلِ عَلَيْهِ، وَالْإِنْصَافِ لَهُ، وَالْإِحْسَانِ إِلَيْهِ.^١

292. عنه عليه السلام - في عهده إلى مالك الأشتر -: وَلَيْكُنْ أَحَبُّ الْأُمُورِ إِلَيْكَ أَوْسَطُهَا فِي الْحَقِّ، وَأَعَمُّهَا فِي الْعَدْلِ، وَأَجْمَعُهَا لِرِضَى الرَّعِيَّةِ... إِنَّ أَفْضَلَ قُرَّةِ عَيْنِ الْوُلَاةِ اسْتِقَامَةُ الْعَدْلِ فِي الْبِلَادِ، وَظُهُورُ مَوَدَّةِ الرَّعِيَّةِ.^٢

293. عنه عليه السلام - في كتابه إلى الأسود بن قُطَيْبَةَ صَاحِبِ جُنْدِ حُلُوان -: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّ الْوَالِي إِذَا اخْتَلَفَ هَوَاهُ مَنَعَهُ ذَلِكَ كَثِيرًا مِنَ الْعَدْلِ، فَلَيْكُنْ أَمْرُ النَّاسِ عِنْدَكَ فِي الْحَقِّ سَوَاءً؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ فِي الْجَوْرِ عَوَظٌ مِنَ الْعَدْلِ، فَاجْتَنِبْ مَا تُنْكِرُ أَمثَالَهُ.^٣

١. ورقة صفين: ص 105، نشر القدر: ج 1 ص 322 نحوه.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 128 و 133 نحوه وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 355 و 358.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 59، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 511 ح 708.

Chapter Six

Social Policies

6/1

Establishing Justice

291. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to Ibn 'Abbās: "Your envoy came to me and you have reported what you have seen or heard concerning the people of Baṣra after my return. I will now inform you about those people: They are either a group who desire something and aspire to obtain it, or one who are afraid of a punishment. So, make the eager ones hopeful by doing justice, being fair and doing good to them."¹
292. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Let the dearest of your affairs be those which are the nearest of them to rightfulness, most inclusive in justice and most comprehensive in (establishing) the pleasure of the subjects. ...Verily the foremost delight of the eye for rulers is the establishment of justice in the land and the appearance of friendship among the subjects."²
293. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to Aswad ibn Quṭba, the commander of the Ḥulwān troops: "Now, if the governor's passions and desires increase, then he will be greatly hampered in justice. All people should be equal in right before you, for there is nothing in tyranny and oppression to substitute for justice. So avoid what you would not like for yourself."³

1. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 105, *Nathr al-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 322.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 128 & 133, *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 355 & 358.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 59, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 511, ḥ. 708.

294. عنه: «هذا ما عهدَ عبدُ اللهِ عليّ أميرُ المؤمنينَ إلى مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ حِينَ وَلَاهُ مِصْرَ؛ أَمْرُهُ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ وَالطَّاعَةِ لَهُ فِي السِّرِّ وَالْعَلَانِيَةِ، وَخَوْفِ اللَّهِ فِي الْغَيْبِ وَالْمَشْهَدِ، وَبِالْتِّبَانِ لِلْمُسْلِمِ، وَبِالْغِلْظَةِ عَلَى الْفَاجِرِ، وَبِالْعَدْلِ عَلَى أَهْلِ الذِّمَّةِ، وَبِإِنصَافِ الْمَظْلُومِ، وَبِالشَّدَّةِ عَلَى الظَّالِمِ، وَبِالْعَفْوِ عَنِ النَّاسِ، وَبِالْإِحْسَانِ مَا اسْتَطَاعَ؛ وَاللَّهُ يُجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ وَيُعَذِّبُ الْمُجْرِمِينَ»^١.

295. عنه: «- فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ حِينَ قَلَّدَهُ مِصْرَ -: فَأَخْفِضْ هُمْ جَنَاحَكَ، وَأَلِنْ هُمْ جَانِبَكَ، وَابْسُطْ هُمْ وَجْهَكَ، وَآسِ بَيْنَهُمْ فِي اللَّحْظَةِ وَالنَّظَرَةِ، حَتَّى لَا يَطْمَعَ الْعِظْمَاءُ فِي خَيْفِكَ هُمْ، وَلَا يَيَّاسَ الضُّعَفَاءُ مِنْ عَدْلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ؛ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى يُسَائِلُكُمْ - مَعَشَرَ عِبَادِهِ - عَنِ الصَّغِيرَةِ مِنْ أَعْمَالِكُمْ وَالْكَبِيرَةِ، وَالظَّاهِرَةِ وَالْمُسْتَوْرَةِ، فَإِنْ يُعَذِّبْ فَأَنْتُمْ أَظْلَمُ، وَإِنْ يَعْفُ فَهُوَ أَكْرَمُ»^٢.

296. عنه: «- مِنْ كَلَامِ لَهُ لَمَّا عَوِثَ عَلَى التَّسْوِيَةِ فِي الْعَطَاءِ -: أَ تَأْمُرُونِي أَنْ أَطْلُبَ النَّصْرَ بِالْجَوْرِ فَيَمُنَّ وَلِيْتُ عَلَيْهِ! وَاللَّهِ لَا أَطُورُ بِهِ مَا سَمَرَ سَمِيرٌ»^٣، وَمَا أَمْ نَجَمٌ فِي السَّمَاءِ نَجْمًا! لَوْ كَانَ الْمَالُ لِي لَسَوَّيْتُ بَيْنَهُمْ، فَكَيْفَ وَإِنَّمَا الْمَالُ مَالُ اللَّهِ؟!»^٤.

297. عنه: «وَاللَّهِ لَأَنْ آيَتَ عَلَى حَسَنِ السَّعْدَانِ مُسْهَدًا، أَوْ أُجِرَّ فِي الْأَغْلَالِ مُصَفَّدًا، أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ أَلْقَى اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ ظَالِمًا لِيَعْصِيَ الْعِبَادِ، وَغَاصِبًا لِيَشْيَءَ مِنَ الْخَطَامِ. وَكَيْفَ أَظْلِمُ أَحَدًا لِنَفْسٍ يُسْرِعُ إِلَى الْبَلَى قُفُولُهَا، وَيَطْوُلُ فِي الثَّرَى حُلُولُهَا؟!»^٥.

١. تحف العقول: ص 176، الفهارات: ج 1 ص 224 نحوه.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 27 و 46، تحف العقول: ص 177 وفيها إلى «عدلك عليهم».

٣. السمعير: الدهر، أي لا أفعله ما بقي الدهر (النهاية: ج 2 ص 400).

٤. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 126، تحف العقول: ص 185 وفيه «أموالهم» بدل «مال الله».

٥. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 224، صبرن الحكم والمواعظ: ص 506 ح 9285، الصراط المستقيم: ج 1 ص 163، تنابيع

الوفاة: ج 1 ص 442 ح 6 وفيه إلى «الخطام» وراجع: الأمالى للصدوق: ص 719 ح 988.

294. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "This is the commandment of the servant of God the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali to Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr when he appointed him as the governor of Egypt. He ordered him to be wary of God, secretly and openly; to fear God in privacy and in public; to be gentle with Muslims; to be hard on the evil-doers; to do justice to those under the protective covenant (*ahl al-dhimmah* from among non Muslims); to be fair to the oppressed and severe to the oppressors; to pardon people and to be charitable to them as much as possible; God will reward the righteous and punish the sinful."¹
295. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his commandment to Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr when he appointed him as the governor of Egypt: "Behave humbly with the people, keep yourself lenient, meet them with cheerfulness, accord them equal treatment so that the big should not expect injustice from you in their favor and the low should not be despondent of your justice to them. O group of His servants, God the Sublime will certainly question you about your actions, small or big, manifest or concealed. If He punishes you, it is because you have been oppressive, and if He forgives, then it is because He is the Most Generous."²
296. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his words when he was reproached for showing equality in the distribution (of shares from the public treasury): "Do you command me that I should seek support by oppressing those over whom I have been placed as ruler? By God, I will never do so as long as the world goes on and as long as one star leads another in the sky! Even if it was my wealth, I would have distributed it equally among them, so how would be the case when the wealth is that of God."³
297. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "By God, I would rather pass a night in wakefulness on prickly thorns or be driven in chains as a prisoner than meet God and His Messenger on the Day of Judgment as an oppressor over any person or a usurper of anything out of worldly wealth. How can I oppress any one for the sake of a life that is fast moving towards destruction and [the body that] is to remain under the earth for a long time?"⁴

1. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 176, *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 224.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 27 & 46, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 177.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 126, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 185.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 224, *'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 506, ḥ. 9285, *al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaḡim*, vol. 1, p. 163.

298. عنه: «وَاللَّهِ لَوْ أُعْطِيَ الْأَقَالِيمَ السَّبْعَةَ بِمَا نَحْتَ أَفْلَاحُهَا، عَلَى أَنْ أُعْصِيَ اللَّهَ فِي نَمْلَةٍ أَسْلُبُهَا جُلْبَ شَعِيرَةٍ مَا فَعَلْتُهُ، وَإِنْ دُنْيَاكُمْ عِنْدِي لِأَهْوَنَ مِنْ وَرَقَةٍ فِي فَمٍ جَرَادَةٍ تَقْضُمُهَا، مَا لِعَلِّي وَلِتَعِيمَ يَفْنَى، وَلَذَّةٌ لَا تَبْقَى»^١

299. عنه: «أَحَاجُّ النَّاسَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ بِتِسْعٍ: بِإِقَامِ الصَّلَاةِ، وَإِتْيَاءِ الزَّكَاةِ، وَالْأَمْرِ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ، وَالنَّهْيِ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ، وَالْعَدْلِ فِي الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَالْقَسَمِ بِالسُّوِيَّةِ، وَالْجِهَادِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ، وَإِقَامَةِ الْحُدُودِ، وَأَشْبَاهِهِ»^٢.

300. تاريخ دمشق عن علي بن ربيعة: جَاءَ جَعْدَةُ بْنُ هُبَيْرَةَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، يَأْتِيكَ الرَّجُلَانِ إِنْ أَنْتَ أَحَبُّ إِلَى أَحَدِهِمَا مِنْ نَفْسِهِ - أَوْ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ وَمَالِهِ - وَالْآخَرُ لَوْ يَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ يَذْبَحَكَ لَذَبَحَكَ، فَتَقْضِي لِهَذَا عَلَى هَذَا؟ قَالَ: فَلَهْزُهُ^٣ عَلِيٌّ وَقَالَ: إِنْ هَذَا شَيْءٌ لَوْ كَانَ لِي فَعَلْتُ، وَلَكِنْ إِنَّمَا ذَا شَيْءٍ^٤ لِلَّهِ.

301. الكامل في التاريخ - فِي ذِكْرِ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَرِّ الْجُعْفِيِّ^٥ -: لَمَّا قُتِلَ عُثْمَانُ وَوَقَعَتِ الْحَرْبُ بَيْنَ عَلِيٍّ وَمُعَاوِيَةَ قَصَدَ مُعَاوِيَةَ، فَكَانَ مَعَهُ لِمَحَبَّتِهِ عُثْمَانُ، وَشَهِدَ مَعَهُ صَفَيْنَ

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 224، الصراط المستقيم: ج 1 ص 1163 بتأنيع الموقرة: ج 1 ص 442 ح 6 وراجع: الأمالي للصدر: ص 722 ح 988.

٢. فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 538 ح 1898/الخصال: ص 363 ح 53 عن عباة بن ربيع وفيه «يسمع» بدل «يسمع» وليس فيه «والجهد في سبيل الله» و«أشباهه».

٣. الملهز: الضرب بجمع الكف في الصدر (النهاية: ج 4 ص 281).

٤. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 488، البداية والنهاية: ج 8 ص 5/المنائب للكوفي: ج 2 ص 57 ح 545 نحوه.

٥. عبيد الله بن الحر الجعفي: كان من الشجعان الأبطال ومن أصحاب عثمان، فلما قتل عثمان انحاز إلى معاوية وقال: أما إن الله ليعلم أنني أحب عثمان، ولا نصرته ميتاً. فخرج إلى الشام وشهد مع معاوية صفين، ولم يزل معه حتى قتل علي: (تاريخ الطبري: ج 6 ص 128، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 3 ص 25).

وبعد قيام الإمام الحسين خرج من الكوفة كراهة أن يدخلها الإمام: وهو بها، وقال: والله ما أريد أن أراء ولا يراني (تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 407).

298. Imām 'Alī (a.s.): "By God, even if I was given all the seven domains and all that exists under the skies in order to disobey God to the extent of snatching one grain of barley from an ant I would not do so. For me your world is inferior than the leaf in the mouth of a locust that is chewing it. What has 'Alī to do with bounties that will pass away and pleasures that will not last?"¹
299. Imām 'Alī (a.s.): "On the Day of Resurrection I will argue with people regarding nine things: Performing of prayers (*ṣalāt*), paying alms tax (*zakāt*), enjoining good and forbidding wrong, doing justice among people, equal distribution, fighting in the path of God, implementing punishments, and the like."²
300. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrated by 'Alī ibn Rabī'a: "Ja'da ibn Hubayra came to 'Alī (a.s.) and said: "O Commander of Faithful! If two men come to you and you are more likeable to one of them than his own soul or his household or his wealth and the other one would kill you if he could, then would you judge in favor of the first man and against the second one?"
- He struck me on my chest and said: "Indeed, if it were up to me, I would do so; but this is an affair pertaining to God."³
301. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* – in a report about 'Ubaydullah ibn al-Hurr al-Ju'fi:⁴ "When 'Uthmān was killed and the war broke

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 224, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm*, vol. 1, p. 163, *Yanābi' al-Mawadda*, vol. 1, p. 442, ḥ. 6

2. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 538, ḥ. 898, *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 363, ḥ. 53.

3. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 488, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 5, *Manāqib al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, vol. 2, p. 57, ḥ. 545.

4. 'Ubaydullah ibn Hurr al-Ju'fi was a brave warrior and one of the companions of 'Uthmān. When the latter was killed, 'Ubaydullah became inclined towards Mu'āwiya and said: "God knows that I love 'Uthmān and I will help him until I die."

He therefore left for Sham and attended the Battle of Ṣiffin along with Mu'āwiya and remained beside him until 'Alī (a.s.) was killed. After the uprising of Imām Ḥusain (a.s.), he left Kūfa so that the Imām would not enter Kūfa while he was there, as he said: "By God, I do not want to see him nor should he see me."

هُوَ وَمَالِكُ بْنُ مِسْمَعٍ، وَأَقَامَ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ عِنْدَ مُعَاوِيَةَ، وَكَانَ لَهُ زَوْجَةٌ بِالْكُوفَةِ، فَلَمَّا طَالَتْ غَيْبَتُهُ زَوَّجَهَا أَخُوها رَجُلًا يُقَالُ لَهُ: عِكْرِمَةُ بْنُ الْحَبِيبِ، وَبَلَغَ ذَلِكَ عُبَيْدَ اللَّهِ فَأَقْبَلَ مِنَ الشَّامِ فَخَاصَمَ عِكْرِمَةَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: ظَاهَرْتَ عَلَيْنَا عَدُوَّنَا فَعُلْتَ؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَيْمَنُ عَنِّي ذَلِكَ مِنْ عَدْلِكَ؟ قَالَ: لَا. فَقَصَّ عَلَيْهِ قِصَّتَهُ، فَرَدَّ عَلَيْهِ

﴿وَلَمَّا نَزَلَ الْإِمَامُ:﴾ قصير بني مقاتل ورأى فسطاطه أرسل بعض أصحابه إليه ليدعوه إلى نصره، فلم يجب دعوته (الأمالي للصدوق: ص 219) فأخذ الإمام: عليه فانتحل، ثم قام فجاءه حتى دخل عليه فسلم وجلس، ثم دعاه إلى الخروج فلم يجبه (تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 407).

وبعد قتل الإمام: دخل على ابن زياد فعاتبه لعدم نصرته جيش يزيد على الإمام:، فغاض وخرج حتى أتى كربلاء، فنظر إلى مصارع القوم فاستغفر لهم وقال في ذلك:

يقول أمير غادر حق غادر	ألا كنت قاتلت الشهيد ابن فاطمة!
فيا ندمي ألا أكون نصرته	ألا كل نفس لا تُسدّد نادمه
وإني لآقي لم أكن من حماه	لذو حسرة ما إن تفارقني لازمه
سقى الله أرواح الذين نازروا	على نصره سقياً من الغيث داتمه
وقفت على أجداثهم وبجائهم	فكاد الحشا ينقش والعين ساجمه
لعمرى لقد كانوا مصاليت في الوغى	سراعاً إلى الهيجا حماة خضارمه
نأسوا على نصر ابن بنت نبيهم	بأسيا فهم أساء غيل خمارمه
فإن يقتلوا فكل نفس تقية	على الأرض قد أصبحت لذلك واجمه
وما إن رأى الراؤون أفضل منهم	لدى الموت سادات وزهراً فهاقمه
أ تقتلهم ظلياً وترجو وداثنا	فدع خبطة ليست لنا بملائمه!
لعمرى لقد راغمتونا بقتلهم	فكم ناقم منا عليكم وناقمه
أهم مراراً أن أسير بجحفل	إلى فنة زاعجت عن الحق ظالمه
فكفوا وإلا ذدتكم في كتاب	أشد عليكم من زحوف الديالمة

(تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 470).

ثم ثار هو وأولاده فقتل ونهب، ولم يقتصر على نهب الأموال الشخصية بل نهب الأموال العامة. واستمر في ثورته زمان المختار ومصعب، وانتهى به الأمر إلى مؤازرة عبد الملك بن مروان، وقتل في الحرب مع جيش مصعب (تاريخ الطبري: ج 6 ص 128 - 138).

out between 'Ali (a.s.) and Mu'āwiya, he ['Ubaydullah] went towards Mu'āwiya and remained with him because of his love for 'Uthmān. He and Mālik ibn Misma' accompanied Mu'āwiya in the battle of Šiffin. 'Ubaydullah stayed with Mu'āwiya and his wife was in Kūfa and since his separation lasted long, his brother-in-law married her off to someone called 'Ikrama ibn Khabīš. When 'Ubaydullah was informed about this, he left for Kūfa and went to 'Ali (a.s.) to make a complaint against 'Ikrama.

'Ali (a.s.) told him: "You helped out the enemy and now you are infuriated?"

'Ubaydullah said: "Will this deprive me of your justice?"

The Imām said: "No."

When Imām Husain (a.s.) entered Qaṣr Banī Maqātil (one of the rest areas between Mecca and Kūfa) and saw his tent, he sent one of his companions to him ['Ubaydallah] to call him for his assistance, but he did not reply. Imām Husain (a.s.) put on his shoes and went to him, he greeted him and sat down. Then he invited him to join the uprising, but he did not accept.

After Imām Husain (a.s.) was killed, 'Ubaydallah went to visit Ibn Ziyād who had reprimanded him for not helping the troops of Yazid against Imām Husain (a.s.). He then held back his tears and left for the land of Karbala. He observed the battlefield and asked for God's forgiveness for them and composed a long poem in which he praised Imām Husain (a.s.) and his martyred companions, showing his repentance and pity for not joining them in the uprising against the trickster tyrants of the time.

He and his children rose up and turned to fighting and robbery. He robbed not only private but also public property. His uprising continued through the time of Mukhtar and Muṣ'ab, ending up to his cooperation with 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. He was killed when confronting the troops of Muṣ'ab. [*Tārīkh al-Jabart*, vol. 6, p. 128-138]

امراته، وكانت حُبلى، فَوَضَعَهَا عِنْدَ مَنْ يَثِقُ إِلَيْهِ حَتَّى وَضَعَتْ، فَأَلْحَقَ الْوَلَدَ بِعَكْرِمَةَ، وَدَفَعَ الْمَرْأَةَ إِلَى عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ، وَعَادَ إِلَى الشَّامِ فَأَقَامَ بِهِ حَتَّى قُتِلَ عَلِيٌّ.^١

302. تاريخ البعقوبي عن الزُّهري: دَخَلْتُ إِلَى عُمَرَ [بْنِ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ] يَوْمًا، فَبَيْنَا أَنَا إِذْ أَنَا كِتَابٌ مِنْ عَامِلٍ لَهُ يُخْبِرُهُ أَنَّ مَدِينَتَهُمْ قَدْ احتاجت إلى مَرْمَةٍ، فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: إِنَّ بَعْضَ عُمَالِ عَلِيٍّ بِنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ كَتَبَ بِمِثْلِ هَذَا، وَكَتَبَ إِلَيْهِ: أَمَا بَعْدُ، فَحَصَّنَهَا بِالْعَدْلِ، وَتَقَّ طَرَفَهَا مِنَ الْجَوْرِ. فَكَتَبَ بِذَلِكَ عُمَرُ إِلَى عَامِلِهِ.^٢

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ص 335 (دوافع الإمام: لقبول الحكومة).

2 / 6

الإلزام بالحقوق

303. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في صِفَيْنِ -: أَمَا بَعْدُ، فَقَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ لِي عَلَيْكُمْ حَقًّا بِوِلَايَةِ أَمْرِكُمْ، وَلَكُمْ عَلَيَّ مِنَ الْحَقِّ مِثْلُ الَّذِي لِي عَلَيْكُمْ، فَأَلْحَقْ أَوْسَعُ الْأَشْيَاءِ فِي التَّوَاضُّعِ، وَأَضْيَقُهَا فِي التَّنَاضُّعِ، لَا يَجْرِي لِأَحَدٍ إِلَّا جَرَى عَلَيْهِ، وَلَا يَجْرِي عَلَيْهِ إِلَّا جَرَى لَهُ، وَلَوْ كَانَ لِأَحَدٍ أَنْ يَجْرِيَ لَهُ وَلَا يَجْرِيَ عَلَيْهِ لَكَانَ ذَلِكَ خَالِصًا لِلَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ دُونَ خَلْقِهِ؛ لِقُدْرَتِهِ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ، وَلِعَدْلِهِ فِي كُلِّ مَا جَرَتْ عَلَيْهِ صُرُوفُ قَضَائِهِ، وَلِكِنَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ جَعَلَ حَقَّهُ عَلَى الْعِبَادِ أَنْ يُطِيعُوهُ، وَجَعَلَ جَزَاءَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ مُضَاعَفَةَ الثَّوَابِ تَفْضُلًا مِنْهُ، وَتَوَسُّعًا بِهَا هُوَ مِنَ الْمَزِيدِ أَهْلُهُ.

ثُمَّ جَعَلَ سُبْحَانَهُ مِنْ حُقُوقِهِ حُقُوقًا إِفْتَرَضَهَا لِبَعْضِ النَّاسِ عَلَى بَعْضٍ، فَجَعَلَهَا تَكَافُؤًا فِي وُجُوهِهَا، وَيُوجِبُ بَعْضُهَا بَعْضًا، وَلَا يُسْتَوْجَبُ بَعْضُهَا إِلَّا

١. الكامل في التاريخ: ج 3 ص 25.

٢. تاريخ البعقوبي: ج 2 ص 306.

Then he told his story to 'Ali (a.s.) and he returned his wife to him. She was pregnant, so he left her with someone whom he trusted until she gave birth to her child and he handed the child to 'Ikrima and returned the woman to 'Ubaydullah. He ['Ubaydullah] went back to Shām where he stayed until 'Ali (a.s.) was killed."¹

302. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* – narrating from al-Zuhrī: "One day, I went to see 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and while I was with him, he received a letter from one of his administrators stating that their city needed rehabilitation. I told 'Umar: "One of the administrators of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) had sent him a similar letter and he had replied to him as follows: "Now, fortify the city with Justice and clean the tyranny off its pathway!" 'Umar wrote the same reply to his administrator."²

See: 1/4 (The Imām's Motives for Accepting the Rulership).

6/2

Commitment to Rights

303. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in the Battle of Ṣiffīn: "God the Glorified has made incumbent upon you some rights for me by placing me over your affairs (being your ruler) and you too have a right over me like mine over you. The truth is very encompassing in its description but very narrow [difficult] in its application.

Right does not apply in favor of any person unless it applies against him also, and it does not apply against a person unless it also applies in his favor. It is only Allah the Glorified that has rights over others without them having any rights over Him and that is by virtue of His Might over His creatures and by virtue of the justice permeating all of His decrees. He the Glorified has made His right over creatures that they should obey Him and He has laid upon Himself to reward them several times as a mark of His bounty and the generosity that He is worthy of.

Then, from His rights, He the Glorified assigned certain rights for certain people against others. He made them so as to equate with one another. Some of these rights produce other rights. Some rights are such that they do not apply except when

1. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 3, p. 25.

2. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 306.

بِبَعْضٍ، وَأَعْظَمُ مَا افْتَرَضَ سُبْحَانَهُ مِنْ تِلْكَ الْحَقُوقِ حَقُّ الْوَالِي عَلَى الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَحَقُّ الرَّعِيَّةِ عَلَى الْوَالِي، فَرِيضَةٌ فَرَضَهَا اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ لِكُلِّ عَلَى كُلِّ، فَجَعَلَهَا نِظَامًا لِلْفَتَنِهِمْ، وَعِزًّا لِدِينِهِمْ، فَلَيْسَتْ تَصْلُحُ الرَّعِيَّةُ إِلَّا بِصَلَاحِ الْوَلَاةِ، وَلَا تَصْلُحُ الْوَلَاةُ إِلَّا بِاسْتِغَامَةِ الرَّعِيَّةِ.

فَإِذَا أَذَّتِ الرَّعِيَّةُ إِلَى الْوَالِي حَقَّهُ، وَأَذَى الْوَالِي إِلَيْهَا حَقَّهَا عَزَّ الْحَقُّ بَيْنَهُمْ، وَقَامَتْ مَنَهِجُ الدِّينِ، وَاعْتَدَلَتْ مَعَالِمُ الْعَدْلِ، وَجَرَتْ عَلَى أَذْلَاهَا السُّنَنُ، فَصَلَحَ بِذَلِكَ الزَّمَانُ، وَطُمِعَ فِي بَقَاءِ الدَّوْلَةِ، وَنَسَتْ مَطَامِعُ الْأَعْدَاءِ.

وَإِذَا غَلَبَتِ الرَّعِيَّةُ وَالْيَهَا، أَوْ أَجَحَفَ الْوَالِي بِرَعِيَّتِهِ، اخْتَلَفَتْ هُنَالِكَ الْكَلِمَةُ، وَظَهَرَتْ مَعَالِمُ الْجَوْرِ، وَكَثُرَ الْإِدْغَالُ فِي الدِّينِ، وَتُرِكَتْ عَوَاجِ السُّنَنِ، فَعُمِلَ بِالْهَوَى، وَعُطِّلَتِ الْأَحْكَامُ، وَكَثُرَتْ عِلَلُ النُّفُوسِ، فَلَا يُسْتَوْحَشُ لِعَظِيمِ حَقِّ عَطْلٍ، وَلَا لِعَظِيمِ بَاطِلِ فِعْلٍ!

فَهُنَالِكَ تَذَلُّ الْأَبْرَارِ، وَتَعِزُّ الْأَشْرَارِ، وَتَعْظُمُ تَبِعَاتُ اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ عِنْدَ الْعِبَادِ، فَعَلَيْكُمْ بِالتَّنَاصُحِ فِي ذَلِكَ، وَحُسْنِ التَّعَاوُنِ عَلَيْهِ، فَلَيْسَ أَحَدٌ - وَإِنْ اشْتَدَّ عَلَى رِضَى اللَّهِ جِرْصُهُ، وَطَالَ فِي الْعَمَلِ اجْتِنَاهُ - بِبَالِغِ حَقِيقَةِ مَا اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ أَهْلُهُ مِنَ الطَّاعَةِ لَهُ.

وَلَكِنْ مِنْ وَاجِبِ حُقُوقِ اللَّهِ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ: النَّصِيحَةُ بِمَبْلَغِ جُهْدِهِمْ، وَالتَّعَاوُنُ عَلَى إِقَامَةِ الْحَقِّ بَيْنَهُمْ، وَلَيْسَ أَمْرٌ - وَإِنْ عَظُمَتْ فِي الْحَقِّ مَنَزِلَتُهُ، وَتَقَدَّمَتْ فِي الدِّينِ فَضِيلَتُهُ - بِفَوْقِ أَنْ يُعَانَ عَلَى مَا حَمَلَهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ حَقِّهِ. وَلَا أَمْرٌ - وَإِنْ صَغُرَتْهُ النُّفُوسُ، وَافْتَحَمَتْهُ الْعُيُونُ - بِدُونِ أَنْ يُعِينَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ أَوْ يُعَانَ عَلَيْهِ.^١

١. أي وجوها وطرفها، وهو جمع ذل (النهاية: ج 2 ص 166).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 216 وراجع: الكافي: ج 8 ص 352 ح 350.

others do. The greatest of these rights that God Almighty has made obligatory is the right of the ruler over the ruled and the right of the ruled over the ruler. This is an obligation which God the Glorified has placed on each one against the other. He has made it the basis of their (mutual) relations and honor for their religion. Consequently, the ruled cannot prosper unless the rulers are sound, while the rulers cannot be sound unless the ruled are steadfast.

If the ruled fulfill the rights of the ruler and the ruler fulfils their rights, then rights attain the position of honor among them, the ways of religion become established, signs of justice become fixed and the traditions (*sunna*) are carried out. In this way time will improve, the continuance of government will be expected and the aims of the enemies will be frustrated.

But if the subjects overcome the ruler or the ruler oppresses his subjects, then differences will arise, signs of oppression will appear, wile will enter the religion and the traditions (*sunna*) will become forsaken. Then desires are acted upon, the commands (of religion) are discarded, diseases of the soul become numerous and there is no fear for disregarding even great rights nor for the committing of major wrongs.

In such circumstances, the virtuous are humiliated while the vicious are honored and there are serious punishments from God almighty on the people.

You should therefore counsel each other (for the fulfillment of your obligations) and cooperate with each other. However extremely eager a person may be to secure the pleasure of God and however fully he strives for it, he cannot discharge (his obligation for) obedience to God Almighty as is really due to Him.

It is an obligatory right of God over the people that they should advise each other to the best of their ability and cooperate with each other for the establishment of truth among them. No person, however great his position in the matter of truth and however advanced his distinction in religion may be, is above needing help in connection with the obligations placed on him by God. No man, however small he may be regarded by others or however humble he may appear before eyes, is too low to assist or to be afforded assistance in this matter."¹

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 216. Also cf., *al-Kaṣfī*, vol. 8, p. 352, ḥ. 550.

304. عنه: جَعَلَ اللهُ سُبْحَانَهُ حُقُوقَ عِبَادِهِ مُقَدَّمَةً لِحُقُوقِهِ؛ فَمَنْ قَامَ بِحُقُوقِ عِبَادِ اللهِ كَانَ ذَلِكَ مُؤَدِّيًا إِلَى الْقِيَامِ بِحُقُوقِ اللهِ.^١

3 / 6

لَبَيَّةُ الْحَرْبِ الْبَنَاءِ

305. الإمام علي: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! إِنَّ آدَمَ لَمْ يَلِدْ عَبْدًا وَلَا أَمَةً، وَإِنَّ النَّاسَ كُلَّهُمْ أَحْرَارٌ.^٢
306. عنه: أَمَّا بَعْدُ! فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا ﷺ بِالْحَقِّ لِيُخْرِجَ عِبَادَهُ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ عِبَادِهِ إِلَى عِبَادَتِهِ، وَمِنْ عُهْدِ عِبَادِهِ إِلَى عُهْدِهِ، وَمِنْ طَاعَةِ عِبَادِهِ إِلَى طَاعَتِهِ، وَمِنْ وِلَايَةِ عِبَادِهِ إِلَى وِلَايَتِهِ.^٣
307. عنه: لَا تَكُنْ عَبْدَ غَيْرِكَ وَقَدْ جَعَلَكَ اللهُ حُرًّا.^٤
308. عنه: مَنْ قَامَ بِشَرَائِطِ الْعُبُودِيَّةِ أَهْلٌ لِلْعِتْقِ. مَنْ قَصَرَ عَنْ أَحْكَامِ الْحُرِّيَّةِ أُعِيدَ إِلَى الرُّقِّ.^٥
309. عنه: إِيَّاكَ وَمَا يُسَخِّطُ رَبَّكَ وَمَا يُوَحِّشُ النَّاسَ مِنْكَ، فَمَنْ أَسَخَطَ رَبَّهُ تَعَرَّضَ لِلْمَنِيَّةِ، وَمَنْ أَوْحَشَ النَّاسَ تَبَرَّأَ مِنَ الْحُرِّيَّةِ.^٦

١. غرر الحكم: ح 4780، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 223 ح 4347.

٢. الكافي: ج 8 ص 69 ح 26 عن محمد بن جعفر العقبي رفعه، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 134 ح 107.

٣. الكافي: ج 8 ص 386 ح 586 عن محمد بن الحسين عن أبيه عن جده عن أبيه، فلاح السائل: ص 372 ح 248، بحار الأنوار: ج 77 ص 365 ح 34.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 31، تحف العقول: ص 77، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 526 ح 9579، تنابيع المودة: ج 2 ص 253 ح 710 و ج 3 ص 441 ح 10.

٥. غرر الحكم: ح 8529 و 8530، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 450 ح 8004 و 8005.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 2728، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 100 ح 2292 نحوه.

304. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "God the Glorified has put the rights of His servant ahead of His own rights (given priority to their rights). Therefore, whoever fulfils the rights of the servants of God will fulfill the rights of God."¹

6/3

The Development of Constructive Freedom

305. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O People, verily Adam (a.s.) did not beget slave men and women; all people are free."²
306. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "And now, verily God the Blessed and the Exalted sent Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) so as to bring His servants out from the servitude of His servants towards the servitude of Himself, from the covenant of His servants to the covenant of Himself, from obedience to his servants towards obedience to Himself and from the guardianship of His servants toward guardianship of Himself."³
307. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not be the slave of others as God has made you free."⁴
308. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who fulfils the requirements of servitude [to God] deserves freedom and he who neglects the rules of freedom will be returned to slavery."⁵
309. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Beware of what infuriates your Lord and frightens people away from you! He who infuriates his Lord will be exposed to death and he who frightens people has disclaimed freedom."⁶

1. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 4780, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 223, ḥ. 4347.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 69, ḥ. 26, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 134, ḥ. 107.

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 386, ḥ. 586, *Falāḥ al-Sā'il*, p. 372, ḥ. 248, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 77, p. 365, ḥ. 34.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 31, *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 77, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 526, ḥ. 9572.

5. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 8529-30, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 450, ḥ. 8004-5.

6. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 2728, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 100, ḥ. 2292.

310. عنه: جَمَالَ الْحُرُّ مَحْجُبِ الْعَارِ.^١
311. عنه: الْحُرُّ حُرٌّ وَإِنْ مَسَّهُ الضُّرُّ، الْعَبْدُ عَبْدٌ وَإِنْ سَاعَدَهُ الْقَدَرُ.^٢
312. عنه: يَا أَهْلَ الْكُوفَةِ! مُنِيتُ مِنْكُمْ بِثَلَاثٍ وَائْتَيْنِ، صُمُّ ذَوُو أَسْمَاعٍ، وَبُكْمُ ذَوُو كَلَامٍ، وَعُمِّي ذَوُو أَبْصَارٍ، لَا أَحْرَارُ صِدْقٍ عِنْدَ اللَّقَاءِ، وَلَا إِخْوَانُ ثِقَةٍ عِنْدَ الْبَلَاءِ.^٣
313. عنه: - بَعْدَ سَمَاعِهِ لِأَمْرِ الْحَكَمَيْنِ -: أَفْ لَكُمْ! لَقَدْ لَقِيتُ مِنْكُمْ بَرَحاً يَوْمَ أَنْادِيَكُمْ، وَيَوْمَ أَنْاجِيَكُمْ؛ فَلَا أَحْرَارُ صِدْقٍ عِنْدَ النَّدَاءِ، وَلَا إِخْوَانُ ثِقَةٍ عِنْدَ النَّجَاءِ.^٤
314. عنه: - فِي الْحِكْمِ الْمُنْسَوْبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: كُلُّ مَا حَمَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْحُرُّ احْتِمَلَهُ وَرَأَهُ زِيَادَةً فِي شَرِّهِ، إِلَّا مَا حَطَّه جُزْءٌ مِنْ حُرِّيَّتِهِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ يَأْبَاهُ وَلَا يُجِيبُ إِلَيْهِ.^٥

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الِإِهْتِمَامُ بِرِضَى الْعَامَّةِ

315. الإمام علي: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: لِيَكُنْ أَحَبُّ الْأُمُورِ إِلَيْكَ أَوْسَطُهَا فِي الْحَقِّ، وَأَعَمُّهَا فِي الْعَدْلِ، وَأَجْمَعُهَا لِرِضَى الرَّعِيَّةِ؛ فَإِنَّ سُخْطَ الْعَامَّةِ يُجَحِّفُ بِرِضَى الْخَاصَّةِ، وَإِنْ سُخْطَ الْخَاصَّةِ يُغْتَفَرُ مَعَ رِضَى الْعَامَّةِ... إِنَّمَا عِمَادُ الدِّينِ،

١. غرر الحكم: ح 4745، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 222 ح 4333.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 1322، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 48 ح 1202 و 1203، بحار الأنوار: ج 78 ص 12 ح 170، مطالب السؤول: ص 56 وفيه صدره.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 97.

٤. البرزخ: الشدة (النهاية: ج 1 ص 113).

٥. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 125، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 371 ح 602.

٦. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 279 ح 210.

310. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The beauty of a free person (from all sorts of bondages) is in keeping away from infamy."¹
311. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "A free person remains free even if distress befalls him and a slave remains a slave even if destiny assists him."²
312. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O Kufans! I am entangled with you, there are three things [that you possess] and two others [that you lack]: [Concerning the three things] you are deaf in spite of having ears, dumb in spite of speaking and blind in spite of having eyes. [As for the two] you are neither true supporters in combat nor dependable brothers in distress."³
313. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – after hearing about the issue of the arbitration: "Woe betide you! I had to bear a lot of difficulties from you. One day I have to call you loudly (to *jihād*) and on one day I have to whisper to you in confidence, you are neither true free men at the time of the call nor trustworthy brothers at the time of speaking in confidence."⁴
314. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from the aphorisms attributed to him: "Whatever befalls a free man, he will bear it and see it as per his magnanimity, unless when a [small] fraction of his freedom is degraded; and that is when he refuses and does not respond to it."⁵

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Attaching Importance to the Pleasure of the Public

315. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Let the dearest of your affairs be those which are middlemost in rightfulness, most inclusive in justice and most comprehensive in (establishing) the content of the subjects, for the discontent of the masses invalidates the content of favorite [people] and the discontent of favorites is pardoned at the achievement of the content of the masses. Whereas the support of religion, the

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4745, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 222, h. 4333.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 1322, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 48, h. 1202-3, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 78, p. 12, h. 70.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 97.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 125.

5. *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 279, h. 210.

وَجَمَاعُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، وَالْعُدَّةُ لِلْأَعْدَاءِ، الْعَامَّةُ مِنَ الْأُمَّةِ، فَلْيَكُنْ صِغُوكَ^١ هُمْ، وَمِثْلُكَ مَعَهُمْ.... إِنَّ أَفْضَلَ قُرَّةِ عَيْنِ الْوَلَاةِ اسْتِقَامَةُ الْعَدْلِ فِي الْبِلَادِ، وَظُهُورُ مَوَدَّةِ الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَإِنَّهُ لَا تَظْهَرُ مَوَدَّتُهُمْ إِلَّا بِسَلَامَةِ صُدُورِهِمْ.^٢

316. عنه: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: فَاعْمَلْ فِيهَا وَكَيْتَ عَمَلٍ مَنْ يُحِبُّ أَنْ يَدْخِرَ حُسْنَ الشَّأْنِ مِنَ الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَالْمَثُوبَةِ مِنَ اللَّهِ، وَالرُّضَا مِنَ الْإِمَامِ. وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ.^٣

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الرَّحْمَةُ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ وَالْمَحَبَّةُ لَهُمْ

317. الْإِمَامُ عَلِيٌّ -: فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: وَأَشِيرَ قَلْبِكَ الرَّحْمَةُ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ، وَالْمَحَبَّةُ هُمْ، وَاللُّطْفَ بِهِمْ، وَلَا تَكُونَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ سَبْعًا ضَارِبًا تَغْتَنِمُ أَكْلَهُمْ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ صِنْفَانِ: إِمَّا أَخُ لَكَ فِي الدِّينِ، وَإِمَّا تَظِيرُ لَكَ فِي الْحَقْلِ، يَفْرُطُ مِنْهُمْ الزَّلُّ، وَتَعْرِضُ هُمْ الْعِلْلُ، وَيُؤْتِي عَلَى أَيْدِيهِمْ فِي الْعَمْدِ وَالْخَطَأِ، فَأَعْطِهِمْ مِنْ عَفْوِكَ وَصَفْحِكَ مِثْلَ الَّذِي تُحِبُّ وَتَرْضَى أَنْ يُعْطِيكَ اللَّهُ مِنْ عَفْوِهِ وَصَفْحِهِ؛ فَإِنَّكَ فَوْقَهُمْ، وَوَالِي الْأَمْرِ عَلَيْكَ فَوْقَكَ، وَاللَّهُ فَوْقَ مَنْ وَلَاكَ. وَقَدْ اسْتَكْفَاكَ أَمْرُهُمْ وَابْتَلَاكَ بِهِمْ. وَلَا تَنْصِبَنَّ نَفْسَكَ لِحَرْبِ اللَّهِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَدُ لَكَ بِنِقْمَتِهِ، وَلَا غِنَى يَكُ عَنْ عَفْوِهِ وَرَحْمَتِهِ...

وَأَعْلَمَ أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ شَيْءٌ يَأْدَعِي إِلَى حُسْنِ ظَنِّ رَاعٍ بِرَعِيَّتِهِ مِنْ إِحْسَانِهِ إِلَيْهِمْ، وَتَخْفِيفِهِ الْمَؤُونَاتِ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَتَرْكِ اسْتِكْرَاهِهِ إِيَّاهُمْ عَلَى مَا لَيْسَ لَهُ قِبَلُهُمْ، فَلْيَكُنْ مِنْكَ فِي ذَلِكَ

١. صِغُوه مَعَكَ: أَي مِثْلُهُ مَعَكَ (لسان العرب: ج ١٤ ص 461).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 128 و ص 133، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 355 و 358 نحوه وليس فيها من «إنما عباد الدين» إلى «معه».

٣. تحف العقول: ص 138.

solidarity of Muslims and preparedness in the face of the enemy lie only with the common people of the community, so let your inclination and affection be towards them. Verily the foremost delight of the eye for rulers is the establishment of justice in the land and the appearance of friendship for the subjects. But surely the subjects' love will not appear without their hearts being sound."¹

316. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Therefore, you should act in your rule like him who desires to secure the praise of the subjects, the reward of God and the pleasure of the Imām. There is no power save in God."²

6/5

Kindness to the Subjects and Love for them

317. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Infuse your heart with mercy, love and kindness for your subjects. Be not in face of them a voracious animal, counting them as easy prey, for they are either your brothers in religion or your like in creation. They are subject to mistakes, deficiencies overcome them and evil deeds are committed by them intentionally and by mistake. So grant them your pardon and your forgiveness to the same extent that you hope God will grant you His pardon and His forgiveness, for you are above them and he who appointed you is above you and God is above him who appointed you. God has sought from you the fulfillment of their requirements, and He is trying you with them. Set not yourself to war against God, for you have no power against His vengeance, nor are you able to dispense with His pardon and His mercy.

Know that there is nothing that brings about the trust of the ruler in the subject more than to be kind to them, to lighten their burdens and abandon coercing them in that in which he possess not any right over them. So, you should attain a

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 128 & 133, *Dā'ir al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 355 & 358.

2. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 138.

أَمْرٌ يَجْتَمِعُ لَكَ بِهِ حُسْنُ الظَّنِّ بِرَعِيَّتِكَ؛ فَإِنَّ حُسْنَ الظَّنِّ يَقْطَعُ عَنْكَ نَصَباً طَوِيلاً،
وإنَّ أَحَقَّ مَنْ حُسْنَ ظَنُّكَ بِهِ لَمَنْ حُسْنَ بَلَاؤُكَ عِنْدَهُ. وَإِنَّ أَحَقَّ مَنْ سَاءَ ظَنُّكَ بِهِ لَمَنْ
سَاءَ بَلَاؤُكَ عِنْدَهُ.^١

وزاد في تحف العقول: فأعرف هذه المنزلة لك وعلىك لتردك بصيرة في حُسن
الصنع، واستكثار حُسن البلاء عند العامة، مع ما يوجب الله بها لك في المعاد.^٢
318. عنه - من كتابه لابن عباس، وهو عامِلُهُ عَلَى الْبَصْرَةِ -: وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ الْبَصْرَةَ مَهِيْطُ
إِبْلِيسَ، وَمَغْرَسُ الْفِتَنِ، فَحَادِثُ أَهْلِهَا بِالْإِحْسَانِ إِلَيْهِمْ، وَاحْتِلَالُ عُقْدَةِ الْخَوْفِ عَنْ
قُلُوبِهِمْ.^٣

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الِاتِّصَالُ الْمُبَاشَرُ بِالنَّاسِ

319. الإمام عليّ - في عهده إلى مالك الأشتر -: اجْعَلْ لِذَوِي الْحَاجَاتِ مِنْكَ قِسْماً تُفَرِّغُ
هُمْ فِيهِ شَخْصَكَ، وَتَجْلِسُ هُمْ مَجْلِساً عَامّاً، فَتَتَوَاضَعُ فِيهِ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَكَ، وَتُقْعِدَ
عَنْهُمْ جُنْدَكَ وَأَعْوَانَكَ مِنْ أَحْرَاسِكَ وَشُرَطِكَ، حَتَّى يُكَلِّمَكَ مُتَكَلِّمُهُمْ غَيْرَ
مُتَتَعِعٍ؛ فَإِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ فِي غَيْرِ مَوْطِنٍ: «لَنْ تُقَدَّسَ أُمَّةٌ لَا يُؤْخَذُ
لِلضَّعِيفِ فِيهَا حَقُّهُ مِنَ الْقَوِيِّ غَيْرَ مُتَتَعِعٍ»....

ثُمَّ أُمُورٌ مِنْ أُمُورِكَ لَا بُدَّ لَكَ مِنْ مُبَاشَرَتِهَا، مِنْهَا: إِجَابَةُ عُمَّالِكَ بِهَا يَعْبَا عَنْهُ
كُتَّابُكَ. وَمِنْهَا: إِصْدَارُ حَاجَاتِ النَّاسِ يَوْمَ وُرُودِهَا عَلَيْكَ بِهَا تَخْرُجُ بِهِ صُدُورُ

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 354 - 356 نحوه.

٢. تحف العقول: ص 126 - 130.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 18، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 492 ح 699.

situation in which you can have trust in your subjects, as trusting them will sever from you a lasting strain. Surely he who most deserves your trust is he who has succeeded when you have tested him and he who most deserves your mistrust is he who has failed when you have tested him.”¹

[In *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl* the following is added to the above:] “Try to realize that this position can be for or against you, so that you will be more cognizant in doing good and having a good impression with people in addition to the reward that God shall have for you on Judgment Day.”²

318. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – from his letter to Ibn 'Abbās when he was his agent in Baṣra: “You should know that Baṣra is the place where Satan descends and mischief happens. Therefore, keep the people of this place pleased with good treatment and untie the knots of fear from their hearts.”³

6/6

Direct Contact with People

319. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: “Set aside for those who have requests from you a portion (of your time) in which you yourself are free (to attend) to them. Hold an open audience for them and therein be humble before God who created you. Keep the soldiers and aids that are your bodyguards and police away from them so that their spokesman may address you without stammering (in fear). I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say on more than one occasion: “A nation in which the rights of the weak are not taken from the strong without stammering shall never be sanctified.”

“Then there are certain matters of your affairs in which you must carry out personally. Among them are: responding to your administrators when your secretaries are unable to do, and meeting people's need the same day presented to you. Do not

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Da'a'im al-Islam*, vol. 1, p. 354 – 356.

2. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 126 – 130.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 18, *Bihar al-Anwār*, vol.33, p. 492, ḥ. 699.

أَعْوَانِكَ... فَلَا تُطَوِّلَنَّ احْتِجَابَكَ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ؛ فَإِنَّ احْتِجَابَ الْوَلَاةِ عَنِ الرَّعِيَّةِ شُعْبَةٌ مِنَ الضُّيْقِ، وَقَلَّةٌ عِلْمٍ بِالْأُمُورِ، وَالْإِحْتِجَابُ مِنْهُمْ يَقْطَعُ عَنْهُمْ عِلْمَ مَا احْتَجَبُوا دُونَهُ، فَيَصْغُرُ عِنْدَهُمُ الْكَبِيرُ، وَيَعْظُمُ الصَّغِيرُ، وَيَقْبُحُ الْحَسَنُ، وَيَحْسُنُ الْقَبِيحُ.^١

320. عنه: - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى قُتَيْبِ بْنِ الْعَبَّاسِ وَهُوَ عَامِلُهُ عَلَى مَكَّةَ -: لَا يَكُنْ لَكَ إِلَى النَّاسِ سَفِيرٌ إِلَّا لِسَانُكَ، وَلَا حَاجِبٌ إِلَّا وَجْهُكَ، وَلَا تَحْجُبَنَّ ذَا حَاجَةٍ عَنْ لِقَائِكَ بِهَا؛ فَإِنَّهَا إِنْ ذِيدَتْ عَنْ أَبْوَابِكَ فِي أَوَّلِ وَرْدِهَا لَمْ تُحَمَّدْ فِيهَا بَعْدُ عَلَى قَضَائِهَا.^٢

321. عنه: - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ لِأَمْرَاءِ الْحِرَاجِ -: لَا تَتَّخِذَنَّ حُجَابًا، وَلَا تَحْجُبَنَّ أَحَدًا عَنْ حَاجَتِهِ حَتَّى يُنْهِيَهَا إِلَيْكُمْ.^٣

322. عنه: - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ: إِلَى أَمْرَائِهِ عَلَى الْجَيْشِ -: مِنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَى أَصْحَابِ الْمَسَالِحِ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّ حَقًّا عَلَى الْوَالِي أَلَّا يُغَيِّرَهُ عَلَى رَعِيَّتِهِ فَضْلٌ نَالَهُ، وَلَا طَوْلٌ خُصَّ بِهِ، وَأَنْ يَزِيدَهُ مَا قَسَمَ اللَّهُ لَهُ مِنْ نِعَمِهِ دُنُوًّا مِنْ عِبَادِهِ، وَعَظْفًا عَلَى إِخْوَانِهِ.^٤

323. عنه: - فِي كِتَابِهِ إِلَى قَيْسِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ -: فَأَلِّينَ حِجَابَكَ، وَافْتَحْ بَابَكَ، وَاعْمَدْ إِلَى الْحَقِّ.^٥

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 142 نحوه.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 67، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 497 ح 702.

٣. وقعة صفين: ص 108، بحار الأنوار: ج 75 ص 355 ح 70.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 50، وقعة صفين: ص 107 عن عمر بن سعد، الأمالي للطوسي: ص 217 ح 381 عن ثعلبة بن يزيد الحماني، المعيار والموازنة: ص 103 كلها نحوه.

٥. تاريخ البعقوبي: ج 2 ص 202.

prolong your seclusion from your subjects, for the rulers' seclusion from their subjects is a kind of constraint and will result in a lack of knowledge of the affairs. Seclusion from people deprives the rulers from acquiring the knowledge of what they are unaware of and then as a result they begin to regard great matters small and bad matters good. The great appears to them as small and the small as great and the beautiful will appear as ugly and the ugly as beautiful."¹

320. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to Qutham ibn 'Abbās, his agent in Mecca: "There should be no intermediary and envoy between you and the people except your tongue and no guard save your own face. Do not prevent any needy person from meeting you, because if the needy one is returned unsatisfied from your door in the first instance, then doing it thereafter will not bring you any praise."²
321. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to the tax collectors: "Do not employ doorkeepers for yourself and do not bar anyone from making their requests until they hand it over to you."³
322. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to the commanders of the troops: "From the servant of God 'Ali (a.s.) ibn Abī Ṭālib the Commander of the Faithful to the commanders in charge of the garrisons. The distinction that an officer achieves or the wealth with which he has been exclusively endowed should not make him change his behavior towards his subjects and rather the riches God has bestowed on him should increase him in nearness to his people and kindness over his brethren."⁴
323. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to Qays ibn Sa'd: "Cut the distance between you and the people, leave your door open and adhere to the truth."⁵

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 142.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 67, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 497, ḥ. 702.

3. *Waq'at Šifīn*, p. 108, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 75, p. 355, ḥ. 70.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 50, *Waq'at Šifīn*, p. 107, *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 217, ḥ. 381, *al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzin*, p. 103.

5. *Tarikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 202.

324. عنه: ثَلَاثَةٌ مَنْ كُنَّ فِيهِ مِنَ الْأَئِمَّةِ صَلَحَ أَنْ يَكُونَ إِمَامًا: اضْطَلَعَ بِأَمَانَتِهِ إِذَا عَدَلَ فِي حُكْمِهِ، وَلَمْ يَحْتَجِبْ دُونَ رَعِيَّتِهِ، وَأَقَامَ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فِي الْقَرِيبِ وَالْبَعِيدِ.^٢

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مَحْمَلُ مَوْوَنَةِ النَّاسِ

325. الإمام علي: مَنْ لَمْ يَحْتَمِلْ مَوْوَنَةَ النَّاسِ فَقَدْ أَهْلَ قُدْرَتَهُ لِإِنْتِفَالِهَا.^٣
326. عنه: الاحْتِمَالُ رَيْنُ السِّيَاسَةِ.^٤
327. عنه: - فِي الْحُكْمِ الْمَنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: مَنْ سَاسَ نَفْسَهُ بِالصَّبْرِ عَلَى جَهْلِ النَّاسِ صَلَحَ أَنْ يَكُونَ سَائِسًا.^٥
328. عنه: إِذَا مَلَكَتْ فَارْفَقَ.^٦
329. عنه: رَأْسُ السِّيَاسَةِ اسْتِعْمَالُ الرُّفْقِ.^٧
330. عنه: نِعَمَ السِّيَاسَةِ الرُّفْقُ.^٨
331. عنه: مَنْ عَامَلَ بِالرُّفْقِ وَفَّقَ.^٩
332. عنه: مَنْ لَمْ يَلِنْ لِمَنْ دُونَهُ لَمْ يَنْلِ حَاجَتَهُ.^{١٠}

١. اضْطَلَعَ: افْتَعَلَ مِنْ الضَّلَاعَةِ، وَهِيَ الْقُوَّةُ. يُقَالُ: اضْطَلَعَ بِجُمْلَةٍ؛ أَيِ قَوِيَ عَلَيْهِ وَتَهَيَّأَ بِهِ (النهاية: ج 3 ص 97).

٢. كنز العمال: ج 5 ص 764 ح 14315.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 8982.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 772، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 24 ح 219.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 318 ح 656.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 3974، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 133 ح 2998.

٧. غرر الحكم: ح 5266، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 263 ح 4781.

٨. غرر الحكم: ح 9947.

٩. غرر الحكم: ح 7842، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 453 ح 8112.

١٠. غرر الحكم: ح 9006.

324. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "There are three traits that if they were possessed by any of the leaders, he would deserve to be regarded as a trustworthy leader: to be just in his judgments, not to veil himself from his subjects and to execute God's ordinances [equally] concerning the acquaintances and the strangers."¹

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Tolerating Difficulties Caused by People

325. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who does not tolerate the cost of people's provision is preparing to hand over power [to someone else]."²
326. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Tolerance is the adornment of politics (rule)."³
327. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in the aphorisms attributed to him: "He who manages to direct his soul to be patient about the ignorance of the people deserves to become a ruler."⁴
328. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "When you become a ruler, be lenient."⁵
329. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The foundation of politics is to practice leniency."⁶
330. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The best of politics is leniency."⁷
331. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who acts with leniency will be successful."⁸
332. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who is not lenient to those inferior to him will not achieve his desires."⁹

1. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 5, p. 764, ḥ. 14315.

2. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 8982.

3. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 772, 'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 24, ḥ. 219.

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 318, ḥ. 656.

5. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 3974, 'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 133, ḥ. 2998.

6. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 5266, 'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 263, ḥ. 4781.

7. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 9947.

8. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 7842, 'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 453, ḥ. 8112.

9. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 9006.

333. عنه عليه السلام - فيما كتبه لحذيفة بن اليمان -: أَمَرَكَ بِالرَّفَقِ فِي أُمُورِكَ، وَاللِّينَ وَالْعَدْلَ عَلَى رَعِيَّتِكَ.^١

334. عنه عليه السلام - فيما كتبه إلى أهل المدائن -: قَدْ تَوَلَّيْتُ أُمُورَكُمْ حَذِيفَةَ بْنِ الْيَمَانِ؛ وَهُوَ يَمُنُّ أَرْتَضِي بِهِدَاهُ، وَأَرْجُو صَلَاحَهُ، وَقَدْ أَمَرْتُهُ بِالْإِحْسَانِ إِلَى مُحْسِنِكُمْ، وَالشَّدَّةِ عَلَى مُرِيْبِكُمْ، وَالرَّفَقِ بِجَمِيلِكُمْ، أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ لَنَا وَلَكُمْ حُسْنَ الْخَيْرَةِ وَالْإِحْسَانَ، وَرَحْمَتَهُ الْوَاسِعَةَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ.^٢

335. عنه عليه السلام: عَلَيْكَ بِالرَّفَقِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ مِفْتَاحُ الصَّوَابِ وَسَجِيَّةُ أُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ.^٣

336. عنه عليه السلام: الرَّفَقُ يُسِّرُ الصُّعَابَ، وَيُسَهِّلُ شَدِيدَ الْأَسْبَابِ.^٤

337. عنه عليه السلام: مَنْ اسْتَعْمَلَ الرَّفَقَ لَانَ لَهُ الشَّدِيدُ.^٥

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الْإِجْتِنَابُ عَنِ الْغَضَبِ

338. الإمام علي عليه السلام - مِنْ وَصِيَّتِهِ لِابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ عِنْدَ اسْتِخْلَافِهِ إِيَّاهُ عَلَى الْبَصْرَةِ -: سَعِ النَّاسَ بِوَجْهِكَ وَتَجَلَّسْكَ وَحُكِّمْكَ، وَإِيَّاكَ وَالْغَضَبَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ طَيْرَةٌ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ.^٦

١. إرشاد القلوب: ص 321، الدرجات الرفيعة: ص 288 وفيه «الدين» بدل «اللين»، بحار الأنوار: ج 28 ص 88 ح 3.

٢. إرشاد القلوب: ص 322، الدرجات الرفيعة: ص 289 وفيه «الإسلام» بدل «الإحسان» في الموضع الثاني وراجع: الفهارات: ج 1 ص 211 وشرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 6 ص 59.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 6114، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 334 ح 5705 و ص 52 ح 1363 وفيه «الرفق مفتاح الصواب وشيمة ذوي الألباب».

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 1778.

٥. غرر الحكم: ح 8400، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 455 ح 8215 وفيه «الشدة» بدل «الشديد».

٦. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 76، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 498 ح 704.

333. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in what he wrote to Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān: "I command you to be tolerant in your affairs, lenient and just to your subjects."¹
334. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in a letter he wrote to the people of Madā'in: "I assigned your affairs to Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān whose approach I favor and whose righteousness I am hopeful of. I have commanded him to do good to your benevolent ones, to be strict on your evil doers and to be lenient to those with good behavior among you. I ask God for well-being and benevolence and His All-embracing Mercy for you and for myself in this world and the hereafter."²
335. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Be lenient, for it is the key to righteousness and the character of those who possess intellect."³
336. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Tolerance and leniency ease off hardships and facilitate difficult means."⁴
337. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who exercises leniency, difficulties will become easy for him."⁵

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Refraining from Anger

338. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his instructions to Ibn 'Abbās when he appointed him as his administrator in Baṣra: "Treat people with a broad face, when meeting them, in gatherings and when passing a rule. Beware of anger because it is an augury of Satan."⁶

1. *Irshād al-Qulūb*, p. 321, *Al-Darajāt al-Rafī'a*, p. 288; *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 28, p. 88, ḥ.3.

2. *Irshād al-Qulūb*, p. 322, *Al-Darajāt al-Rafī'a*, p. 289. Also cf., *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p.211.

3. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 6114, *'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 334, ḥ. 5705, Ibid, p. 52, ḥ. 1363.

4. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 1778.

5. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 8400, *'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 455, ḥ. 8215.

6. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 76, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 498, ḥ. 704.

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النَّهْيُ عَنْ تَلَبُّعِ الْعُيُوبِ

339. الإمام علي عليه السلام: إِنَّ لِلنَّاسِ عُيُوبًا؛ فَلَا تَكْشِفْ مَا غَابَ عَنْكَ؛ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ يَحْكُمُ عَلَيْهَا، وَاسْتُرِ الْعَوْرَةَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتَ يَسْتُرِ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ مَا تُحِبُّ سِتْرَهُ.^١
340. عنه عليه السلام - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: لِيَكُنْ أَبْعَدَ رَعِيَّتِكَ مِنْكَ وَأَشْنَأُهُمْ عِنْدَكَ أَطْلُبُهُمْ لِعَائِبِ النَّاسِ؛ فَإِنَّ فِي النَّاسِ عُيُوبًا؛ الْوَالِي أَحَقُّ مِنْ سِتْرِهَا؛ فَلَا تَكْشِفَنَّ عَمَّا غَابَ عَنْكَ مِنْهَا؛ فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْكَ تَطْهِيرُ مَا ظَهَرَ لَكَ، وَاللَّهُ يُحْكُمُ عَلَى مَا غَابَ عَنْكَ، فَاسْتُرِ الْعَوْرَةَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتَ يَسْتُرِ اللَّهُ مِنْكَ مَا تُحِبُّ سِتْرَهُ مِنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ.^٢
341. عنه عليه السلام - في الْحِكْمِ الْمَنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: الْأَشْرَارُ يَتَّبِعُونَ مَسَاوِيَّ النَّاسِ، وَيَتْرَكُونَ حَسَنَاتِهِمْ، كَمَا يَتَّبِعُ الذِّبَابُ الْمَوَاضِعَ الْفَاسِدَةَ.^٣
342. عنه عليه السلام: إِذَا سُنِلَتْ الْفَاجِرَةُ مَنْ فَجَرَ بِكَ؟ فَقَالَتْ: فَلَانٌ، فَإِنَّ عَلَيْهَا حَدِيثَيْنِ: حَدَا لِفُجُورِهَا، وَحَدَا لِفِرْيَتِهَا عَلَى الرَّجُلِ الْمُسْلِمِ.^٤
343. عنه عليه السلام: تَتَّبِعُ الْعَوْرَاتِ مِنْ أَعْظَمِ السُّوءَاتِ.^٥

١. غرر الحكم: ج 3505 وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 355.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 128 وليس فيه من «فإنها» إلى «غاب عنك».

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 269 ح 113.

٤. الكافي: ج 7 ص 209 ح 20، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 10 ص 48 ح 178 كلامهما عن السكوني عن الإمام الصادق عليه السلام.

عبود أنصار الرضا عليه السلام: ج 2 ص 39 ح 118 عن داود بن سليمان عن الإمام الرضا عن أبيه عنه عليه السلام، الجعفرات: ص 138 وفيها «لما أقرت على نفسها» بدل «لفجورها».

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 4580.

6/9

Forbidding Fault-finding

339. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Certainly people are subject to faults, so do not uncover what is concealed from you; for God the Glorified will judge about it. Veil imperfection as much as you are able to and God will veil what you would like to be veiled."¹
340. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Let the furthest of your subjects and the most hateful to you be he who most seeks out the faults of men. For people have faults, which the ruler more than anyone else should conceal. So do not uncover those of them that are hidden from you, for it is only incumbent upon you to remedy what appears before you. God will judge what is hidden from you. So veil imperfections as much as you are able to and God will veil what you would like to be veiled from your subjects."²
341. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in the aphorisms attributed to him: "The mischievous look for the defects of people and overlook their merits like the flies that go after putrid places."³
342. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "When a debauched woman is asked: 'who has committed debauchery to you?' and she answers 'so-and-so', then two punishments must be inflicted on her: a punishment for her debauchery and another one for accusing a Muslim man."⁴
343. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "To pursue others' weaknesses is of the worst of vices."⁵

1. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 3505. Also cf., *Du'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 355.

2. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 53, *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 128.

3. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 20, p. 269, ḥ. 113.

4. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 209, ḥ. 20, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 10, p. 48, ḥ. 178, *Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 39, ḥ. 118.

5. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 4580.

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الإصحاح بالعدل يدفع سوء الظن

344. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في عهدي إلى مالك الأشتر -: إن ظننت الرعية بك خيفاً فأصحرهم بعذرِكَ، وأعدل عنك ظنوتهم بإصهارِكَ؛ فإن في ذلك رياضة منك لنفسِكَ، ورفقاً برعيَّتِكَ، وإعذاراً تبلغُ به حاجتَكَ من تقويمهم على الحق.¹

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إغاثة المظلوم

345. الإمام علي عليه السلام: مَنْ لَمْ يُنْصِفِ الْمَظْلُومَ مِنَ الظَّالِمِ سَلَبَهُ اللَّهُ قُدْرَتَهُ.²
346. عنه عليه السلام: أما والذي فَلَقَ الْحَبَّةَ وَبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ، لَوْ لَا حُضُورُ الْحَاضِرِ، وَقِيَامُ الْحَاجَةِ بِوُجُودِ النَّاصِرِ، وَمَا أَخَذَ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْعُلَمَاءِ إِلَّا يُقَارَوْا عَلَى كَيْفَةِ ظَالِمٍ، وَلَا سَعْبٍ مَظْلُومٍ، لَا لَقِيتُ حَبْلَهَا عَلَى غَارِبِهَا، وَلَسَقِيتُ آخِرَهَا بِكَأْسِ أَوْلِهَا، وَلَا لَقِيتُمْ دُنْيَاكُمْ هَذِهِ أَرْهَدَ عِنْدِي مِنْ عَفْطَةِ عَنَّا.³
347. عنه عليه السلام: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! أَعْيِنُونِي عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ، وَإِيْمُ اللَّهِ لَأُنْصِفَنَّ الْمَظْلُومَ مِنْ ظَالِمِهِ، وَلَا قُوْدَنَّ الظَّالِمَ بِخِزَامَتِي، حَتَّى أُرِدَّه مِنْهُلَ الْحَقِّ وَإِنْ كَانَ كَارِهَاً.⁴

١. أي كن من أمرهم على أمر واضح منكشف، من أصحر الرجل: إذا خرج إلى الصحراء (النهاية: ج 3 ص 12).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 145 وزاد في آخره «في تخفص وإجمال».

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 8966، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 428 ح 7261.

٤. الكيفيّة: ما يعترى المعتلى من الطعام (النهاية: ج 4 ص 177).

٥. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 3، معاني الأخبار: ص 362 ح 1، الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 289 نحوه وفيها «حضور الناصر» فبدل

«حضور الحاضر»، علل الشرائع: ص 151 ح 12، الاحتجاج: ج 1 ص 458 ح 105 وفيه «أولياء الأمر» بدل

«العلماء» وفيها «يقروا» بدل «يقاروا» وكلها عن ابن عباس، الناصب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 205.

٦. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 136، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 49 ح 33.

6/10

Uncovering Excuses to Remove Suspicions

344. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "If your subjects should suspect you of an injustice, then explain to them your justification. By your explanation, turn their suspicions away from yourself. This way, you are training your self, acting kindly to your subjects and you will achieve your goal of setting them on the path of the truth."¹

6/11

Helping the Oppressed

345. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who does not take the rights of the oppressed from the oppressor, God will take his strength from him."²
346. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Behold, by Him who split the grain (to grow) and created living beings. If people had not come to me and supporters had not exhausted the argument and if there had been no pledge of God with the learned to the effect that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony of the oppressor and the hunger of the oppressed, I would have cast the rope of Caliphate on its own shoulders. I would have given the last one the same treatment as to the first one (i.e. leave it as before). Then you would have seen that this world of yours in my eyes is no better than the sneezing of a goat."³
347. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O people! Support me in your own affairs. By God, I will take revenge on the oppressor on behalf of the oppressed and will put a string in the nose of the oppressor and drag him to the spring of truthfulness even though he may grudge it."⁴

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 145.

2. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 8966, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 428, h. 7261.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 3, *Ma'ānī al-Akbbār*, p. 362, h. 1 *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p.289, *'Ilal al-Sharā'i*, p. 151, h. 12.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 136, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 49, h. 33.

348. عنه: الدليل عندي عزيز حتى أخذ الحق له، والقوي عندي ضعيف حتى أخذ الحق منه.^١

349. عنه: - في عهده إلى مالك الأشر - ثم انظر في أمر الأحكام بين الناس بينة صالحة؛ فإن الحكم في إنصاف المظلوم من الظالم والأخذ للضعيف من القوي وإقامة حدود الله على سبيلها ومنهاجها بما يصلح عباد الله وبلاؤه.^٢

350. الإمام الباقر: رجع علي إلى داره في وقت القيظ فإذا امرأة قائمة تقول: إن زوجي ظلمني وأخافني وتعدى علي وحلف ليضربني، فقال: يا أمة الله! اصبري حتى يبرد النهار، ثم اذهب معك إن شاء الله، فقالت: يشتد غضبه وحرده علي، فطأ رأسه ثم رفعه وهو يقول: لا والله أو يؤخذ للمظلوم حقه غير متع، أين منزلك؟ فمضى إلى باب فوقف، فقال: السلام عليكم. فخرج شاب، فقال علي: يا عبد الله! اتق الله فإنك قد أخففتها وأخرجتها. فقال الفتى: وما أنت وذاك؟ والله لأحرقتها لكلامك!

فقال أمير المؤمنين: أمرك بالمعروف وأنهاك عن المنكر تستقبلني بالمنكر، وتبكر المعروف؟ قال: فأقبل الناس من الطرق ويقولون: سلام عليكم يا أمير المؤمنين، فسقط الرجل في يديه^٣ فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين أقبلني عثرتي، فوالله لا أكون لها أرضاً تطأني، فأغمد علي سيفه وقال: يا أمة الله ادخلي منزلك، ولا تلجني روجك إلى مثل هذا وشبهه.^٤

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 37، بحار الأنوار: ج 39 ص 351 ح 25.

٢. تحف العقول: ص 135.

٣. يقال لكل من ندم وعجز عن الشيء: قد سقط في يده، وأسقط في يده، لغتان (تجمع البحرين: ج 2 ص 854).

٤. النقيب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 106، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 57 ح 7.

348. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The humiliated person in my view is honorable until I secure his rights for him and the strong in my view is weak until I take the rights (of others) from him."¹
349. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then, look into the matter of the judgments among people with good intention. The true judgment is to take back the rights of the oppressed from the oppressors, to support the weak against the strong and to execute God's laws according to their proper ways and courses, which will set aright God's servants and His lands."²
350. Imām al-Bāqir: "'Ali (a.s.) was returning home in the heat [of the day] when he saw a woman standing, saying: 'My husband has wronged me, scared me, harassed me and he has threatened to beat me.'
 'Ali (a.s.) said: "O Servant of God! Be patient until the weather cool off and then I will go with you if God wills."
 The woman said: "His anger and fury will increase against me."
 He lowered his head, then raised it and said: "By God, (I will not stop) until the right of the oppressed is secured without stammering. Where is your house?"
 He went to the man's house, stopped at the door and called out: "Peace be on you (*assalām alykum!*)"
 A young man came out and 'Ali (a.s.) said: "O Servant of God! Be wary of God! You have scared your wife and brought her forth."
 The young man said: "Who are you to get involved? By God, I will burn her because of your words!"
 Then the Commander of the Faithful said: "I am enjoining you to do good and refraining you from doing wrong and you respond to me with wrong and ignore the good?"
 The narrator [Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.)] said: "People were gathering around and saying: "Peace be on you O Commander of the Faithful!"
 Repentant and confused, the man said: "O Commander of the Faithful! Forgive my fault. By God, [from now on] I will be like the ground for her to step on."
 'Ali (a.s.) sheathed his sword and said: "O Servant of God! Enter your house and do not force your wife into such troubles."³

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 37, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 39, p. 351, ḥ. 25.

2. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 135.

3. *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib*, vol. 2, p. 106, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 57, ḥ. 7.

351. الاختصاص: إِنَّ سَعِيدَ بْنَ الْقَيْسِ الْهَمْدَانِيَّ رَأَاهُ [عَلِيًّا] يَوْمًا فِي شِدَّةِ الْحَرِّ فِي فِنَاءٍ حَائِطٍ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ! يَهْذِهِ السَّاعَةِ؟ قَالَ: مَا خَرَجْتُ إِلَّا لِأَعَيْنَ مَظْلُومًا أَوْ أُغِيثَ مَلْهُوفًا. فَبَيْنَا هُوَ كَذَلِكَ إِذْ أَتَتْهُ امْرَأَةٌ قَدْ خَلَعَ قَلْبُهَا، لَا تَدْرِي أَبِنْ تَأْخُذُ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا حَتَّى وَقَفَتْ عَلَيْهِ، فَقَالَتْ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ! ظَلَمَنِي زَوْجِي وَتَعَذَّى عَلَيَّ وَخَلَفَ لِيضْرِبُنِي فَادْهَبْ مَعِيَ إِلَيْهِ، فَطَاطَأَ رَأْسَهُ ثُمَّ رَفَعَهُ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: لَا وَاللَّهِ، حَتَّى يُؤْخَذَ لِلْمَظْلُومِ حَقُّهُ غَيْرَ مُتَعَتِّعٍ، وَأَيْنَ مَنَزِلُكَ؟ قَالَتْ: فِي مَوْضِعٍ كَذَا وَكَذَا. فَانْطَلَقَ مَعَهَا حَتَّى انْتَهَتْ إِلَى مَنَزِلِهَا، فَقَالَتْ: هَذَا مَنَزِلِي، قَالَ: فَسَلِّمْ، فَخَرَجَ شَابٌّ عَلَيْهِ إِزَارٌ مُلَوَّنَةٌ، فَقَالَ: إِنَّكَ اللَّهُ فَقَدْ أَخَفْتَ زَوْجَتَكَ، فَقَالَ: وَمَا أَنْتَ وَذَاكَ؟ وَاللَّهِ لَا حَرِقَتْهَا بِالنَّارِ لِكَلَامِكَ.

قال: وكان إذا ذهب إلى مكان أخذ الدرة بيده، والسيف معلق تحت يده، فمن حلَّ عليه حُكِمَ بالدرة صَربُهُ، ومن حلَّ عليه حُكِمَ بالسيف عاجلُهُ، فلم يعلم الشاب إلا وقد أصلت السيف وقال له: أَمُرُكَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَأَنْهَاكَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ، وَتَرُدُّ الْمَعْرُوفَ أَثْبُ وَالْأَقْتِلْتُكَ.

قال: وأقبل الناس من السكك يسألون عن أمير المؤمنين ع حتى وقفوا عليه، قال: فَأَسْقِطْ فِي يَدِهِ الشَّابُّ، وقال: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، اعْفُ عَنِّي عَفَا اللَّهُ عَنْكَ، وَاللَّهِ لَا كَوْنَنُ أَرْضًا تَطْلَانِي، فَأَمَرَهَا بِالْدُخُولِ إِلَى مَنَزِلِهَا وَانْكَفَأَ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: (لَا خَيْرَ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِّنْ نَّجْوَاهُمْ إِلَّا مَنْ أَمَرَ بِصَدَقَةٍ أَوْ مَعْرُوفٍ أَوْ إِصْلَاحٍ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ).

الحمد لله الذي أصلح بي بينَ امرأة وزوجها، يقول الله تبارك وتعالى: (لَا خَيْرَ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِّنْ نَّجْوَاهُمْ إِلَّا مَنْ أَمَرَ بِصَدَقَةٍ أَوْ مَعْرُوفٍ أَوْ إِصْلَاحٍ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاتِ اللَّهِ فَسَوْفَ نُؤْتِيهِ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا)^{٢، ٣}

١. ما أثبتناه هو الصحيح كما في بحار الأنوار، وما في المصدر: «في يد الشاب».

٢. النساء: ١١٤.

٣. الاختصاص: ص ١٥٧، بحار الأنوار: ج ٤٠ ص ١١٣.

351. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*: Sa'id ibn Qays al-Hamadānī saw 'Ali (a.s.) near a wall on a hot day and he asked him: "O Commander of the Faithful! What are you doing here at this hour?"

He said: "I have not gone forth but to help an oppressed person or assist one who asks for help."

At this time a woman who was disheartened and bewildered came towards him. She stopped before him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful! My husband has wronged me, harassed me and threatened to beat me. Come along with me to go to him."

He lowered his head, then raised it and said: 'By God, not until the right of the oppressed is secured without stammering. Where is your house?

She said in such and such a neighborhood.

He went along with the woman until they reached her house. The woman said: "This is my house." [The narrator goes on to say] He greeted and then a man came out and he was wearing a long colorful garment. 'Ali (a.s.) told him: "Be wary of God! You have scared your wife." The young man said: "Who are you to get involved? By God, I will burn her because of your words!"

[The narrator says:] Whenever he ['Ali (a.s.)] went somewhere he would carry his whip in his hand and wear his sword. If someone was judged to be punished by whipping, he would whip him and if someone was judged to be punished with a sword, he would promptly carry it out.

All of a sudden the young man noticed that 'Ali (a.s.) had unsheathed his sword and was saying: "I am enjoining you to do good and refraining you from doing wrong and you are rejecting good? Repent! Or I will punish you."

[The narrator says:] People from the nearby alleys came towards the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) and crowded before him. [At this time] The young man repented and said: "O Commander of the Faithful Forgive me! May God forgive you [too]! By God, [from now on] I will be like the ground for her to step on."

Then he ordered the woman to go back to her house and he himself returned [home] too, while reciting: "*There is no good in much of their secret talks, excepting him who enjoins charity or what is right or reconciliation between people....*"¹

"Praise be to God who through me reconciled between a woman and her husband. God the Blessed and the Exalted says: "*There is no good in much of their secret talks, excepting him who enjoins charity or what is right or reconciliation between people, and whoever does that, seeking God's pleasure, soon We shall give him a great reward.*"²

1. Qur'ān, 4:114.

2. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 157, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 40, p. 113.

352. الكافي عن أسيد بن صفوان صاحب رسول الله ﷺ: لَمَّا كَانَ الْيَوْمُ الَّذِي قُبِضَ فِيهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ ارْتَجَّ الْمَوْضِعُ بِالْبُكَاءِ، وَدَهَشَ النَّاسُ كَيَوْمِ قُبُضِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ، وَجَاءَ رَجُلٌ بَاكِيًّا وَهُوَ مُسْرِعٌ مُسَرَّجٌ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: الْيَوْمَ انْقَطَعَتْ خِلَافَةُ النَّبُوَّةِ، حَتَّى وَقَفَ عَلَى بَابِ الْبَيْتِ الَّذِي فِيهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ فَقَالَ: رَحِمَكَ اللَّهُ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ، كُنْتَ أَوَّلَ الْقَوْمِ إِسْلَامًا وَأَخْلَصَهُمْ إِيْمَانًا... الضَّعِيفُ الدَّلِيلُ عِنْدَكَ قَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ حَتَّى تَأْخُذَ لَهُ بِحَقِّهِ، وَالْقَوِيُّ الْعَزِيزُ عِنْدَكَ ضَعِيفٌ دَلِيلٌ حَتَّى تَأْخُذَ مِنْهُ الْحَقُّ، وَالْقَرِيبُ وَالْبَعِيدُ عِنْدَكَ فِي ذَلِكَ سَوَاءٌ.^١

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب ﷺ: ص 490 (الإتصال المباشر بالناس).

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تَأْسِيسُ بَيْتِ الْقِصَصِ

353. صبح الأعشى: أَوَّلُ مَنْ اتَّخَذَ بَيْتًا تُرْمَى فِيهِ قِصَصُ أَهْلِ الظُّلُمَاتِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ (رضي الله عنه).^١

354. الأوائل عن محمد بن سيرين: اتَّخَذَ عَلِيٌّ بَيْتًا يُلْقَى النَّاسُ فِيهِ الْقِصَصَ.^٢

355. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: كَانَ لِأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ بَيْتٌ سَمَّاهُ: بَيْتَ الْقِصَصِ، يُلْقَى النَّاسُ فِيهِ رِقَاعُهُمْ.^٣

356. الإمام علي ﷺ - لِأَصْحَابِهِ -: مَنْ كَانَتْ لَهُ إِلَيَّ مِنْكُمْ حَاجَةٌ، فَلْيَرْفَعْهَا فِي كِتَابٍ؛ لِأَصَوْنِ وَجُوهَكُمْ عَنِ الْمَسْأَلَةِ.^٤

١. الكافي: ج ١ ص 454 ح 4، كمال الدين: ص 388 - 390 ح 3، الأمانى للصدوق: ص 312 ح 363.

٢. صبح الأعشى: ج ١ ص 414.

٣. الأوائل لأبي هلال: ص 142.

٤. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 1 ص 87.

٥. العقد الفريد: ج 1 ص 203.

352. *al-Kāfi* – narrating from Usayd ibn Ṣafwan, a companion of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.): “On the day of the death of the Commander of the Faithful, the town of Kūfa was quivering with the people’s weeping and the people were astounded (confused) just like the day of the Prophet’s (ṣ.a.w.) death.”

[At this time] a man came running towards us and reciting the verse “*Indeed we belong to God, and to Him do we indeed return*” and he said: “Today the chain of succession of Prophethood is broken off.” He stopped at the door of the house in which the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) was and said: “O Abū al-Ḥasan may God have Mercy upon you! You were the first of the people in [embracing] Islam and their most sincere in faith. The weak and the humiliated were powerful and honorable with you until you would secure their rights and the powerful and strong were weak and humiliated before you until you would take from them the rightful due. The distant people and the nearest ones were all the same to you in these things.”¹

See, 6/6: “*Direct Contact with People*”.

6/12

Setting up the ‘House of Complaints’

353. *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*: “The first person who set up a place for people to lodge their complaints was the Commander of the Faithful ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.).”²
354. *Al-Awā’il* – narrating from Muḥammad ibn Sirīn: “‘Ali (a.s.) set up a house in which the people would lodge their complaints.”³
355. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*: “There was a house belonging to the Commander of the Faithful which he named *bayt al-qīṣaṣ* (the house of complaints) and the people would drop their letters of complaints in it.”⁴
356. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – saying to his companions: “Any one of you who has a request from me should write it in a note so that I spare your face from direct questioning.”⁵

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 454, ḥ. 4, *Kamāl al-Dīn*, p. 388 – 390, ḥ. 3, *al-Amālī* by al-Ṣaduq, p. 312, ḥ. 363.

2. *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, vol. 1, p. 414.

3. *al-Awā’il*, p. 142.

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 17, p. 87.

5. *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 1, p. 203.

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الْمُرَاقَبَةُ لِذَفْعِ ظُلْمِ الْجُنُودِ

357. الإمام علي عليه السلام: من عبد الله علي أمير المؤمنين إلى من مر به الجيش من جباة الخراج وعيال البلاد:

أما بعد، فإنني قد سيرت جنوداً هي مارة بكم إن شاء الله، وقد أوصيتهم بما يحب الله عليهم من كف الأذى، وصرف الشدي،^١ وأنا أبرأ إليكم وإلى ذمتكم من معرة الجيش، إلا من جوعة المضطر، لا يجذ عنها مذهباً إلى شيعه، فنكلوا من تناول منهم شيئاً ظلماً عن ظلمهم، وكفوا أيدي سفهائكم عن مضاررتهم، والتعرض لهم فيما استئنياء منهم، وأنا بين أظهر الجيش، فارقوا إلي مظلالمكم، وما عراكم بما يغلبكم من أمرهم، وما لا تطيقون دفعه إلا بالله وبني، فأنا أغيره بمعونة الله إن شاء الله.^٢

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الْخِرْصُ عَلَى جَمَاعَةِ الْأَمَّةِ

358. الإمام علي عليه السلام - من كتاب له إلى أبي موسى الأشعري جواباً في أمر الحكمين -: فإن الناس قد تغير كثير منهم عن كثير من حفظهم، فبالوا مع الدنيا، ونطقوا باهوى، وإنني نزلت من هذا الأمر منزلاً معجباً، اجتمع به أقوام أعجبته أنفسهم، وأنا

١. الشدي: الشر والأذى (النهاية: ج 2 ص 454).

٢. المعرة: الأمر الفحيح المكروه والأذى (النهاية: ج 3 ص 205).

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 60، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 486 ح 691.

6/13

Inspection to Repel the Wrongs Done by the Troops

357. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "From the servant of God 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful to whomever through whose jurisdiction the army passes, be they collectors of revenue or administrators of the land:

I have sent an army that will pass by you, if God wills. I have instructed them about what God has made obligatory on them, namely that they should avoid molestation and evade harm. I declare before you and based on the covenant I have with you (or those who are under your protection) that I denounce any annoyance committed by the army except when one is compelled by hunger and there is no other way of satisfying it. Then punish those who commit injustice. Prevent those who intend to do wrong to them from their injustice and avert the silly ones among you from harming them [the army] and to intervene in their affairs except in that which I have allowed. I myself am within the army, so refer to me their complaints and any hardship which is caused by them and which you cannot repel except through God and through me. I shall then repel it with the help of God, if He so wills."¹

6/14

Attempts towards Unifying the Muslim Community

358. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī in response to the issue of the arbitration: "Certainly many people changed because they lost so many lasting benefits. Therefore they inclined towards the world and spoke out of desire. I have been struck with wonder in this matter upon which people who are self-conceited have gathered. I am providing a cure for their wound, but I fear it develops into a clot of blood (and becomes incurable). Remember that no person is more covetous than I am for the unity of the nation of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) and their

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 60, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 486, ḥ. 691.

أدأوي منهم قرحاً أخاف أن يكون علقاً، وليس رجُل - فاعلم - أحرص على
جماعة أمة محمد ﷺ وألفتها مني، أبتغي بذلك حسن الثواب، وكرم المآب، وسأفي
بألذي وأيت^١ على نفسي.^٢

359. عنه: - في التحذير من الفتن -: لا تكونوا أنصاب الفتن، وأعلام البدع، والزمو
ما عقد عليه حبل الجماعة، وبُيئت عليه أركان الطاعة.^٣

360. عنه: - من كلامه مع الخوارج -: الزمو السواد الأعظم؛ فإن يد الله مع الجماعة،
وإياكم والفرقة! فإن الشاذ من الناس للشيطان، كما أن الشاذ من الغنم للذئب.^٤

361. عنه: - ليردعكم الإسلام ووقاره عن التباعي والتهاذي، ولتجتمع كلمتكم،
والزمو دين الله الذي لا يقبل من أحد غيرهُ، وكلمة الإخلاص التي هي قوام
الدين.^٥

362. عنه: - إياكم والتلون في دين الله؛ فإن جماعة فيما تكَرّهون من الحق خير من فرقة فيما
تُحِبّون من الباطل، وإن الله سبحانه لم يعط أحدًا بفرقة خيراً، بمن مضى ولا بمن بقي.^٦

363. عنه: - إن الشيطان يُسنّي^٧ لكم طرقهُ، ويريد أن يحل دينكم عقدة عقدة،
ويُعطيكم بالجماعة الفرقة، وبالفرقة الفتنه، فاصدّوا عن نزغاته ونفثاته.^٨

١. الزأي: الوعد الذي يوقفه الرجل على نفسه، ويعزم على الوفاء به (النهاية: ج 5 ص 144).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 78، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 304 ح 554.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 151، تنابيع المودة: ج 3 ص 372 ح 4.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 127، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 101 ح 2312 وفيه من «إياكم والفرقة...»، بحار الأنوار:
ج 33 ص 373 ح 604.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 45.

٦. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 176، بحار الأنوار: ج 2 ص 313 ح 176، تنابيع المودة: ج 3 ص 437 ح 9 وليس فيه من «فإن
جماعة إلى الباطل».

٧. يقال: سنّيت الشيء: إذا فتحته وسهّلته. وتسنى لي كذا: أي تيسر ونأق (النهاية: ج 2 ص 415).

٨. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 121.

solidarity. I seek through it good reward and an honorable place to return to. I shall fulfill what I have pledged upon myself.”¹

359. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – on warning against seditions (*fitnah*): “You should not be signs of sedition and flags of innovations but should adhere to that on which the community is united and on which the pillars of obedience (of Allah) have been founded.”²
360. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – from his speech to the Khawārij: “Be with the great majority (of Muslims) because God’s hand (of protection) is with the united community. You should beware of division because the one isolated from the group is a prey to Satan just as the one isolated from the flock of sheep is a prey to the wolf.”³
361. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “Let Islam and its dignity keep you away from rebelliousness and blathering. Be united on one word. Hold fast to the religion of God, that beside it, no other creed would be accepted from any one; and to the word of sincerity (There is no god but Allah) which is the firm basis of religion.”⁴
362. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “You should avoid being divided in the matter of God’s religion for your unity in respect of a right you dislike, is better than disunity in respect of a wrong that you like! Certainly God the Glorified has not given any person, neither in the past nor present, any good for [his] separation.”⁵
363. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “Satan has made his ways easy for you and wants to break the joints of your religion one by one and to cause division among you in place of unity and bring you turbulence by division. So keep away from his evil ideas and whisperings.”⁶

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 78, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 304, ḥ. 554.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 151, *Yanābi’ al-Mawadda*, vol. 3, p. 372, ḥ. 4.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 127, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā’iz*, p. 101, ḥ. 2312, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 373, ḥ. 604.

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 4, p. 45.

5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*: Sermon 176, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 2, p. 313, ḥ. 76, *Yanābi’ al-Mawadda*, vol. 3, p. 437, ḥ. 9.

6. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 121.

364. عنه: وإيم الله، ما اختلقت أمة بعد نبئها إلا ظهر باطلها على حقها، إلا ما شاء الله.^١

365. عنه: وإني، والله، لأظن أن هؤلاء القوم سيّدون^٢ منكم بإجتباعهم على باطلهم، وتفرقكم عن حَقِّكم.^٣

366. عنه: - في تحذير الأمة من الفرقة -: إحدروا ما نزل بالأمم قبلكم من المثلات بسوء الأفعال وذميم الأعمال! فتذكروا في الحير والشر أحوالهم، واحذروا أن تكونوا أمثالهم.

فإذا تفكرتم في تفاوت حالهم فالزموا كل أمر لزم العزة به شأنهم، وزاحمت الأعداء له عنهم، ومُدَّت العافية به عليهم، وانقادت النعمة له معهم، ووصلت الكرامة عليه حبْلهم من الإجتناِب للفرقة، واللزوم للألفة، والتحاوُس عليها، والتواصي بها، واجتنبوا كل أمر كسر فقرتهم، وأوهن مُتَّهم. من تضاعف القلوب، وتشاخص الصدور، وتدابر النفوس، وتخاذل الأيدي، وتدبروا أحوال الماضين من المؤمنين قبلكم، كيف كانوا في حال التمحيص والبلاء، ألم يكونوا أثقل الخلائق أعباء، وأجهد العباد بلاء، وأضيق أهل الدنيا حالاً؟ إنَّحَذِثْهُمْ الفرائضة عبيداً؛ فساموهم سوء العذاب، وجرعوهم المرار؛ فلم تبرح الحال بهم في ذلِّ الهلكة وقهر الغلبة. لا يجدون حيلة في امتناع، ولا سبيلاً إلى دفاع.

حتى إذا رأى الله سبحانه جدَّ الصبر منهم على الأذى في محبته، والإحتيال للمكروه من خوفه جعل لهم من مضايق البلاء فرجاً، فأبدتهم العز مكان الذلِّ،

١. الأمانى للعفيد: ص 235 ح 5، الأمانى للطرسي: ص 11 ح 13 كلاهما عن الأصمغ بن نباتة، ومعه صفين: ص 224

عن أبي سنان الأسلمي؛ شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 5 ص 181 وفيها «أهل باطلها على أهل حقها».

٢. الإدالة: الغلبة (النهاية: ج 2 ص 141).

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 25.

364. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "By God, no communities differ [among themselves] after their Prophet except that their falsities overwhelm their truths except what God wills."¹
365. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "By God, I can see that these people will soon overcome you because of their unity [even] on their wrong and your disunity in your right."²
366. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – on warning people against disunity: "You should fear what calamities befell people before you on account of their evil deeds and detestable actions. Remember what has happened to them during good or bad circumstances and be cautious that you may become like them!"

After you have thought over both conditions of these people, attach yourself to everything with which their position became honorable and on account of which enemies remained away from them and through which safety spread over them. Attach yourself to that by which riches bowed before them and as a result of which they achieved distinction and honor. These things were all because of abstention from division, sticking to unity, calling each other to it and advising each other about it. Avoid everything which broke their backbone and weakened their power, such as malice in the heart, hatred in the chest, turning away (from each other's help) and withholding the hand from the assistance of one another!

Think about the condition of people from among the believers who passed before you. How they were in trials and distress! Were they not the most over-burdened among all the people and in the most straitened circumstances in the whole world? The Pharaohs took them as slaves. They inflicted on them the worst punishments and bitter sufferings. They continuously remained in this state of ruinous disgrace and severe subjugation. They found no plan for escape and no way for protection from sufferings until God the Glorified noticed that they were enduring troubles in His love and bearing distresses out of fear for Him, He saved them from the distress of trials. He changed their disgrace into

1. *al-Amālī* by al-Mufīd, p. 235, ḥ. 5. *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 11, ḥ. 13, *Waq'at Šifīn*, p. 224.

2. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 25.

وَالْأَمْنُ مَكَانَ الْحَقُوفِ، فَصَارُوا مُلُوكًا حُكَّامًا، وَأَيْمَةً أَعْلَامًا، وَقَدْ بَلَغَتْ الْكَرَامَةُ مِنْ اللَّهِ هُمْ مَا لَمْ تَذْهَبِ الْأَمَالُ إِلَيْهِ بِهِمْ.

فَانْظُرُوا كَيْفَ كَانُوا حَيْثُ كَانَتْ الْأَمَلَاءُ^١ مُجْتَمِعَةً، وَالْأَهْوَاءُ مُؤْتَلِفَةً، وَالْقُلُوبُ مُعْتَدِلَةً، وَالْأَيْدِي مُتَرَادِفَةً، وَالسُّيُوفُ مُتَنَاصِرَةً، وَالْبَصَائِرُ نَافِذَةً، وَالْعَزَائِمُ وَاحِدَةً. أَلَمْ يَكُونُوا أَرْبَابًا فِي أَقْطَارِ الْأَرْضَيْنِ، وَمُلُوكًا عَلَى رِقَابِ الْعَالَمَيْنِ؟ فَانْظُرُوا إِلَى مَا صَارُوا إِلَيْهِ فِي آخِرِ أُمُورِهِمْ حِينَ وَقَعَتِ الْفُرْقَةُ، وَتَشَتَّتِ الْأُلْفَةُ، وَاخْتَلَفَتِ الْكَلِمَةُ وَالْأَفْنَدَةُ، وَتَشَعَّبُوا مُخْتَلِفِينَ، وَتَفَرَّقُوا مُتَحَارِبِينَ، قَدْ خَلَعَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ لِبَاسَ كِرَامَتِهِ، وَسَلَبَهُمْ غَضَارَةَ نِعَمَتِهِ. وَبَقِيَ قَصَصُ أَخْبَارِهِمْ فِيكُمْ عِبْرًا لِلْمُعْتَبِرِينَ.

فَاعْتَبِرُوا بِحَالِ وَلَدِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَبَنِي إِسْحَاقَ وَبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ^٢؛ فَمَا أَشَدَّ اعْتِدَالَ الْأَحْوَالِ، وَأَقْرَبَ اشْتِبَاءِ الْأَمْثَالِ. تَأَمَّلُوا أَمْرَهُمْ فِي حَالِ تَشَتُّبِهِمْ وَتَفَرُّقِهِمْ لِيَالِي كَانَتْ الْأَكَاسِرَةُ وَالْقِيَاصِرَةُ أَرْبَابًا لَهُمْ، يَحْتَازُونَهُمْ عَنْ رَيْفِ الْأَفَاقِ، وَبَحْرِ الْعِرَاقِ وَخُضْرَةِ الدُّنْيَا إِلَى مَنَابِتِ الشَّيْحِ، وَمَهَابِي الرِّيحِ، وَتَكْدِ الْمَعَاشِ. فَتَرَكُوهُمْ عَالَةً مَسَاكِينَ، إِخْوَانٌ دَبَّرَ وَوَبَّرَ، أَذَلَّ الْأُمَمَ دَارًا، وَأَجَدَبَهُمْ قَرَارًا. لَا يَأْوُونَ إِلَى جَنَاحِ دَعْوَةٍ يَعْتَصِمُونَ بِهَا، وَلَا إِلَى ظِلِّ أُلْفَةٍ يَعْتَمِدُونَ عَلَى عِزِّهَا. فَالْأَحْوَالُ مُضْطَرِبَةٌ، وَالْأَيْدِي مُخْتَلِفَةٌ، وَالْكَثْرَةُ مُتَفَرِّقَةٌ. فِي بَلَاءٍ أَزَلٍ، وَأَطْبَاقٍ جَهْلٍ! مِنْ بَنَاتِ مَوُودَةٍ، وَأَصْنَامِ مَعْبُودَةٍ، وَأَرْحَامِ مَقْطُوعَةٍ، وَغَارَاتِ مَشْنُونَةٍ.

فَانْظُرُوا إِلَى مَوَاقِعِ نِعَمِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ حِينَ بَعَثَ إِلَيْهِمْ رَسُولًا، فَعَقَدَ بِمِلَّتِهِ طَاعَتَهُمْ، وَجَمَعَ عَلَى دَعْوَتِهِ الْفَتْهُمْ. كَيْفَ نَشَرَتِ النِّعْمَةُ عَلَيْهِمْ جَنَاحَ كِرَامَتِهَا، وَأَسَالَتْ هُمْ جَدَاوِلَ نَعِيمِهَا، وَالتَّقَّتِ الْمِلَّةُ بِهِمْ فِي عَوَائِدِ بَرَكَتِهَا. فَأَصْبَحُوا فِي

١. جمع ملاء، أشراف الناس ورؤسائهم ومقدموهم الذي يُرجع إلى قولهم (النهاية: ج ٤ ص 351).

honor and fear into safety and they became ruling kings and conspicuous leaders and God's favors over them reached that limit which their own wishes had not reached.

Look how they were when their groups were united, their views were unanimous, their hearts were upright and straight, their hands used to help one another, their swords were intended for assisting one another, their eyes were sharp and their aims were the same. Did they not become masters of all corners of the earth and rulers over the parts of the worlds? Thereafter, see what happened to them towards the end when division overtook them, unity became fractured and differences arose between their words and their hearts. They were divided into various groups and were scattered, fighting among each other and then, God took away from them the apparel of His honor and deprived them of the affluence of His favors. Only their stories have remained among you for the guidance of those who may learn lesson from them.

You should take a lesson from the fate of the progeny of Ismā'il, the children of Ishāq and the children of Isrā'il. How similar are their affairs and how akin are their examples. Ponder on their condition during the days of their division and disunity, when [such tyrants as] Kesras and Caesar were their masters. They turned them out from the pastures of their lands, the rivers of Iraq and the fertility of the world towards thorny forests, the passages of (hot) winds and hardships in livelihood. In this way they turned them into just herders of camels. Their houses were the worst in the world and their places of stay were the most drought-stricken. There was not one voice towards which they could turn for protection, nor any shred of affection on whose strength they could trust. Their condition was full of distress. Their hands were scattered. Their majority was divided. They were in great anguish and under layers of ignorance. They buried their daughters alive, worshipped idols, disregarded kinship and practiced robbery.

Now, look at the various favors of God upon them, when He sent forth for them a Prophet who made them to pledge their obedience to Him and made them unite through His call. [Look] how God's bounty spread the wings of its favors over them and flowed for them streams of its blessing and the whole community became wrapped in blissful prosperity. Consequently

نِعْمَتِهَا غَرِيقَيْنِ، وَفِي خُضْرَةٍ عَيْشِهَا فَكِيهَيْنِ. قَدْ تَرَبَّعَتِ الْأُمُورُ بِهِمْ، فِي ظِلِّ سُلْطَانٍ قَاهِرٍ، وَأَوْتِنُهُمُ الْحَالُ إِلَى كَنْفِ عِزٍّ غَالِبٍ. وَتَعَطَّطَتِ الْأُمُورُ عَلَيْهِمْ فِي ذُرَى مُلْكٍ ثَابِتٍ. فَهُمْ حُكَّامٌ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ، وَمُلُوكٌ فِي أَطْرَافِ الْأَرْضِينَ. يَمْلِكُونَ الْأُمُورَ عَلَى مَنْ كَانَ يَمْلِكُهَا عَلَيْهِمْ. وَيُمضُونَ الْأَحْكَامَ فِيَمَنْ كَانَ يُمضِيهَا فِيهِمْ. لَا تُغْمَرُ هُمْ قَنَاءً، وَلَا تُقَرَّعُ هُمْ صَفَاءً.^١

أَلَا وَإِنَّكُمْ قَدْ نَقَضْتُمْ أَيْدِيَكُمْ مِنْ حَبْلِ الطَّاعَةِ. وَتَلَمَّتُمْ حِصْنَ اللَّهِ الْمَضْرُوبَ عَلَيْكُمْ بِأَحْكَامِ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ؛ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ قَدْ ائْتَمَّنَ عَلَى جَمَاعَةٍ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ فِيهَا عَقْدَ بَيْنَتِهِمْ مِنْ حَبْلِ هَذِهِ الْأَلْفَةِ الَّتِي يَنْتَقِلُونَ فِي ظِلِّهَا، وَيَأْوُونَ إِلَى كَنْفِهَا، بِنِعْمَةٍ لَا يَعْرِفُ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْمَخْلُوقِينَ لَهَا قِيَمَةً؛ لِأَنَّهَا أَرْجَحُ مِنْ كُلِّ ثَمَنِ، وَأَجَلُّ مِنْ كُلِّ خَطَرٍ.^٢

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 2 ص 58 (خفاة الفرقة).

و ص 517 (موقع مضالح النظام الإسلامي في صدور الأحكام).

١. الصُّفَاة: الصخرة والحجر الأملس، والمراد أنه لا يتألم أحد بسوء (النهاية: ج 3 ص 41).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 192، بحار الأنوار: ج 14 ص 472 ح 37.

they were submerged under its bounty and enjoyed its lushful life. Their affairs became settled under the protection of a powerful ruler and the circumstance offered them overpowering honor and all things became easy for them under the auspiciousness of a strong country. They became rulers of the world and kings in [various] parts of the earth. They became masters of those who were formerly their masters and began issuing commands over those who used to command them. They were so strong that neither their spears needed testing nor did their weapons have any flaw.

Indeed, you have diverted yourselves from the rope of obedience and broken the divine fortress of God that was put up for you [by resorting to] the laws of the age of ignorance. Certainly it is a great blessing of God Almighty that He has engendered among them unity through the cord of affection under whose shade they walk and take shelter. This is a blessing whose value no one realizes because it is greater than any cost and more majestic than any honor."¹

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 192, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 14, p. 472, ḥ. 37.

الفصل السابع

السِّيَاسَةُ الْقَضَائِيَّةُ

1 / 7

إِخْتِيَارُ الْفَاضِلِ لِلْقَضَاءِ

367. الإمام عليؑ - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: ثُمَّ اخْتَرَ لِلْحُكْمِ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَفْضَلَ رَعِيَّتِكَ فِي نَفْسِكَ، يَمْنَنُ لَا تَضِيقُ بِهِ الْأُمُورُ، وَلَا تُحْكِكُهُ الْحُصُومُ، وَلَا يَتَمَادَى فِي الرِّزْقِ، وَلَا يَحْضُرُ مِنَ الْفَقِيءِ إِلَى الْحَقِّ إِذَا عَرَفَهُ، وَلَا تُشْرِفُ نَفْسُهُ عَلَى طَمَعٍ، وَلَا يَكْتَفِي بِأَدْنَى فَهْمٍ دُونَ أَقْصَاهُ، وَأَوْقَفَهُمْ فِي الشُّبُهَاتِ، وَأَخَذَهُمْ بِالْحُجَجِ، وَأَقْلَلَهُمْ تَبَرُّمًا بِمُرَاجَعَةِ الْحَصِمِ، وَأَصْبَرَهُمْ عَلَى تَكْشُفِ الْأُمُورِ، وَأَصْرَمَهُمْ عِنْدَ انْتِصَاحِ الْحُكْمِ، يَمْنَنُ لَا يَزِدُّهُ إِطْرَاءٌ وَلَا يَسْتَمِيلُهُ إِغْرَاءٌ، وَأُولَئِكَ قَلِيلٌ.^٢

2 / 7

التَّامِينَ الْإِقْصَادِيُّ لِلْقَضَاءِ

368. الإمام عليؑ - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: ثُمَّ اخْتَرَ لِلْحُكْمِ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَفْضَلَ رَعِيَّتِكَ فِي نَفْسِكَ... وَأَفْسَحَ لَهُ فِي الْبَدَلِ مَا يُزِيلُ عِلَّتَهُ وَتَقِلُّ مَعَهُ حَاجَتُهُ إِلَى النَّاسِ.^٣

١. الملحك: اللجاج (النهاية: ج 4 ص 303).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 135.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 135 و 136 نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 605 ح 744.

Chapter Seven

Judicial Policies

7/1

Electing the Best for Judgment

367. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instruction to Mālik Ashtar: "Then choose to judge among men, the most excellent of subjects in your sight, i.e., one who is not beleaguered by (complex) affairs, who is not rendered ill-tempered by the litigants, who does not persist in error, who is not distressed by returning to the truth when he recognizes it, whose soul does not descend to any kind of greed, who is not satisfied with an inferior understanding (of a thing) short of the more thorough, one who hesitates most in (acting in the face of) obscurities, who adheres most to arguments, who is the least to become annoyed at the petition of the litigants, who is the most patient (in waiting) for the facts to become clear and who is the firmest when the verdict has become manifest; a man who does not become conceited when praise is lavished upon him and who is not attracted by temptation. But such (men) are few."¹

7/2

Financial Support for the Judges

368. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instruction to Mālik Ashtar: "Then choose to judge among men, the most excellent of subjects in your sight ... and grant generously to him that which will eliminate his wants and through which his need from men will decrease."²

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 135.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 135 & 136, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 605, ḥ. 744.

3 / 7

الْأَمْنُ الْوُظَيْفِيُّ لِلْقَضَاءِ

369. الإمام عليؑ - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: ثُمَّ اخْتَرْتُ لِلْحُكْمِ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَفْضَلَ رَعِيَّتِكَ فِي نَفْسِكَ... وَأَعْطِيَهُ مِنَ الْمَنْزِلَةِ لَدَيْكَ مَا لَا يَطْمَعُ فِيهِ غَيْرُهُ مِنْ خَاصَّتِكَ؛ لِيَأْمَنَ بِذَلِكَ اغْتِيَالُ الرُّجَالِ لَهُ عِنْدَكَ فَانْظُرْ فِي ذَلِكَ نَظْرًا بَلِيغًا؛ فَإِنَّ هَذَا الدِّينَ قَدْ كَانَ أَسِيرًا فِي أَيْدِي الْأَشْرَارِ، يُعْمَلُ فِيهِ بِأَهْوَى، وَتُطْلَبُ بِهِ الدُّنْيَا.^١

وفي روايةٍ تُخَفِّفُ الْعُقُولَ: ثُمَّ أَكْثَرَ تَعَهَّدَ قَضَائِهِ، وَافْتَحَ لَهُ فِي الْبَدَلِ مَا يُزِيحُ عِلَّتَهُ، وَيَسْتَعِينُ بِهِ، وَتَقِلُّ مَعَهُ حَاجَتُهُ إِلَى النَّاسِ، وَأَعْطِيَهُ مِنَ الْمَنْزِلَةِ لَدَيْكَ مَا لَا يَطْمَعُ فِيهِ غَيْرُهُ مِنْ خَاصَّتِكَ؛ لِيَأْمَنَ بِذَلِكَ اغْتِيَالُ الرُّجَالِ إِيَّاهُ عِنْدَكَ. وَأَحْسِنِ تَوْقِيرَهُ فِي صُحْبَتِكَ، وَقُرْبَهُ فِي مَجْلِسِكَ، وَأَمْضِ قَضَاءَهُ، وَأَنْفِذْ حُكْمَهُ، وَاشْدُدْ عَصَدَهُ، وَاجْعَلْ أَعْوَانَهُ خِيَارَ مَنْ تَرْضَى مِنْ نَظَرَانِهِ مِنَ الْفُقَهَاءِ وَأَهْلِ الْوَرَعِ وَالنَّصِيحَةِ لِلَّهِ وَلِعِبَادِهِ؛ لِيُنَظِرَهُمْ فِيمَا شُبِّهَ عَلَيْهِ، وَيَلْطَفَ عَلَيْهِمْ لِعِلْمِ مَا غَابَ عَنْهُ، وَيَكُونُوا شُهَدَاءَ عَلَى قَضَائِهِ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.^٢

4 / 7

التَّأَكُّدُ عَلَى آذَانِ الْقَضَاءِ

370. الإمام عليؑ - لِشَرِيحٍ -: أَنْظُرْ إِلَى أَهْلِ الْمَعْلِكِ^٣ وَالْمَطْلِ، وَدَفَعْ حُقُوقِ النَّاسِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمَقْدُورَةِ وَالْيَسَارِ يَمُنْ يُدْلِي بِأَمْوَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِلَى الْحُكَّامِ، فَخُذْ لِلنَّاسِ بِحُقُوقِهِمْ

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53.

٢. تحف العقول: ص 136.

٣. المعلك: المطال والئي بالدُّنْيَا، ورجل معوك: شديد الخصومة (لسان العرب: ج 10 ص 490).

7/3

Occupational Security for Judges

369. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instruction to Mālik Ashtar: “Then choose to judge among men, the most excellent of subjects in your sight Bestow upon him that station near to you that none of your other favorites may aspire to, that by it he may be secure from harm by men of importance. Look into that (i.e., the selection of judges) with thorough consideration, for this religion was prisoner in the hands of the wicked who acted with it out of caprice and used it to seek (the pleasures of) the present world.”¹

[It is also narrated in the same letter in *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*:] Check frequently his decisions and grant generously to him that which will eliminate his wants and through which his need for men will decrease. Bestow upon him that station near to you to which none of your other favorites may aspire to, so that he remains safe from the harm of those around you. Be respectful to him when you associate with him, favor him in sessions, agree to his judgment, implement his rulings, support him and choose his supporters to be from among the jurists and people of piety who would advise for the sake of God and His servants. He may discuss with them any doubtful question, refer to them what he is ignorant of and they can be witnesses on his settlement of disputations among the people, God willing.”²

7/4

Emphasis on Good Manners of the Judicature

370. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to Shurayḥ: “Look into the state of those delaying in discharging people’s rightful due from among the rich and the needless, who put the Muslims’ riches at the rulers’ disposal. So take the Muslims’ rightful due from them and sell

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53.

2. *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 136.

مِنْهُمْ، وَبِعَ فِيهَا الْعَقَارَ وَالْذِّيَارَ؛ فَإِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: «مَعْلُ الْمُسْلِمِ الْمَوِيرَ ظَلَمٌ لِلْمُسْلِمِ، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ عَقَارٌ وَلَا دَارٌ وَلَا مَالٌ فَلَا سَبِيلَ عَلَيْهِ».

وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ لَا يَحْمِلُ النَّاسَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ إِلَّا مَنْ وَرَّعَهُمْ عَنِ الْبَاطِلِ، ثُمَّ وَاسِيَ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِوَجْهِكَ وَمَنْطِقِكَ وَمَجْلِسِكَ حَتَّى لَا يَطْمَعَ قَرِيبُكَ فِي خَيْفِكَ، وَلَا يَبْأَسَ عَدُوُّكَ مِنْ عَدْلِكَ، وَرُدَّ الْيَمِينَ عَلَى الْمُدَّعِي مَعَ بَيِّنَةٍ؛ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَجْلٌ لِلْعَمَى وَأَثْبَتُ فِي الْقَضَاءِ.

وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ عُذُولٌ بَعْضُهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ إِلَّا مَجْلُوداً فِي حَدٍّ لَمْ يَتُبْ مِنْهُ، أَوْ مَعْرُوفاً بِشَهَادَةِ زورٍ، أَوْ ظَنِيناً^١. وَإِنَّاكَ وَالتَّضَجُّرَ وَالتَّأَذِّيَ فِي مَجْلِسِ الْقَضَاءِ الَّذِي أَوْجَبَ اللَّهُ فِيهِ الْأَجَرَ، وَيُحْسِنُ فِيهِ الذُّخْرَ لِمَنْ قَضَى بِالْحَقِّ.

وَأَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الصُّلَحَ جَائِزٌ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِلَّا صُلْحاً حَرَّمَ حَلَالاً أَوْ أَحَلَ حَرَاماً، وَاجْعَلْ لِمَنْ ادَّعَى شُهوداً غُيْباً أَمَداً بَيْنَهُمَا؛ فَإِنْ أَحْضَرَهُمْ أَخَذْتَ لَهُ بِحَقِّهِ وَإِنْ لَمْ يُحْضِرْهُمْ أَوْجَبَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْقَضِيَّةُ، فَإِنَّاكَ أَنْ تُنْفِذَ فِيهِ قَضِيَّةً فِي قِصَاصٍ أَوْ حَدٍّ مِنْ حُدُودِ اللَّهِ أَوْ حَقٍّ مِنْ حُقُوقِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ حَتَّى تَعْرِضَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيَّ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ، وَلَا تَقْعُدَنَّ فِي مَجْلِسِ الْقَضَاءِ حَتَّى تَطْعَمَ^٢.

371. الكافي عن أحمد بن أبي عبد الله رفعه: قَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: «لِشَّرِيحٍ: لَا تُسَارَّ أَحَدًا فِي مَجْلِسِكَ، وَإِنْ غَضِبْتَ فَقُمْ؛ فَلَا تَقْضِيَنَّ وَأَنْتَ غَضْبَانٌ»^٣.

١. ظنين: أي مُتَّهِمٌ فِي دِينِهِ؛ فَعِيلٌ بِمَعْنَى مَفْعُولٍ، مِنَ الظَّنَّةِ: التَّهْمَةُ (النهاية: ج 3 ص 163).

٢. الكافي: ج 7 ص 412 ح 1، مهذب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 225 ح 541 كلاهما عن سلمة بن كهيل، كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج 3 ص 15 ح 3243 نحوه.

٣. في المصدر: «فَأَنْتَ»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه.

١. الكافي: ج 7 ص 413 ح 5، كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج 3 ص 14 ح 3239.

the houses and lands, for I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say: "The delaying of a rich Muslim is [equal to] oppression to the Muslims; and those who do not own lands nor houses or wealth are not to be obliged."

Let it be known that no one will enjoin people to rightfulness except he who drives them away from falsehood. Treat the Muslims equally by way of your facial expression, speaking and meeting so that those who are near you not to be tempted and encouraged by your injustice (in their favor) and your enemy shall not lose in hope your justice. Return the oath to the claimant when evidence is presented (if evidence is presented by the accused then the claimant should take oath), for this will remove ambiguity and maintain (sound) judgment.

Let it be known that Muslims are just. They can bear testimony regarding each other except the one who has been whipped for a punishment and has not repented or is known for giving false witness or is suspected (concerning his faith). Take care not to express suffering and pain in a judgment session, for God has decreed a reward for it and there is a good reward reserved for the one who judges rightfully.

Let it be known that reconciliation among the Muslims is permissible, except that which prohibits something lawful or allows something prohibited; and give a respite to he who claims to have an absent witness. If he presents them, his right will be restored and if not, he will be duly judged. Take care not to carry out a verdict concerning retaliation (*qisās*), Divine sanctions and the Muslims' rights without informing me about it – God willing – and do not sit for judgments except after you have had your meal."¹

371. *al-Kāfi* – narrating from Aḥmad ibn Abī 'Abdullah (in a *disconnected*² narration): "The Commander of the Faithful told Shurayḥ: "Do not whisper to anyone in a judgment session and if you get infuriated, stand up and do not make any judgment in anger."³

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 412, ḥ. 1, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 225, ḥ. 541, *Man la yaḥḍarahu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 15, ḥ. 3243.

2. A ḥadīth which is either directly or through intermediaries attributed to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) or one of the Imāms (a.s.). [*Mu'jam Muṭṭalāḥāt al-Rijāl wa al-Dirāya*, p. 155.]

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 413, ḥ. 5, *Man la yaḥḍarahu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 14, ḥ. 3239.

372. الإمام عليّ عليه السلام - لما بلغه أن شريحاً يقضي في بيته -: يا شريح، اجلس في المسجد؛ فإنه أعدل بين الناس، وإنه وهنٌ بالقاضي أن يجلس في بيته.^١

373. عنه عليه السلام - من كتابه إلى رفاعه لما استقضاه على الأهواز^٢ -: ذر المطامع، وخالف الهوى، وزين العلم بسمت صالح، نعم عون الدين الصبر، لو كان الصبر رجلاً لكان رجلاً صالحاً.

وإياك والملافة؛ فإنها من السفف والنذالة، لا تحضر مجلسك من لا يشبهك، وتحذر لوردك، اقضي بالظاهر، وفوض إلى العالم الباطن، دع عنك: «أظن وأحسب وأرى» ليس في الدين إشكال، لا ثمار سفيها ولا فقيها، أما الفقيه فيحرّمك خبره، وأما السفيه فيحزّنك شره. لا تجادل أهل الكتاب إلا بالتي هي أحسن بالكتاب والسنة. لا تعود نفسك الضحك؛ فإنه يذهب بالبهاء، ويجري الخصوم على الاعتداء، إياك وقبول التحف من الخصوم. وحاذر الذخلة^٣. من اتّمن امرأة حمقاء، ومن شاورها فقبل منها ندم، احذر من دمة المؤمن؛ فإنها تقصف من دمعها، وتطفيئ بحور النيران عن صاحبها، لا تنبر الخصوم، ولا تنهر السائل، ولا تجالس في مجلس القضاء غير فقيه، ولا تشاور في الفتيا؛ فإنها المشورة في الحرب ومصالح العاجل، والدين ليس هو بالرأي، إنما هو الإتياع، لا تضيع الفرائض وتكبل على النوافل، أحسن إلى من أساء إليك، وأعف عمّن ظلمك، وادع لمن نصرّك، وأعط من حرّمك، وتواضع لمن أعطاك، واشكر الله على ما أولاك واحمدّه على ما أهلك، العلم ثلاثة: آية محكمة، وسنة متبعة، وفريضة عادلة، وملاكهنّ أمرنا.^٤

١. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 534 ح 1897.

٢. الأهواز: مدينة كبيرة من مدن إيران، وهي مركز محافظة خوزستان. تقع في جنوب غرب إيران قرب الخليج الفارسي. قبل: إن الذي بناها هو أردشير بابكان.

٣. الذخلة: بطانة الأمر (لسان العرب: ج 11 ص 241).

٤. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 534 ح 1899.

372. **Imām 'Ali (a.s.)** – when he was informed that Shurayḥ was making judgments in his house: "O Shurayḥ! Sit in the mosque as people consider it fairer (and closer to justice) and certainly it is a disgrace for a judge to sit in his house."¹
373. **Imām 'Ali (a.s.)** – from his letter to Rifā'a, when he appointed him as his judge in Ahwāz: "Leave aside aspirations, oppose the desires and adorn knowledge with righteous manners. Forbearance is a good assistant for religion; had forbearance been (in the feature of) a man, it would have been a righteous one.

Beware of [expressing] boredom, for it is [a sign] of folly and meanness! Do not let the one who is not your like attend your sessions and choose the men of courage. Judge by what is apparent (and evident) and leave the secrets and the hidden matters to the Knower [God]. Give up saying, 'I suppose!' or 'It seems to me!' There is no room for ambiguity in religion. Do not dispute with the fools and the legal experts (*faqīhs*); because the latter will deprive you of his blessings and the former will dishearten you by his evils. Do not dispute with the People of the Book except in a manner that is recognized by the Qur'an and the *sunna*. Do not accustom yourself to laughter, for it effaces your eminence and make your enemy brazen against you. Beware of accepting gifts from the adversaries and be wary of the internal (secret) side of affairs!

He who trusts in a foolish woman and consults with her and consents to her will shall regret. Beware of the tears of the faithful, for the one who moves them to tears will be shattered; and those tears will put out the seas of fire of such persons. Do not humiliate the adversaries and do not chide and repel one who has asked. Do not associate with non-jurist in judgment sessions and do not consult with them in your verdicts, for consultation is done only in warfare and in urgent expediencies. Religion is not a matter of opinion; rather, it is a matter of following and obedience. Do not waste the obligatory practices while depending on supererogatories.

Do good to him who has done evil to you; forgive him who has done injustice to you; pray for one who has assisted you; give him who has deprived you and be humble to him who has granted to you. Be thankful to God for what He has granted to you and praise Him for what He tried you with. Knowledge consists of three things: the explicit verses (of the Qur'an), the established Sunnah (tradition) and the moderate obligation and their criteria is what we command (they are measured by our command and loyalty to us)."²

1. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 534, h. 1897.

2. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 534, h. 1899.

374. عنه: - لِرَفَاعَةٍ -: لَا تَقْضِ وَأَنْتَ غَضِبَانُ، وَلَا مِنْ النَّوْمِ سَكْرَانُ.^١
375. عنه: - فِي كِتَابِهِ إِلَى مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ -: وَإِذَا أَنْتَ قَضَيْتَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ فَأَخْفِضْ هُمْ جَنَاحَكَ، وَلْيَنْ هُمْ جَانِبَكَ، وَابْسُطْ هُمْ وَجْهَكَ، وَأَسِرْ بَيْنَهُمْ فِي اللَّحْظِ وَالنَّظَرِ، حَتَّى لَا يَطْمَعَ الْعُظْمَاءُ فِي حَيْفِكَ هُمْ، وَلَا يَأْسِرَ الضُّعَفَاءُ مِنْ عَدْلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ.^٢
376. عنه: - مَنْ ابْتُلِيَ بِالْقَضَاءِ فَلْيُؤَاسِرْ بَيْنَهُمْ فِي الْإِشَارَةِ وَفِي النَّظَرِ، وَفِي الْمَجْلِسِ.^٣
377. عنه: - يَنْبَغِي لِلْحَاكِمِ أَنْ يَدْعَ التَّلَفُّتَ إِلَى خَصْمٍ دُونَ خَصْمٍ، وَأَنْ يُقَسِّمَ النَّظَرَ فِيمَا بَيْنَهُمَا بِالْعَدْلِ، وَلَا يَدْعَ خَصْماً يُظْهِرُ بَغياً عَلَى صَاحِبِهِ.^٤
378. الإمام الصادق: - إِنَّ رَجُلًا نَزَلَ بِأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، فَمَكَثَ عِنْدَهُ أَيَّامًا، ثُمَّ تَقَدَّمَ إِلَيْهِ فِي خُصُومَةٍ لَمْ يَذْكُرْهَا لِأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَوْ خَصْمٌ أَنْتَ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ. قَالَ: تَحَوَّلْ عَنَّا! إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ نَهَى أَنْ يُضَافَ الْخَصْمُ إِلَّا وَمَعَهُ خَصْمُهُ.^٥

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عَزْلُ مَنْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنِ الْآدَابِ

379. عوالي اللآلي: - إِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَلَّى أَبَا الْأَسْوَدِ الدُّؤَلِيَّ الْقَضَاءَ ثُمَّ عَزَلَهُ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: لِمَ عَزَلْتَنِي وَمَا جَنَيْتُ وَمَا خُنْتُ؟ فَقَالَ: - إِنِّي رَأَيْتُ كَلَامَكَ يَعْلُو عَلَى كَلَامِ الْخَصْمِ.^٦

١. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 537 ح 1909؛ دستور معالم الحكم: ص 63.

٢. تحف العقول: ص 177، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 586 ح 733.

٣. الكافي: ج 7 ص 413 ح 3، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 226 ح 543 كلاهما عن السكوني عن الإمام الصادق: «نصب الرأية: ج 4 ص 73 وفيه «فلبسوا» بدل «فلبسوا».

٤. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 533 ح 1895.

٥. الكافي: ج 7 ص 413 ح 4، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 226 ح 544 كلاهما عن السكوني، كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج 3 ص 12 ح 3236 وفيه «حكومة» بدل «خصومة» السنن الكبرى: ج 10 ص 232 ح 20470 عن الحسن نحوه.

٦. في المصدر: «أبو»، وهو تصحيف.

٧. عوالي اللآلي: ج 2 ص 343 ح 5.

374. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to Rifā'a: "Do not make judgment when you are angry, nor when you are drowsy."¹
375. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr: "If you judge among people, you should be humble, treat them leniently, have a cheerful face before them and have equal looks at them so that the chief will not expect your injustice in their favor and the weak will not despair of your justice for them."²
376. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The one who practices justice should treat people equally in pointing and looking at them and in seating."³
377. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "It behooves a judge to avoid paying attention to only one of the litigants. He must share his glances at them equally and not to let one party show injustice to the other."⁴
378. Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.): "A man came to stay with the Commander of the Faithful [as a guest] for a few days and he brought up a lawsuit that he had not earlier informed him about. The Commander of the Faithful asked him if he were one of the litigants and he said that he was. Then he said: "Keep away from us. Verily the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) has prohibited that one litigant be a guest [to the judge] unless the other one also be with him."⁵

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Dismissing Judges who Violate the Rules of Judgment

379. *'Awālī al-Li'ālī*: "The Commander of the Faithful appointed Abū al-Aswad al-Du'li as a judge, then he dismissed him. He [Abū al-Aswad] asked him: "Why did you dismiss me, whereas I did not commit any crime nor betrayed?"

'Ali (a.s.) replied: "I noticed that your voice was louder than that of the litigant."⁶

1. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 537, ḥ. 1909, *Dastūr Ma'alim al-Ḥikam*, p. 63.

2. *Tuḥaf al-Ughūl*, p. 177, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 586, ḥ. 733.

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 413, ḥ. 3, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 226, ḥ. 543, *Naṣb al-Rāya*, vol. 4, p. 73.

4. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 533, ḥ. 1895.

5. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 413, ḥ. 4, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 226, ḥ. 544, *Man lā yaḥdarahu al-Faqih*, vol. 3, p. 12, ḥ. 3236.

6. *'Awālī al-Li'ālī*, vol. 2, p. 343, ḥ. 5.

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مُرَاقَبَةُ قَضَاءِ الْقَضَاءِ

380. الإمام علي: - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ، بَعْدَ أَنْ ذَكَرَ كَيْفِيَّةَ اخْتِيَارِ الْقَضَاءِ -: ثُمَّ أَكْثَرَ تَعَاهُدَ قَضَائِهِ.^١

381. عنه: - لِشُرَيْح -: إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تُنْفِذَ قَضِيَّةً فِي قِصَاصٍ أَوْ حَدٍّ مِنْ حُدُودِ اللَّهِ أَوْ حَقٍّ مِنْ حُقُوقِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ حَتَّى تَعْرِضَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيَّ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.^٢

382. الإمام الصادق: - لَمَّا وَلَّى أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ شُرَيْحًا الْقَضَاءَ اشْتَرَطَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ لَا يُنْفِذَ الْقَضَاءَ حَتَّى يَعْرِضَهُ عَلَيْهِ.^٣

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التَّحْذِيرُ مِنَ الْبُخْرُوفِ وَالْجَهْلِ فِي الْقَضَاءِ

383. الإمام علي: - أَفْطَعُ شَيْءَ ظُلْمِ الْقَضَاءِ.^٤

384. عنه: - مَنْ جَارَتْ أَقْضِيَّتُهُ زَالَتْ قُدْرَتُهُ.^٥

385. عنه: - إِنَّ مِنْ أَبْغَضِ الْخَلْقِ إِلَى اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ لَرَجُلَيْنِ: ... وَرَجُلٌ قَمَشَ^٦ رَجُلًا فِي

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 605 ح 744.

٢. تهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 226 ح 541، الكافي: ج 7 ص 412 ح 1 كلاهما عن سلمة بن كهيل، كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج 3 ص 16 ح 3243 نحوه.

٣. الكافي: ج 7 ص 407 ح 3، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 217 ح 510 كلاهما عن هشام بن سالم، دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 534 ح 1998 نحوه.

٤. غرر الحكم: ج 3011، صيون الحكم والمواظف: ص 119 ح 2671.

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 7943، صيون الحكم والمواظف: ص 454 ح 8161.

٦. القمَش: جمع الشَّيْء (لسان العرب: ج 6 ص 338).

7/6

Watching over the Judgment of the Judges

380. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar after mentioning to him how to select judges: "Then, investigate frequently his decisions."¹
381. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to Shurayḥ: "Beware of carrying out a verdict concerning retaliation (*qisās*), divinely decreed penalties and the rights of Muslims without informing me about it – God willing!"²
382. Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.): "When the Commander of the Faithful appointed Shurayḥ as a judge, he warned him not to carry out any verdict unless he informs him about it."³

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Warning against Unjust and Reckless Judgments

383. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The vilest act is the injustice of the judges."⁴
384. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He whose judgments are unjust, his power will vanish."⁵
385. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Among all the people the most detested before God Almighty are two kinds of people: ... and the one who has

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 605, ḥ. 744.

2. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 226, ḥ. 541, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 412, ḥ. 1, *Man lā yaḥḍarahu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 16, ḥ. 3243.

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 407, ḥ. 3, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 217, ḥ. 510, *Da'ā'im al-Islam*, vol. 2, p. 534, ḥ. 1898.

4. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 3011, *'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 119, ḥ. 2671.

5. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 7943, *'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 454, ḥ. 8161.

جُهَالِ النَّاسِ، عَانَ بِأَغْبَاشِ الْفِتْنَةِ^١، قَدْ سَمَاهُ أَشْبَاهُ النَّاسِ عَالِماً وَلَمْ يَغْنِ فِيهِ يَوْماً
 سَالِماً، بَكَرَ فَاسْتَكْرَرَ، مَا قَلَّ مِنْهُ خَيْرٌ مِمَّا كَثُرَ، حَتَّى إِذَا ارْتَوَى مِنْ آجِنٍ^٢ وَاکْتَرَرَ مِنْ
 غَيْرِ طَائِلٍ جَلَسَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ قَاضِياً ضَامِناً لِتَخْلِيصِ مَا التَّبَسَّ عَلَى غَيْرِهِ، وَإِنْ
 خَالَفَ قَاضِياً سَبَقَهُ، لَمْ يَأْمَنْ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ حُكْمَهُ مَنْ يَأْتِي بَعْدَهُ، كَفَعْلِهِ بِمَنْ كَانَ قَبْلَهُ،
 وَإِنْ نَزَلَتْ بِهِ إِحْدَى الْمُبْهَمَاتِ الْمُعْضَلَاتِ هَيَّأَ لَهَا حَشَواً مِنْ رَأْيِهِ، ثُمَّ قَطَعَ بِهِ، فَهُوَ
 مِنْ لَبَسِ الشُّبُهَاتِ فِي مِثْلِ غَزَلِ الْعَنْكَبُوتِ لَا يَدْرِي أَصَابَ أَمْ أَخْطَأَ، لَا يَحْسَبُ
 الْعِلْمَ فِي شَيْءٍ مِمَّا أَنْكَرَ، وَلَا يَرَى أَنَّ وَرَاءَ مَا بَلَغَ فِيهِ مَذْهَباً، إِنْ قَاسَ شَيْئاً بِشَيْءٍ لَمْ
 يُكَذِّبْ نَظَرَهُ، وَإِنْ أَظْلَمَ عَلَيْهِ أَمْرٌ اِكْتَتَمَ بِهِ، لِمَا يَعْلَمُ مِنْ جَهْلِ نَفْسِهِ، لِكَيْلَا يُقَالَ لَهُ:
 لَا يَعْلَمُ، ثُمَّ جَسَرَ فَقَضَى، فَهُوَ مِفْتَاحُ عَشَوَاتٍ، رِكَابُ شُبُهَاتٍ، خَبَاطُ جَهَالَاتٍ،
 لَا يَعْتَذِرُ مِمَّا لَا يَعْلَمُ فَيَسْلَمُ، وَلَا يَعْصُ فِي الْعِلْمِ بِضَرْسٍ قَاطِعٍ فَيَغْنَمَ، يَدْرِي
 الرُّوَايَاتِ ذُرُؤَ الرِّيحِ الْهَشِيمِ، تَبْكِي مِنْهُ الْمَوَارِيثُ، وَتَصْرُخُ مِنْهُ الدِّمَاءُ، يُسْتَحَلُّ
 بِقَضَائِهِ الْفَرْجُ الْحَرَامُ، وَيُحْرَمُ بِقَضَائِهِ الْفَرْجُ الْحَلَالُ، لَا مَلِيٌّ^٣ بِإِصْدَارِ مَا عَلَيْهِ وَرَدَ،
 وَلَا هُوَ أَهْلٌ لِمَا مِنْهُ فَرَطٌ مِنْ ادِّعَائِهِ عِلْمَ الْحَقِّ^٤.

راجع: الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 194-222

و قضاء أمير المؤمنين: للتستري.

١. العاني: الأسير، وأغباش الفتنة: ظلّمها (النهاية: ج 3 ص 314 و ص 339).

٢. الماء المنغير الطعم واللون (النهاية: ج 1 ص 26).

٣. المليء: الثقة الغني (النهاية: ج 4 ص 352).

٤. الكافي: ج 1 ص 55 ح 6 عن ابن محبوب رفعه، نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 17، الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 231، الاحتجاج: ج 1

ص 621 ح 143 كلّها نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 2 ص 284 ح 2 وراجع: المعيار والموازنة: ص 289.

selected the ignorant to live with, he is enshrouded by the darkness of seditions. Those so-called humans have named him a scholar but he has not lived soundly even for a day. He wakes up early to collect the things the less of which is better (for him) than its abundance (worldly things) until when he has quenched his thirst from polluted water (wickedness) and acquired meaningless things in his mind. He sits among the people as a judge responsible for solving whatever is confusing to the others and if he opposes a judge preceding him, he himself will not be secure from his verdict being invalidated by the one who is to come after him, as he did to the preceding ones. If an ambiguous problem is presented before him, he prepares pleonastic arguments for it of his own accord and passes judgment on their basis and considers it right.

Thus, he is entangled in the confusion of doubts like the one in the spider's web, not knowing whether he was right or wrong (in his endeavors). He does not consider it as knowledge what he does not himself accept and believes in no religion except what he has come to believe himself. If he measures something with another, he will not disclaim his own view; and if he is confused, he will conceal it lest they tell him he does not know, for he is well aware of his own ignorance. Thus, he ventures and makes judgments. He is the key to darkness, seeking doubts and wandering astray in ignorance.

He does not apologize for what he does not know so as to remain safe. He does not strive to ascertain knowledge through which he would be able to make gains. He scatters the traditions as the wind scatters the dry leaves. The (lost) heritages will weep because of him and blood will cry on his account (civil and penal laws of Islam will be corrupted by him). By his judgments, unlawful relations (with women) become lawful and lawful becomes unlawful. He is neither to be trusted in the verdicts he passes nor is competent in what is performed by him; for he [only] claims to have knowledge about rights."¹

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 55, h. 6, *al-Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 17, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 231, *al-Ihtijāj*, vol. 1, p. 621, h. 143.

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مباشرة الإمام عليه السلام القضاء بنفسه

386. عوالي اللآلي: رُوِيَ عَنْ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام أَنَّهُ كَانَ يَفْعَلُ ذَلِكَ [أَي الْقَضَاءَ] فِي مَسْجِدِ الْكُوفَةِ، وَلَهُ بِهِ ذَكَّةٌ مَعْرُوفَةٌ بِذَكَّةِ الْقَضَاءِ.^١

387. إرشاد القلوب: رُوِيَ أَنَّهُ عليه السلام كَانَ إِذَا يَفْرُغُ مِنَ الْجِهَادِ يَتَفَرَّغُ لِتَعْلِيمِ النَّاسِ، وَالْقَضَاءِ بَيْنَهُمْ.^٢

388. الإمام علي عليه السلام - وَمِنْ كَلَامٍ لَهُ عليه السلام وَقَدْ جَمَعَ النَّاسَ وَحَضَّهُمْ عَلَى الْجِهَادِ فَسَكَنُوا مَلِيًّا، فَقَالَ عليه السلام: مَا بِالْكُمُ؟ أَمْ حُرْسُونَ أَنْتُمْ؟ فَقَالَ قَوْمٌ مِنْهُمْ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِنْ سِرْتَ سِرْنَا مَعَكَ. فَقَالَ عليه السلام:

ما بِالْكُمُ؟ لَا سُدَّدْتُمْ لِرُشْدِي، وَلَا هُدَيْتُمْ لِقَصْدِي! أَوْ فِي مِثْلِ هَذَا يَنْبَغِي لِي أَنْ أَخْرُجَ؟ وَإِنَّمَا يَخْرُجُ فِي مِثْلِ هَذَا رَجُلٌ مِمَّنْ أَرْضَاهُ مِنْ شُجْعَانِكُمْ وَذَوِي بَأْسِكُمْ، وَلَا يَنْبَغِي لِي أَنْ أَدْعَ الْجُنْدَ وَالْمِصْرَ وَبَيْتَ الْمَالِ وَجِبَايَةَ الْأَرْضِ وَالْقَضَاءَ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالنَّظَرَ فِي حُقُوقِ الْمُطَالِبِينَ، ثُمَّ أَخْرُجَ فِي كَتِيبَةٍ أَتْبَعَ أُخْرَى أَتَقَلَّقُلْ تَقَلَّقُلْ الْقِدْحَ فِي الْجَفْرِ^٣ الْفَارِغِ، وَإِنَّمَا أَنَا قُطْبُ الرِّيحِ تَدُورُ عَلَيَّ وَأَنَا بِمَكَانٍ، فَإِذَا فَارَقْتُهُ اسْتَحَارَ مَدَارُهَا وَاضْطَرَبَ نِفَالُهَا^٤، هَذَا لَعَمْرُ اللَّهِ الرَّأْيُ السَّوُّ.^٥

١. عوالي اللآلي: ج 2 ص 344 ح 8.

٢. إرشاد القلوب: ص 218، عقدة الداعي: ص 101، بحار الأنوار: ج 103 ص 16 ح 70.

٣. القِدْح: السهم، والجَفْرِ: الكنانة والجقبة التي تُجْعَلُ فِيهَا السهام (النهاية: ج 4 ص 20 و ج 1 ص 278).

٤. النُفَال: جلدة تُسَطَّحُ تحت رِجْلَيْهَا لِيَقَعَ عَلَيْهَا الدَّقِيقُ (النهاية: ج 1 ص 215).

٥. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 119.

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The Imām's Direct Judgments

386. *'Awālī al-Li'ālī*: "Ali (a.s.) is reported to have been sitting in the mosque of Kūfa to judge and there was a special platform for this purpose called the platform of judgment (*dakkatu'l qaḍā*)."¹
387. *Irshād al-Qulūb*: "It is reported that when 'Ali (a.s.) would come back from a battle, he would dedicate some time to educating people and judging between them."²
388. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his sermon when he assembled the people and exhorted them to *jibād* and they remained silent: "What is the matter with you? Are you dumb?"

A group of them replied: "O Commander of the Faithful! If you go forth we shall be with you."

Whereupon the Commander of the Faithful said: "What has happened to you? You may not be guided aright or shown the right path! Should I in these circumstances go forth? In fact, at this time one of the brave and the valorous among you whom I select should go out. It does not behoove me to leave the army, the city, the public treasury, the land revenue and the dispensation of justice among Muslims and looking after the demands of the claimants; and then follow one contingent after the other moving here and there like a featherless arrow moving in the quiver. I am the axis of the mill. It rotates around me while I remain in my position. As soon as I leave it the center of its rotation would be disturbed and its lower stone would also be disturbed. By God, this is a very bad opinion."³

1. *'Awālī al-Li'ālī*, vol. 2, p. 344, h. 8.

2. *Irshād al-Qulūb*, p. 218, *'Uddat al-Dā'i*, p. 101, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 103, p. 16, h. 70.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 119.

رَفْعُ اخْتِلَافِ الْقَضَا فِي الْأَحْكَامِ

389. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في عهده إلى مالِك الأَشْترِ -: ... ثُمَّ حَلَّةُ الْأَخْبَارِ لِأَطْرَافِكَ قُضَاءُ تَجْتَهِدُ فِيهِمْ نَفْسَهُ، لَا يَخْتَلِفُونَ وَلَا يَتَدَابَرُونَ فِي حُكْمِ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ؛ فَإِنَّ الْإِخْتِلَافَ فِي الْحُكْمِ إِضَاعَةٌ لِلْعَدْلِ وَغَرَّةٌ فِي الدِّينِ وَسَبَبٌ مِنَ الْفُرْقَةِ. وَقَدْ بَيَّنَّ اللَّهُ مَا يَأْتُونَ وَمَا يُنْفِقُونَ، وَأَمَرَ بِرَدِّ مَا لَا يَعْلَمُونَ إِلَى مَنْ اسْتَوَدَعَهُ اللَّهُ عِلْمَ كِتَابِهِ، وَاسْتَحْفَظَهُ الْحُكْمَ فِيهِ، فَإِنَّمَا اخْتِلَافُ الْقَضَا فِي دُخُولِ الْبَغْيِ بَيْنَهُمْ وَاكْتِفَاءُ كُلِّ امْرَأٍ مِنْهُمْ بِرَأْيِهِ دُونَ مَنْ قَرَضَ اللَّهُ وَلَايَتَهُ، لَيْسَ يَصْلُحُ الدِّينُ وَلَا أَهْلُ الدِّينِ عَلَى ذَلِكَ. وَلَكِنْ عَلَى الْحَاكِمِ أَنْ يَحْكُمَ بِمَا عِنْدَهُ مِنَ الْأَثَرِ وَالسُّنَّةِ، فَإِذَا أَعْيَاهُ ذَلِكَ رَدَّ الْحُكْمَ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ، فَإِنْ غَابَ أَهْلُهُ عَنْهُ نَازَلَ غَيْرَهُ مِنْ فُقَهَاءِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لَيْسَ لَهُ تَرْكُ ذَلِكَ إِلَى غَيْرِهِ.

وَلَيْسَ لِقَاضِيَيْنِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمِلَّةِ أَنْ يُقِيمَا عَلَى اخْتِلَافٍ فِي الْحُكْمِ دُونَ مَا رُفِعَ ذَلِكَ إِلَى وَلِيِّ الْأَمْرِ فَيَكُونُ هُوَ الْحَاكِمَ بِمَا عَلَّمَهُ اللَّهُ، ثُمَّ يَجْتَمِعَانِ عَلَى حُكْمِهِ فِيهَا وَافَقَهُمَا أَوْ خَالَفَهُمَا، فَانْظُرْ فِي ذَلِكَ نَظْرًا بَلِيغًا؛ فَإِنَّ هَذَا الدِّينَ قَدْ كَانَ أَسِيرًا بِأَيْدِي الْأَشْرَارِ، يُحْمَلُ فِيهِ بِالْهَوَى، وَتُطْلَبُ بِهِ الدُّنْيَا.

وَكَتُبَ إِلَى قُضَاةِ بُلْدَانِكَ فَلْيَرْفَعُوا إِلَيْكَ كُلَّ حُكْمٍ اخْتَلَفُوا فِيهِ عَلَى حُقُوقِهِ. ثُمَّ تَصَفَّحَ تِلْكَ الْأَحْكَامَ؛ فَمَا وَافَقَ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةَ نَبِيِّهِ وَالْأَثَرِ مِنْ إِمَامِكَ فَأَمَضَهُ وَاحْمِلَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ. وَمَا اشْتَبَهَ عَلَيْكَ فَاجْمَعْ لَهُ الْفُقَهَاءَ بِحَضْرَتِكَ فَناظِرُهُمْ فِيهِ، ثُمَّ أَمْضِ مَا يَجْتَمِعُ عَلَيْهِ أَقَاوِيلُ الْفُقَهَاءِ بِحَضْرَتِكَ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ؛ فَإِنَّ كُلَّ أَمْرٍ اخْتَلَفَ

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Consistency in Judgment Procedures Settlement of Judges' Difference

389. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Malik al-Ashtar: "...Then, you should do your best to select judges from amongst the best about the traditions and the most knowledgeable reporters. They should not disagree nor dispute regarding the verdict of God and the traditions of His messenger (s.a.w.). Disagreements regarding the verdict results in the waste of justice, inadvertence in the religion and cause of divergence. God has shown what to do and what to offer; and ordered to refer what they are ignorant of to those with whom God has entrusted the knowledge of His Book and authorized them the issuing of rulings."

"Divergence of judges arises when tyranny controls them and each depends on his own opinion without referring to those whose leadership is obligated by God. Neither the religion nor its followers will be righteous through such behaviors. Judges should issue verdicts according to what they know from the Prophet's traditions and practices. If it is impossible for them to judge in a case, they should refer to its rightful people. If a qualified person is not available, they should discuss the case with the Muslim jurists. They should not leave this to others."

"Two judges of the Muslim community should never issue different rulings regarding one case without referring it to the Leader. Hence, the Leader will judge in that matter according to his knowledge that he received from God. The two judges then should agree on the Leader's ruling whether it corresponds or differs from their opinions. You should have a piercing eye in this matter because this religion has formerly been a prisoner in the hands of vicious people when action was taken according to passion and worldly wealth was sought."

"Write letters to the judges of your regions ordering them to raise before you any question of judgment about which they dispute. You should see into these rulings, authorize any ruling that you find consistent with God's Book, the Prophet's traditions and your leader's instruction, and order the judges to follow. Regarding matters that you are in doubt you should gather the jurists you and discuss the matter with them. Authorize what Muslim scholars unanimously agree upon in your presence. Each matter about which the subjects

فِيهِ الرَّعِيَّةُ مَرْدُودٌ إِلَى حُكْمِ الْإِمَامِ، وَعَلَى الْإِمَامِ الْإِسْتِعَانَةُ بِاللَّهِ، وَالْإِجْتِهَادُ فِي إِقَامَةِ الْحُدُودِ، وَجَبْرُ الرَّعِيَّةِ عَلَى أَمْرِهِ، وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ.^١

390. عنه عليه السلام - في دَمِّ اخْتِلَافِ الْعُلَمَاءِ فِي الْفُتْيَا -: تَرُدُّ عَلَى أَحَدِهِمُ الْقَضِيَّةَ فِي حُكْمٍ مِنَ الْأَحْكَامِ فَيَحْكُمُ فِيهَا بِرَأْيِهِ، ثُمَّ تَرُدُّ تِلْكَ الْقَضِيَّةَ بِعَيْنِهَا عَلَى غَيْرِهِ فَيَحْكُمُ فِيهَا بِخِلَافِ قَوْلِهِ، ثُمَّ يَجْتَمِعُ الْقَضَاءُ بِذَلِكَ عِنْدَ الْإِمَامِ الَّذِي اسْتَقْضَاهُمْ، فَيَصُوبُ آرَاءَهُمْ جَمِيعاً وَاهْتُمُّوا وَاحِداً وَنَبَّيْهُمْ وَاحِداً وَكُتِبَتْهُمْ وَاحِداً!

أَفَأَمَرَهُمُ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ بِالْإِخْتِلَافِ فَأَطَاعُوهُ! أَمْ نَهَاَهُمْ عَنْهُ فَعَصَوْهُ! أَمْ أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ دِيناً نَاقِصاً فَاسْتَعَانَ بِهِمْ عَلَى إِمَامِيهِ! أَمْ كَانُوا شُرَكَاءَ لَهُ، فَلَهُمْ أَنْ يَقُولُوا، وَعَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَرْضَى! أَمْ أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ دِيناً تَاماً فَقَصَرَ الرَّسُولُ ﷺ عَنْ تَبْلِيغِهِ وَأَدَائِهِ، وَاللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ يَقُولُ: ﴿مَا قَرَرْنَا فِي الْكِتَابِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ﴾^٢ وفيه تَبَيُّانٌ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ، وَذَكَرَ أَنَّ الْكِتَابَ يُصَدَّقُ بَعْضُهُ بِبَعْضٍ، وَأَنَّهُ لَا اخْتِلَافَ فِيهِ، فَقَالَ سُبْحَانَهُ: (وَلَوْ كَانَ مِنْ عِنْدِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ لَوَجَدُوا فِيهِ اخْتِلَافاً كَثِيراً)^٣ وَإِنَّ الْقُرْآنَ ظَاهِرُهُ أُنِيقٌ وَبَاطِنُهُ عَمِيقٌ، لَا تَغْنَى عَجَائِبُهُ، وَلَا تَنْقُضِي غَرَائِبُهُ، وَلَا تُكْشِفُ الظُّلُمَاتُ إِلَّا بِهِ.^٤

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إِقَامَةُ الْحُدُودِ عَلَى الْقَرِيبِ الْبَعِيدِ

391. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في خُطْبَةٍ لَهُ -: إِنَّ أَحَقَّ مَا يَتَعَاهَدُ الرَّاعِي مِنْ رَعِيَّتِهِ أَنْ يَتَعَاهَدَهُمْ بِالَّذِي اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ فِي وَظَائِفِ دِينِهِمْ، وَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْنَا أَنْ نَأْمُرَكُمْ بِمَا أَمَرَكَمُ اللَّهُ بِهِ، وَأَنْ

١. تحف العقول: ص 136، بحار الأنوار: ج 77 ص 251 ح 1.

٢. الأنعام: 38.

٣. النساء: 82.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 18، الاحتجاج: ج 1 ص 620 ح 142، بحار الأنوار: ج 2 ص 284 ح 1.

dispute should be referred to the leader and he should seek God's aid and do his best to enforce the law and force the subjects to follow his commandment. There is no strength save in God."¹

390. **Imām 'Ali (a.s.)** – Criticizing the scholars' differences in divine rulings: "When a problem is put before anyone of them he passes judgment on it from his imagination. When exactly the same problem is placed before another of them he passes an opposite verdict. Then these judges go to the leader who had appointed them and he confirms all the verdicts, although their God is One, their Prophet is one, and their Book (the Qur'an) is one."

"Is it God who ordered them to differ and they obeyed Him? Or He prohibited them from it but they disobeyed Him? Or (is it that) God sent an incomplete Faith and sought their help to complete it? Or they were His partners in the affairs, thus they have the right to say and He has to agree? Or is it that God the Glorified sent a perfect faith but the Prophet fell short of conveying it and handing it over (to the people)? The fact is that God the Glorified says: *"We have not omitted anything from the Book..."*² and in it there is an explanation for everything, and He the almighty, says that one part of the Qur'an verifies another part and that there is no divergence in it, as He says: *"Had it been from [someone] other than God, they would have surely found much discrepancy in it."*³ Indeed the outward (manifest) aspect of the Qur'an is wonderful and its inward (nonmanifest) aspect is deep (in meaning). Its wonders will never disappear, its marvels will never pass away and darkness cannot be cleared except through it."⁴

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Execution of Legal Punishment on Near of Kin and Strangers

391. **Imām 'Ali (a.s.)** – in his sermon: "The most important responsibility of a ruler towards his subjects is to make certain that they performed their religious duties and what God has imposed on them. Certainly, it is upon us to command you with what God has

1. *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, p. 136, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 77, p. 251, h. 1.

2. Qur'an, 6: 38.

3. Qur'an, 4:82.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 18, *al-Ihtijāj*, vol. 1, p. 620, h. 142, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 2, p. 284, h. 1.

نَهَاكُمْ عَمَّا نَهَاكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، وَأَنْ تُقِيمَ أَمْرَ اللَّهِ فِي قَرِيبِ النَّاسِ وَبَعِيدِهِمْ لَا تُبَالِي فِيْمَنْ جَاءَ الْحَقُّ عَلَيْهِ.^١

392. الإمام الباقر: إِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ أَمَرَ قَنْبَرًا أَنْ يَضْرِبَ رَجُلًا حَدًّا، فَعَلَّظَ قَنْبَرٌ فَزَادَهُ ثَلَاثَةَ أَسْوَاطٍ، فَأَقَادَهُ عَلِيٌّ ﷺ مِنْ قَنْبَرٍ ثَلَاثَةَ أَسْوَاطٍ.^٢

393. الإمام الصادق: قَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ لِعُمَرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ: ثَلَاثُ إِنْ حَفِظْتَهُنَّ وَعَمِلْتَ بِهِنَّ كَفَّفْتُكَ مَا يَسْوَاهُنَّ، وَإِنْ تَرَكْتَهُنَّ لَمْ يَنْفَعَكَ شَيْءٌ يَسْوَاهُنَّ، قَالَ: وَمَا هُنَّ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ؟ قَالَ: إِقَامَةُ الْحُدُودِ عَلَى الْقَرِيبِ وَالْبَعِيدِ، وَالْحُكْمُ بِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ فِي الرُّضَى وَالشُّخْطِ، وَالْقَسْمُ بِالْعَدْلِ بَيْنَ الْأَحْمَرِ وَالْأَسْوَدِ. قَالَ عُمَرُ: لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ أَوْجَزْتَ وَأَبْلَغْتَ.^٣

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 4 ص 81 (النجاشي) و ص 82 (طارق بن عبدالله).

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الْخُصُوعُ لِلْقَضَاءِ

394. الكامل في التاريخ عن الشعبي: وَجَدَ عَلِيٌّ دِرْعًا لَهُ عِنْدَ نَصْرَانِيٍّ، فَأَقْبَلَ بِهِ إِلَى شُرَيْحٍ وَجَلَسَ إِلَى جَانِبِهِ، وَقَالَ: هَذِهِ دِرْعِي. فَقَالَ النَّصْرَانِيُّ: مَا هِيَ إِلَّا دِرْعِي، وَلَمْ يَكْذِبْ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ. فَقَالَ شُرَيْحٌ لِعَلِيٍّ: أَلَيْسَ بِكَ بَيِّنَةٌ؟ قَالَ: لَا، وَهُوَ يَضْحَكُ. فَأَخَذَ النَّصْرَانِيُّ الدِّرْعَ وَمَشَى يَسِيرًا ثُمَّ عَادَ وَقَالَ:

١. الغارات: ج 2 ص 501 عن الأصمعي بن نباتة، بحار الأنوار: ج 27 ص 254 ح 15.

٢. الكافي: ج 7 ص 260 ح 1 عن الحسن بن صالح الثوري، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 10 ص 278 ح 1085 عن الحسن بن صالح بن حي عن الإمام الصادق: دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 444 ح 1552 نحوه.

٣. تهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 227 ح 547 عن الحلبي، تاريخ البغوي: ج 2 ص 208، المناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 2 ص 147 وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 443 ح 1543.

commanded you [to do] and prohibit you from what God has prohibited you from [doing]. It is also upon us to carry out God's commands on both the people who are near and those who are far [in kinship] and not to heed, that on whom justice is being administered."¹

392. Imām al-Bāqir: "The Commander of the Faithful ordered Qanbar to whip a man as legal penalty. He gave the man the due lashes plus three more so 'Ali (a.s.) retaliated him with three lashes in return."²

393. Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.): "The Commander of the Faithful said to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'There are three things that if you take heed of and act accordingly, you will be free from needing other things and if you abandon them, other things will be of no benefit to you."

"'Umar asked: "What are these three, O Abū al-Ḥasan!"

"The Imām said: "Executing legal penalty on the near and the far [of kin]; administering justice on the basis of the Book of God in both [states of] anger and satisfaction; and equitable distribution among the black and the white."

'Umar said: "By my life, you said it tersely and eloquently."³

See: *The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin*, Vol. VII, Section VII, Chapter Four (Najāshī, Ṭāriq Ibn 'Abdullah).

7/11

Submission to Judgment

394. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh* – narrated by al-Sha'bī: "'Ali (a.s.) found his shield with a Christian and he (a.s.) took him to Shurayḥ [the judge], sat beside him and said: "This is my shield."

"The Christian said: This is my own shield and the Commander of the Faithful is not a liar!"

"Shurayḥ asked 'Ali (a.s.): "Do you have any proof?"

'Ali (a.s.) laughingly said: "No."

"The Christian took the shield, walked a few steps away and then returned and said: "I bear witness that these are the

1. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 2, p. 501, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 27, p. 254, ḥ. 15.

2. *al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 260, ḥ. 1, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 10, p. 278, ḥ. 1085, *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 444, ḥ. 1552.

3. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 227, ḥ. 547, *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 208, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 147.

أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ هَذِهِ أَحْكَامُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ، أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ قَدَّمَنِي إِلَى قَاضِيهِ، وَقَاضِيهِ يَقْضِي عَلَيْهِ!
ثُمَّ أَسْلَمَ وَاعْتَرَفَ أَنَّ الدَّرْعَ سَقَطَتْ مِنْ عَلِيٍّ عِنْدَ مَسِيرِهِ إِلَى صِفِّينَ، فَقَرِحَ عَلِيٌّ
بِإِسْلَامِهِ وَوَهَبَ لَهُ الدَّرْعَ وَفَرَسًا، وَشَهِدَ مَعَهُ قِتَالَ الْحَوَارِجِ.¹

395. الغارات عن الشعبي: وَجَدَ عَلِيٌّ ۑ دِرْعًا لَهُ عِنْدَ نَصْرَانِيٍّ، فَجَاءَ بِهِ إِلَى شُرَيْحٍ
يُحَاصِمُهُ إِلَيْهِ، فَلَمَّا نَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ شُرَيْحٌ ذَهَبَ يَتَنَحَّى فَقَالَ: مَكَانُكَ، وَجَلَسَ إِلَى جَنْبِهِ....
ثُمَّ قَالَ عَلِيٌّ ۑ: إِنَّ هَذِهِ دِرْعِي لَمْ أَبْعَ وَلَمْ أَهَبْ. فَقَالَ لِلنَّصْرَانِيِّ: مَا يَقُولُ
أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ؟ فَقَالَ النَّصْرَانِيُّ: مَا الدَّرْعُ إِلَّا دِرْعِي، وَمَا أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عِنْدِي
بِكَاذِبٍ. فَالْتَمَسْتُ شُرَيْحًا إِلَى عَلِيٍّ ۑ فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، هَلْ مِنْ بَيِّنَةٍ؟ قَالَ: لَا.
فَقَضَى بِهَا لِلنَّصْرَانِيِّ، فَمَشَى هُنَيْئَةً ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ فَقَالَ:

أَمَّا أَنَا فَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ هَذِهِ أَحْكَامُ النَّبِيِّينَ، أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَمْشِي بِي إِلَى قَاضِيهِ، وَقَاضِيهِ
يَقْضِي عَلَيْهِ! أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ، وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ،
الدَّرْعُ وَاللَّهُ دِرْعُكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ! انْبَعَثَ الْجَيْشُ وَأَنْتَ مُنْطَلِقٌ إِلَى صِفِّينَ، فَخَرَّتْ
مِنْ بَعِيرِكَ الْأُورْقُ،² فَقَالَ: أَمَّا إِذَا أَسْلَمْتَ فَهِيَ لَكَ، وَحَمَلُهُ عَلَى فَرَسٍ.³

396. ربيع الأبرار: اسْتَعْدَى رَجُلٌ عُمَرَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ، وَعَلِيٌّ جَالِسٌ، فَالْتَمَسَتْ عُمَرُ إِلَيْهِ فَقَالَ:
يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ، قُمْ فَاجْلِسْ مَعَ خَصَمِكَ، فَقَامَ فَجَلَسَ مَعَ خَصَمِهِ فَتَنَازَرَا،
وَانْصَرَفَ الرَّجُلُ، فَرَجَعَ عَلِيٌّ إِلَى مَجْلِسِهِ، فَتَبَيَّنَ عُمَرُ التَّغْيِيرَ فِي وَجْهِهِ، فَقَالَ:
يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ، مَا لِي أَرَاكَ مُتَغَيِّرًا؟ أَكْرِهْتَ مَا كَانَ؟
قَالَ: نَعَمْ.

١. الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 443، جواهر المطالب: ج 2 ص 127.

٢. الأورق: الأسمر (النهاية: ج 5 ص 175).

٣. الغارات: ج 1 ص 124، بحار الأنوار: ج 101 ص 290 ح 14 البداية والنهاية: ج 8 ص 4 نحوه.

Prophetic judgments. The Commander of the Faithful brought me to his judge and he judged against him."

Then the Christian converted to Islam and admitted that 'Ali (a.s.) had unknowingly dropped the shield on his way to Şiffin. 'Ali (a.s.) was pleased that he embraced Islam and granted him the shield and a horse as well. The Christian took part in the battle against the Khawārij with him."¹

395. *al-Ghārāt* – narrated by Sha'bi: "'Ali (a.s.) found his shield with a Christian. He took him to Shurayh and made a complaint against him. When Shurayh noticed him, he headed for another direction. 'Ali (a.s.) said: "Stay where you are!" He went to him, sat beside him and said: "This is my shield and I have not sold it nor given it away."

Shurayh told the Christian: "What does the Commander of the Faithful say?"

The Christian said: "This is my shield and in my view the Commander of the Faithful is not a liar."

Shurayh turned towards 'Ali (a.s.) and asked: "Do you have any evidence?" He said that he did not.

So Shurayh passed the verdict in favor of the Christian. Then he happily set out to go, but he returned and said: "Let it be known, I bear witness that this is [the type of] Prophets' judgments. The Commander of the Faithful brought me to his own judge and he passed a verdict against him! I bear witness that there is no god but Allah who is One and without partners. I also bear witness that Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) is His servant and His Messenger. I swear by God, O Commander of the Faithful that this shield is yours! It dropped off from your tawny camel while you were on your way to Şiffin along with your troops."

The Commander of the Faithful said: "Now that you have embraced Islam, keep the shield for yourself!" and he (a.s.) mounted him on a horse [grant it to him]."²

396. *Rabi' al-Abrār*: "A man raised a complaint with 'Umar against 'Ali (a.s.) who was sitting down. 'Umar looked at 'Ali (a.s.) and said: "O Abū al-Ḥasan! Get up and sit next to your plaintiff!" 'Ali (a.s.) stood up and sat next to his plaintiff and they both began to debate. Then the man left and 'Ali (a.s.) returned to his place."

'Umar found him troubled in his face and asked him: "O Abū al-Ḥasan! Why do I see you disturbed? Are you upset about what happened?"

1. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 443, *Jawābir al-Maṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 127.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 124, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 290, ḥ. 4, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 4.

قال: وما ذاك؟

قال: كُنْتُ بِي بِحَضْرَةِ خَصْمِي، فَأَلَا قُلْتَ لِي: يَا عَلِيُّ، قُمْ فَاجْلِسْ مَعَ خَصْمِكَ؟
فَأَخَذَ عُمَرُ بِرَأْسِ عَلِيٍّ فَقَبَّلَ بَيْنَ عَيْنَيْهِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا أَبِي أَنْتُمْ، بِكُمْ هَدَانَا اللَّهُ، وَبِكُمْ
أَخْرَجْنَا مِنَ الظُّلُمَاتِ إِلَى النُّورِ.^١

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مَوْجِعُ مَصَالِحِ النَّظَامِ الْإِسْلَامِيِّ فِي صُدُورِ الْأَحْكَامِ

397. الغارات عن شريح: بَعَثَ إِلَيَّ عَلِيٌّ ۞ أَنْ اقْضِ بِهَا كُنْتُ تَقْضِي حَتَّى يَجْتَمِعَ أَمْرُ النَّاسِ.^١
398. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد - في شرح قوله ۞: «لَوْ قَدْ اسْتَوَتْ قَدَمَايَ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْمَدَاحِضِ لَغَيَّرْتُ أَشْيَاءَ» قَالَ -: لَسْنَا نَشْكُ أَنَّ كَانَ يَذْهَبُ فِي الْأَحْكَامِ الشَّرْعِيَّةِ وَالْقَضَايَا إِلَى أَشْيَاءَ مُخَالِفٍ فِيهَا أَقْوَالُ الصَّحَابَةِ، نَحْوَ قَطْعِهِ يَدَ السَّارِقِ مِنْ رُؤُوسِ الْأَصَابِعِ، وَبَيْعِهِ أُمَّهَاتِ الْأَوْلَادِ، وَغَيْرِ ذَلِكَ، وَإِنَّمَا كَانَ يَمْنَعُهُ مِنْ تَغْيِيرِ أَحْكَامٍ مَنْ تَقَدَّمَ اشْتِغَالُهُ بِحَرْبِ الْبُغَاةِ وَالْخَوَارِجِ، وَإِلَى ذَلِكَ يُشِيرُ بِالْمَدَاحِضِ الَّتِي كَانَ يُؤْمَلُ اسْتِوَاءُ قَدَمَيْهِ مِنْهَا، وَلِهَذَا قَالَ لِقَضَايِهِ: «اقْضُوا كَمَا كُنْتُمْ تَقْضُونَ حَتَّى يَكُونَ لِلنَّاسِ جَمَاعَةٌ»، فَلَفْظَةُ «حَتَّى» - هَاهُنَا - مُؤَدِّنَةٌ بِأَنَّهُ فَسَّحَ لَهُمْ فِي اتِّبَاعِ عَادَتِهِمْ فِي الْقَضَايَا وَالْأَحْكَامِ الَّتِي يَعْتَدُونَهَا إِلَى أَنْ يَصِيرَ لِلنَّاسِ جَمَاعَةٌ، وَمَا بَعْدَ «إِلَى» وَ«حَتَّى» يَنْبَغِي أَنْ يَكُونَ مُخَالِفًا لِمَا قَبْلُهَا.^٢

١. ربيع الأبرار: ج 3 ص 595، المناقب للخوارزمي: ص 98 ح 99 عن عبد الله بن عباس، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 17 ص 65 كلاهما نحوه.

٢. الغارات: ج 1 ص 123.

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 19 ص 161.

He said: "Yes."

'Umar asked: "Why?"

'Ali(a.s.) replied: "You called me by my *kunya* (nickname) in the presence of the plaintiff. Why did you not say: "O 'Ali? Get up and sit next to your plaintiff?"

'Umar held 'Ali's (a.s.) head [in his hands] and kissed between his eyes and then he said: "May my father be sacrificed for you! Through you God has guided us and by you He brought us forth from darkness into light."¹

7/12

The Status of the Interests of the Islamic State in the Issuing of Verdicts

397. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Shurayh, "'Ali (a.s.) sent an order to me: "Judge as you have judged before until the affairs of the people are settled."²
398. *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah* – explaining 'Ali's (a.s.) statement: "If my steps stand firm on these slippery places, I would alter several things": Without doubt, in certain legal ordinances and events he moved in a direction which contradicted the companions (*ṣaḥābah*) declarations such as amputation of the thief's tips of fingers [rather than the whole hand], sale of mothers of one's children (slave-maid), etc.; what prevented him from reforming the previous ordinances was his involvement in the battles against the rebels and the Khārijites, to which he referred as *madāḥiḍ* (turbulences or slippery places) and in which he wished his steps would stand firm. Therefore, he ordered his judges: "to judge as you have judged before so that people remain united." Here the word '*hatta*' suggests that he allowed them to follow the previous procedures in judgment so long as the people's integration is maintained; and [it is evident] that the clauses after '*hatta*' are in contrast to the main clauses (this means that when there is no fear of division, do not follow the previous procedures any more)."³

1. *Rabī' al-Abrār*, vol. 3, p. 595, *al-Manāqib*, p. 98, ḥ. 99, *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 17, p. 65.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 123.

3. *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 19, p. 161.

الفصل الثامن

السِّيَاسَةُ الْأَمْنِيَّةُ

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أَهْمِيَّةُ الْأَمْنِ

399. الإمام علي عليه السلام: شَرُّ الْبِلَادِ بَلَدٌ لَا أَمْنَ فِيهِ، وَلَا خَصَبٌ.^١
400. عنه عليه السلام: اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّكَ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنِ الَّذِي كَانَ مِنَّا مُنَافَسَةً فِي سُلْطَانٍ، وَلَا التَّيَاسَ شَيْءٍ مِنْ فُضُولِ الْخُطَامِ، وَلَكِنْ لِنَرِدَ الْمَعَالِمَ مِنْ دِينِكَ، وَنُظْهِرَ الْإِصْلَاحَ فِي بِلَادِكَ، فَيَأْمَنَ الْمَظْلُومُونَ مِنْ عِبَادِكَ، وَتُقَامَ الْمُعْطَلَةُ مِنْ حُدُودِكَ.^٢
401. عنه عليه السلام: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْثَرِ -: الْجُنُودُ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ حُصُونُ الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَزِينُ الْوُلَاةِ، وَعِزُّ الدِّينِ، وَسُبُلُ الْأَمَنِ، وَلَيْسَ تَقُومُ الرَّعِيَّةُ إِلَّا بِهِمْ... لَا تَدْفَعَنَّ صُلْحاً دَعَاكَ إِلَيْهِ عَدُوُّكَ وَلِلَّهِ فِيهِ رِضَى، فَإِنَّ فِي الصُّلْحِ دَعَاً لِحُجُودِكَ، وَرَاحَةً مِنْ هُمُومِكَ، وَأَمناً لِبِلَادِكَ.^٣
402. عنه عليه السلام: لَا بُدَّ لِلنَّاسِ مِنْ أَمِيرٍ بَرٍّ أَوْ فَاجِرٍ؛ يَعْمَلُ فِي أَمْرِهِ الْمُؤْمِنُ، وَيَسْتَمْتِعُ فِيهَا الْكَافِرُ، وَيُبْلَغُ اللَّهُ فِيهَا الْأَجَلَ، وَيُجْمَعُ بِهِ الْفِيءُ، وَيُقَاتَلُ بِهِ الْعَدُوُّ، وَتَأْمَنُ بِهِ

١. غرر الحكم: ج 5684، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 294 ح 5253.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 131، تذكرة الخواص: ص 120 عن عبد الله بن صالح العجلي.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 131 وفيه «وسبيل الأمن والحققض» بدل «وسبيل الأمن» و ص 145

وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 357.

Chapter Eight

Security Policies

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Importance of Security

399. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The worst of countries is a country that has neither security nor prosperity."¹
400. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O God! You know what we did was neither to seek power nor to acquire anything from the vanities of the world. Rather we wanted to restore the signs of Your religion and to bring prosperity into Your cities so that the oppressed among Your worshippers might be safe and Your forsaken commands might be established."²
401. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "By the will of God, the soldiers are the fortresses of the people, the adornment of the rulers, the honor of religion, the routes of security and the people's affair will not be firm except through them. Never reject a peace treaty to which your enemy calls you to and which is accepted by God, for in peace there is ease for your soldiers, relaxation from your worries and security for your land."³
402. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The fact is that people have no choice but to have a ruler, good or bad, in whose rule the faithful persons perform (good) acts, while the unfaithful enjoy (worldly) benefits until God would therein bring all to end. Through the ruler, public assets are collected, the enemy is fought,

1. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 5684, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 294, h. 5253.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 131, *Tadhkira al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 120.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 131, *Ibid*, p. 145. Also see: *Da'ā'im al-Islam*, vol. 1, p. 357.

السُّبُلُ، وَيُؤْخَذُ بِهِ لِلضَّعِيفِ مِنَ الْقَوِيِّ؛ حَتَّى يَسْتَرِيحَ بَرٌّ، وَيُسْتَرَّاحَ مِنْ فَاجِرٍ.^١

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الإِسْتِخْبَار

403. الإمام عليؑ - في كتابه إلى عماله -: بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. مِنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلِيٍّ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَى مَنْ قَرَأَ كِتَابِي هَذَا مِنَ الْعُمَالِ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّ رِجَالَنَا عِنْدَهُمْ بَيْعَةٌ خَرَجُوا هُرَابًا فَتَنَظُّهُمْ وَجَّهُوا نَحْوَ بِلَادِ الْبَصْرَةِ، فَاسْأَلْ عَنْهُمْ أَهْلَ بِلَادِكَ، وَاجْعَلْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْعِيُونَ فِي كُلِّ نَاحِيَةٍ مِنْ أَرْضِكَ، ثُمَّ اكْتُبْ إِلَيَّ بِمَا يَنْتَهِي إِلَيْكَ عَنْهُمْ، وَالسَّلَامُ.^٢

404. وقعة صفين: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا أَظْهَرَ أَنَّهُ مُصْبِحُ عَدَا مُعَاوِيَةَ وَمُنَاجِزُهُ، فَبَلَغَ ذَلِكَ مُعَاوِيَةَ، وَفَزَعَ أَهْلَ الشَّامِ لِذَلِكَ وَانْكَسَرُوا لِقَوْلِهِ. وَكَانَ مُعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ الصَّخَّالِ بْنِ سُفْيَانَ صَاحِبُ رَايَةِ بَنِي سُلَيْمٍ مَعَ مُعَاوِيَةَ، وَكَانَ مُبْغِضًا لِمُعَاوِيَةَ وَأَهْلِ الشَّامِ، وَلَهُ هَوًى مَعَ أَهْلِ الْعِرَاقِ وَعَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍؑ، وَكَانَ يَكْتُبُ بِالْأَخْبَارِ إِلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْعُتْقِيلِ الْعَامِرِيِّ وَيَبْعَثُ بِهَا إِلَى عَلِيٍّؑ.^٣

405. وقعة صفين: بَعَثَ عَلِيٌّ خِيَلًا لِيَحْبِسُوا عَنْ مُعَاوِيَةَ مَادَّةً، فَبَعَثَ مُعَاوِيَةُ الصَّخَّالَ بْنَ قَيْسِ الْفِهْرِيِّ فِي خَيْلٍ إِلَى تِلْكَ الْحَيْلِ فَأَزَالُوها، وَجَاءَتْ عُيُونَ عَلِيٍّ فَأَخْبَرَتْهُ بِمَا قَدْ كَانَ، فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ لِأَصْحَابِهِ: فَمَا تَرَوْنَ فِيهَا هَاهُنَا؟ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: نَرَى كَذًا. وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: نَرَى كَذًا. فَلَمَّا رَأَى ذَلِكَ الْإِخْتِلَافَ أَمَرَهُمْ بِالْعُدُوِّ إِلَى الْقَوْمِ، فَغَادَاهُمْ إِلَى الْقِتَالِ قِتَالٍ صِفَيْنَ، فَأَنْهَرَمَ أَهْلُ الشَّامِ.^٤

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 40.

٢. الفهارات: ج ١ ص 337، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 407 ح 628.

٣. وقعة صفين: ص 468.

٤. وقعة صفين: ص 360، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 500 ح 1430 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 8 ص 39.

roads are protected and the right of the weak is taken from the strong until the virtuous enjoys peace and protection from (the oppression of) the wicked."¹

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Collecting Information

403. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to his administrators: "*In the Name of God, the All-Beneficent, the All-Merciful*. From the servant of God, 'Ali the Commander of the Faithful to whomever of the administrators that reads my letter: Now, some men who have sworn allegiance to us have now escaped. We suspect that they have moved towards the cities of the Baṣra region. Ask about them from your townspeople and assign secret agents throughout your land over them. Then write to me whatever you find about them. Wassalām!"²
404. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*: "'Ali (a.s.) mentioned that the next morning he would be setting out to fight against Mu'āwiya. The news reached Mu'āwiya and the people of Shām fell into a panic and were shattered by this [rumor]. Mu'āwiya ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Sufyan – the standard bearer of the Banī Salīm tribe– was with Mu'āwiya while antagonizing him and the people of Shām and favoring the people of Iraq and 'Ali ibn Abū Ṭālib (a.s.). He used to write the news to 'Abdullah ibn Ṭufayl al-'Āmirī and he would then send them to 'Ali (a.s.)."³
405. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*: "'Ali (a.s.) sent a group to obstruct the source of the water to Mu'āwiya who then dispatched al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihri along with a group of soldiers towards them and dispersed the group sent by 'Ali (a.s.).

'Ali's (a.s.) secret agents came back and reported what had happened to him (a.s.), so 'Ali (a.s.) asked his companions: "What shall we do?"

A group said, do this and the other said do that; when he noticed their discrepancy, he ordered them [to be prepared] to launch an assault on Mu'āwiya. He led them to the battle (of Ṣiffīn) and the people of Shām were defeated."⁴

1. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 40.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 337, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 407, ḥ. 628.

3. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 468.

4. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 360, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 500, ḥ. 430, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 8, p. 39.

406. أنساب الأشراف: قَدِمَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ عَيْنٌ لَهُ بِالشَّامِ فَأَخْبَرَهُ بِخَبَرِ بُسْرِ يُقَالُ: إِنَّهُ قَيْسُ بْنُ زُرَّازَةَ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ حَطِيانٍ الْهَمْدَانِيُّ، وَكَانَ قَيْسٌ هَذَا عَيْنًا لَهُ بِالشَّامِ يَكْتُبُ إِلَيْهِ بِالْأَخْبَارِ.^١

407. الإمام علي عليه السلام - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ بُدَيْلٍ -: وَإِيَّاكَ وَمُؤَاقَعَةَ أَحَدٍ مِنْ خَيْلِ الْعَدُوِّ حَتَّى اتَّقَدَّمَ عَلَيْكَ، وَأَذْكَ الْعُيُونِ نَحْوَهُمْ، وَلَيْتُكَ مَعَ عُيُونِكَ مِنَ السَّلَاحِ مَا يُبَاشِرُونَ بِهِ الْقِتَالَ، وَلَتَكُنْ عُيُونُكَ الشُّجْعَانَ مِنْ جُنْدِكَ، فَإِنَّ الْجَبَانَ لَا يَأْتِيكَ بِصَحَّةِ الْأَمْرِ، وَأَنْتَ إِلَى أَمْرِي وَمَنْ قَبْلَكَ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَالسَّلَامِ.^٢

408. الفتنوح - فِي ذِكْرِ حَرْبِ صَفَيْنَ -: قَدْ كَانَ مَعَ مُعَاوِيَةَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ حِمِيرٍ يُقَالُ لَهُ الْحُصَيْنُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ وَكَانَ يُكَاتِبُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) وَيَذُلُّهُ عَلَى عَوْرَاتِ مُعَاوِيَةَ.^٣

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام: ص 535 (تعليم الجيش).

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إِسْتِصْلَاحُ الْأَعْدَاءِ

409. الإمام علي عليه السلام: مَنْ اسْتَصْلَحَ عَدُوَّهُ زَادَ فِي عَدَدِهِ.^٤

410. عنه عليه السلام: مَنْ اسْتَصْلَحَ الْأَصْدَادَ بَلَغَ الْمُرَادَ.^٥

١. أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 212.

٢. المعيار والموازنة: ص 131.

٣. الفتنوح: ج 3 ص 78.

٤. غرر الحكم: ج 8230، عيون الحكم والمراعاة: ص 445 ح 7838.

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 8043.

406. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: "‘Ali’s (a.s.) secret agent in Shām came to him and handed him a report on Busr. This secret agent is said to have been Qays ibn Zurāra ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥiṭyān al-Hamadānī who used to report all news from Shām to him."¹
407. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to ‘Abdullah ibn Badīl: "Beware of encountering the enemy’s troops until I come to you! Send the secret agents toward them and make sure they carry arms with them to fight with. The secret agents should be from among the brave troops; for the coward would not bring you correct reports. You and whoever is with you should abide by my commands, by the will of God. Wassalām."²
408. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – in his report on the battle of Ṣiffīn: "A man from the Ḥimyar tribe by the name of Ḥaṣīn ibn Mālik was with Mu‘āwiya and used to have correspondence with ‘Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib (a.s.), informing him about the weaknesses of Mu‘āwiya."³

8/3

Reforming the Enemies

409. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): "He who reforms his enemy has [indeed] added to the number of his company."⁴
410. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): "He who reforms the opponents will achieve his goal."⁵

1. *Ansāb Al Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p.212

2. *al-Mi‘yar wa al-Muwāzin*, p. 131.

3. *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 78.

4. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 8230, *‘Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā‘iz*, p. 445, ḥ. 7838.

5. *Ibid*, ḥ. 8043.

411. عنه: كمال الحزم استصلاح الأعداء، ومداواة الأعداء.^١
412. عنه: الاستصلاح للأعداء بحسن المقال وجميل الأفعال، أهون من ملاقاتهم ومغالبتهم بمضيض القتال.^٢
413. عنه: الإحسان إلى المسيء يستصلح العدو.^٣
414. عنه: كانت الحكماء فيما مضى من الدهر تقول: ينبغي أن يكون الاختلاف إلى الأبواب لعشرة أوجه:
- أولها: بيت الله عز وجل لقضاء نسيه والقيام بحقه وأداء فرضه...
- التاسع: أبواب الأعداء التي تسكن بالمداواة غوائلهم، ويدفع بالحيل والرفق واللفظ والزياره عداوتهم.^٤
415. عنه: منع أذاك يصلح لك قلوب عداك.^٥
416. عنه: صافح عدوك وإن كره، فإنه مما أمر الله عز وجل به عباده يقول: «اذفع بالتي هي أحسن فإذا الذي بينك وبينه عداوة كأنه ولي حميم» * وما يلقاها إلا الذين صبروا وما يلقاها إلا ذو حظ عظيم.^٦

١. غرر الحكم: ح 7232.

٢. المفصّل: وجع النسيه، ومضيض منه: لمت، ومضيض الجرح: ألقي وأوجعني (لسان العرب: ج 7 ص 233).

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 1926.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 1517.

٥. الخصال: ص 426 ح 3 عن الأصمغ بن نباتة، بحار الأنوار: ج 76 ص 61 ح 1.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 9784.

٧. فضلت: 34 و 35.

٨. الخصال: ص 633 ح 10 عن أبي بصير وعمر بن مسلم عن الإمام الصادق عن آبائه، بحار الأنوار: ج 71 ص 421 ح 58.

411. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The most complete of prudence is reforming the opponents and acting moderately with the enemies."¹
412. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Reforming the enemies with nice words and decent behavior is more convenient than confronting them and fighting against them with pain and suffering."²
413. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Doing good to him who wrongs us reforms him."³
414. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "In the past the wise used to say: "It is befitting to frequent houses of others for ten purposes:
First, to the House of God Almighty for performing the rituals [of Hajj], discharging God's right and fulfilling His obligatory commands;
... and nine to the houses of the enemies those who by tolerance their turbulence would calm down and by leniency and visitation, their hostility would be repelled."⁴
415. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Refraining from annoying [others] would reform the hearts of the enemies."⁵
416. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Shake hands with your enemy, even though he dislikes it, for it is one of the things to which God has enjoined his servants, [where] He says: "*Repel [evil] with what is best. [If you do so,] behold, he between whom and you was enmity, will be as though he were a sympathetic friend. But none is granted it except those who are patient and none is granted it except the greatly endowed.*"^{6 7}

1. Ibid, h. 7232.

2. Ibid, h. 1926.

3. Ibid, h. 1517.

4. *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 426, h. 3, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 76, p. 61, h. 1.

5. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 9784.

6. Qur'ān, 41:34 – 35, *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 633, h. 10, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 71, p. 421, h. 58.

7. *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 633, h. 10, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 71, p. 421, h. 58.

417. عنه عليه السلام - في الحُكْمِ الْمُنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: إِذَا صَافَاكَ عَدُوُّكَ رِيَاءً مِنْهُ فَتَلَقَّ ذَلِكَ بِأَوْكَدِ مَوَدَّةٍ، فَإِنَّهُ إِنْ أَلِفَ ذَلِكَ وَاعْتَادَهُ خُلِصَتْ لَكَ مَوَدَّتُهُ.^١

4 / 8

المَسْأَلَةُ مَعَ الْعَوِي

418. الإمام علي عليه السلام: وَجَدْتُ الْمَسْأَلَةَ مَا لَمْ يَكُنْ وَهْنٌ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ أَنْجَعَ مِنَ الْقِتَالِ.^٢

419. عنه عليه السلام: مِنْ أَفْضَلِ النَّصِيحِ الْإِشَارَةُ بِالصُّلْحِ.^٣

420. عنه عليه السلام - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْجَرِ -: وَلَا تَدْفَعَنَّ صُلْحاً دَعَاكَ إِلَيْهِ عَدُوُّكَ وَفِيهِ رِضًى، فَإِنَّ فِي الصُّلْحِ دَعَةً لِحُنُودِكَ، وَرَاحَةً مِنْ هُمُومِكَ، وَأَمناً لِيَلَادِكَ. وَلَكِنْ الْحَذَرُ كُلُّ الْحَذَرِ مِنْ عَدُوِّكَ بَعْدَ صُلْحِهِ، فَإِنَّ الْعَدُوَّ رَبُّمَا قَارَبَ لِيَتَغَفَّلَ، فَخُذْ بِالْحَزَمِ، وَاتَّهِمْ فِي ذَلِكَ حُسْنَ الظَّنِّ.^٤

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شِدَّةُ الْحَذَرِ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ

421. الإمام علي عليه السلام: مَنْ نَامَ لَمْ يُنَمَّ عَنْهُ.^٥

422. عنه عليه السلام: كُنْ مِنْ عَدُوِّكَ عَلَى أَشَدِّ الْحَذَرِ.^٦

١. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 321 ح 680.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 10138، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 506 ح 9288 وزاد فيه «خيراً» بعد «المسألة».

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 9379، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 470 ح 8579 وفيه «أحسن» بدل «أفضل».

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، خصائص الأئمة: ص 123، تحف العقول: ص 145، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 367 كلاهما نحوه.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 62، الفهارس: ج 1 ص 321 عن جندب.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 10301.

417. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "If your enemy pretended friendship and honesty to you, accept it with warm friendship, for if he goes on with this [attitude] and gets accustomed to it, his friendship will become sincere."¹

8/4

Compromise along with Sagacity

418. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "I found compromising more beneficial than combating, so long as it does not weaken Islam."²
419. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The best of advice is guiding to reconciliation."³
420. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) - in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Never reject a peace to which your enemy calls you and in which is God's pleasure, for in peace there is ease for your soldiers, relaxation from your worries and security for your land. But be cautious, very cautious, with your enemy after (having made) peace with him, for the enemy may have drawn near in order to take advantage of (your) negligence. Therefore be prudent and have doubts about trusting your enemy in this (matter)."⁴

8/5

Extreme Warning against the Enemy

421. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "One who is asleep (negligent), [others] are not asleep (negligent) about him."⁵
422. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Be extremely vigilant against your enemy."⁶

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 321, ḥ. 680.

2. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*: 10138, 'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 506, ḥ. 9288.

3. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 9379, 'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 470, ḥ. 8579.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Khaṣā'is al-A'imma*, p. 123, *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 367.

5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 62, *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 321.

6. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10301.

423. عنه: لا تَأْمَنُ عَدُوًّا وَإِنْ شَكَرَ.^١
424. عنه: شَرُّ الْأَعْدَاءِ أَبْعَدُهُمْ غَوْرًا وَأَخْفَاهُمْ مَكِيدَةً.^٢
425. عنه: - فِي الْحِكْمِ الْمُنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: كُنْ لِلْعَدُوِّ الْمَكَاتِمِ أَشَدَّ حَذَرًا مِنْكَ لِلْعَدُوِّ الْمُبَارِزِ.^٣
426. عنه: أَوْهَنُ الْأَعْدَاءِ كَيْدًا مَنْ أَظْهَرَ عَدَاوَتَهُ.^٤
427. عنه: مَنْ أَظْهَرَ عَدَاوَتَهُ قَلَّ كَيْدُهُ.^٥
428. عنه: لَا تَغْتَرَّنْ بِمُجَامَلَةِ الْعَدُوِّ، فَإِنَّهُ كَالْمَاءِ وَإِنْ أُطِيلَ إِسْخَاؤُهُ بِالنَّارِ لَا يَمْتَنِعُ مِنْ إِطْفَائِهَا.^٦

١. غرر الحكم: ج 10197.

٢. غرر الحكم: ج 5781.

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 311 ح 575.

٤. غرر الحكم: ج 13258؛ شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 343 ح 947 وفيه «أهون» بدل «أوهن» وراجع: أعلام الدين: ص 313 وبحار الأنوار: ج 78 ص 377 ح 3.

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 7956.

٦. غرر الحكم: ج 10298.

قال الإمام الباقر: «لَمَّا نَزَلَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ النَّهْرَوَانُ سَأَلَ عَنْ جَمِيلِ بْنِ بَصْبَهري كَاتِبِ [أ] نَوْشِيرَوَانِ قَبِيلٍ: إِنَّهُ بَعْدَ حَيٍّ بَرَزَقٍ، فَأَمَرَ بِإِحْضَارِهِ، فَلَمَّا حَضَرَ وَجَدَ حَوَاشِيَهُ كُلَّهَا سَائِلَةً إِلَّا الْبَصَرَ، وَذَهَبَتْ صَافِيَا، وَفَرِجَتُهُ نَائِمَةٌ.

فَسَأَلَهُ: كَيْفَ يَنْبَغِي لِلْإِنْسَانِ بِأَجْمَلٍ أَنْ يَكُونَ؟

قَالَ: يَجِبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ قَلِيلُ الصَّدِيقِ كَثِيرُ الْعَدُوِّ. قَالَ: أَبَدَعْتَ يَا جَمِيلُ! فَقَدْ أَجْمَعَ النَّاسُ عَلَى أَنَّ كَثْرَةَ الْأَصْدِقَاءِ أَوْلَى. فَقَالَ: لَيْسَ الْأَمْرُ عَلَى مَا ظَنُّوْا، فَإِنَّ الْأَصْدِقَاءَ إِذَا كَلَّفُوا السَّحْيَ فِي حَاجَةِ الْإِنْسَانِ لَمْ يَنْهَضُوا بِهَا كَمَا يَجِبُ وَيَنْبَغِي، وَالْمَثَلُ فِيهِ «مِنْ كَثْرَةِ الْمَلَّاحِينَ غُرِفَتِ السَّفِينَةُ».

فَقَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: «قَدْ امْتَحَنَتْ هَذَا فُوجِدَتْهُ صَوَابًا، فَمَا مَنُفَعَةُ كَثْرَةِ الْأَعْدَاءِ؟

فَقَالَ: إِنَّ الْأَعْدَاءَ إِذَا كَثُرُوا يَكُونُ الْإِنْسَانُ أَبَدًا مَتَحَرِّزًا مُتَحَفِّظًا أَنْ يَنْطِقَ بِمَا يُوْخِذُ عَلَيْهِ أَوْ تَبْدُرُ مِنْهُ زَلَّةٌ يُوْخِذُ عَلَيْهَا، فَيَكُونُ أَبَدًا عَلَى هَذِهِ الْحَالَةِ سَلِيمًا مِنَ الْخَطَايَا وَالزَّلَلِ. فَاسْتَحْسَنَ ذَلِكَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: «الدَّعَوَاتُ: ص 297 ح 65، بَحَارُ الْأَنْوَارِ: ج 34 ص 345».

423. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not feel safe from any enemy, even if he expresses appreciation."¹
424. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The worst of enemies is he who is more insightful and more covert in conspiracies."²
425. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "Be more wary of a secretive enemy than the enemy who openly fights against you."³
426. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The weakest enemy in deception is he who manifests his enmity."⁴
427. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who manifests his hostility is less deceitful."⁵
428. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not be deceived by the enemy's flattery, for the enemy is like water which, although taking long to boil with fire, it does not fail to put it out."⁶

1. Ibid, 10197.

2. Ibid, 5781.

3. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 311, ḥ. 575.

4. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 3258, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 343, ḥ. 947.

5. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 7956.

6. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10298.

Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) says: "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) came down to the region of Nahrawān, he asked about Jamil ibn Baṣṣir, Anūshīrwān's scribe. They said he was still alive and having [his] daily sustenance. He ordered him to be summoned. When he arrived, 'Ali (a.s.) found him sound in his senses (except for his sight), clear-minded and highly talented. He asked him: "O Jamil! How should a person be?"

He said: "He should have few friends and many enemies!"

The Imām said: "You uttered a strange thing, O Jamil, as people are unanimous that it is better to have many friends."

He said: "It is not as they suppose; for when something is imposed on friends, they do not act as they should, there is also a proverb in this regard which says: "The ship sank because it had too many sailors."

The Commander of the Faithful said: "I have tried this and it is true; but what benefit is there in having many enemies?"

He said: "When there are too many enemies, man is always cautious and careful not to utter a word by which to get stuck [in trouble], or make a blunder to be reprimanded for. Therefore, he is always protected from erring." The Commander of the Faithful approved this. (al-Da'wāt, p. 297, ḥ. 65, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 34, p. 345)

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التَّحْذِيرُ مِنَ اسْتِصْغَارِ الْخَصْمِ

429. الإمام علي عليه السلام: لَا تَسْتَصْغِرَنَّ عَدُوَّكَ وَإِنْ ضَعُفَ.^١
430. عنه عليه السلام - فِي الْحَكَمِ الْمُنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: إِحْذَرِ اسْتِصْغَارَ الْخَصْمِ فَإِنَّهُ يَمْنَعُ مِنَ التَّحْفُظِ، وَرُبَّ صَغِيرٍ غَلَبَ كَبِيرًا.^٢
431. عنه عليه السلام - أَيْضًا -: لَا تَسْتَصْغِرَنَّ أَمْرَ عَدُوِّكَ إِذَا حَارَبْتَهُ، فَإِنَّكَ إِنْ ظَفِرْتَ بِهِ لَمْ تُحْمَدْ وَإِنْ ظَفِرَ بِكَ لَمْ تُعَذَّرْ، وَالضَّعِيفُ الْمُحْتَرِسُ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ الْقَوِيَّ أَقْرَبُ إِلَى السَّلَامَةِ مِنَ الْقَوِيِّ الْمُغْتَرِّ بِالضَّعِيفِ.^٣

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التَّحْذِيرُ مِنَ اسْتِصْغَارِ الْأَعْدَاءِ الْأَجَنَبَةِ

432. عنه عليه السلام: قَدْ جَهِلَ مَنْ اسْتَنْصَحَ أَعْدَاءَهُ.^٤
433. عنه عليه السلام: لَا تُشَاوِرْ عَدُوَّكَ وَاسْتِرْهُ خَيْرُكَ.^٥
434. عنه عليه السلام: اسْتَشِيرْ أَعْدَاءَكَ تَعْرِفَ مِنْ رَأْيِهِمْ بِمِقْدَارِ عَدَاوَتِهِمْ وَمَوَاضِعِ مَقَاصِدِهِمْ.^٦

١. غرر الحكم: ح 10216.

٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 282 ح 231.

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 309 ح 543.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 6663.

٥. غرر الحكم: ح 10198.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 2462.

8/6

Warning against Underestimating the Enemy

429. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not underestimate any of the enemies, even if they are weak."¹
430. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "Beware of underestimating the enemy, for it bars you from vigilance. Many a small group has defeated a great group!"²
431. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "Do not underestimate the power of your enemy when you are fighting with him, for if you win [the battle], you will not be praised and if he defeats you, you are not excused. The weak that keeps a watchful eye on the powerful enemy is closer to safety than the powerful who is conceited of his own power over the weak."³

8/7

Warning against Consultation with the Enemy

432. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who seeks consultation with his enemy is ignorant."⁴
433. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not consult your enemy, and conceal your news from him."⁵
434. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Consult your enemies only in order to find out the extent of their enmity and their goals."⁶

1. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 10216.

2. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 282, ḥ. 231.

3. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 309, ḥ. 543.

4. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 6663.

5. *Ibid*, ḥ. 10198.

6. *Ibid*, ḥ. 2462.

435. عنه: - في الحِكمِ المنسوبةِ إليه -: استشيرَ عَدُوَّكَ تَجَرِبَةً لِتَعْلَمَ مِقْدَارَ عِدَاوَتِهِ.^١

436. عنه: - مَنْ اسْتَعَانَ بِعَدُوِّهِ عَلَى حَاجَتِهِ اَزْدَادَ بُعْدًا مِنْهَا.^٢

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إِنْهَازُ الْفُرْصَةِ فِي مُوَاجَهَةِ الْأَعْدَاءِ

437. الإمام علي: - اسْتَعْمِلْ مَعَ عَدُوِّكَ مُرَاقَبَةَ الْإِمْكَانِ وَإِنْهَازَ الْفُرْصَةِ، تَنْظَرِ.^٣

438. عنه: - لَا تُوقِعْ بِالْعَدُوِّ قَبْلَ الْقُدْرَةِ.^٤

439. عنه: - لَا تُظْهِرِ الْعِدَاوَةَ لِمَنْ لَا سُلْطَانَ لَكَ عَلَيْهِ.^٥

440. عنه: - لَا تَعَرِّضْ لِعَدُوِّكَ وَهُوَ مُقْبِلٌ؛ فَإِنْ إِقْبَالُهُ يُعِينُهُ عَلَيْكَ، وَلَا تَعَرِّضْ لَهُ وَهُوَ

مُذِيرٌ؛ فَإِنْ إِدْبَارُهُ يَكْفِيكَ أَمْرَهُ.^٦

441. عنه: - أَنْكَأَ الْأَشْيَاءَ لِعَدُوِّكَ أَلَّا تُعْلِمَهُ أَنَّكَ اتَّخَذْتَهُ عَدُوًّا.^٧

442. عنه: - في الحِكمِ المنسوبةِ إليه -: أَقْتُلْ الْأَشْيَاءَ لِعَدُوِّكَ أَلَّا تُعْرِفَهُ أَنَّكَ اتَّخَذْتَهُ

عَدُوًّا.^٨

١. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 317 ح 634.

٢. غرر الحكم: ج 8984.

٣. غرر الحكم: ج 2347.

٤. غرر الحكم: ج 10258.

٥. كنز الفوائد: ج 2 ص 183، بحار الأنوار: ج 78 ص 93 ح 104.

٦. غرر الحكم: ج 10306.

٧. نشر الدرر: ج 1 ص 293.

٨. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 283 ح 244.

435. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "As a test and trial, consult your enemy in order to realize the extent of his enmity."¹
436. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who seeks help from his enemy for his need, will move farther away from it."²

8/8

Knowing the Right Time [seizing the opportunity] in Encountering the Enemies

437. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Employ [the strategy of] waiting for possibilities and seizing the opportunity in order to gain victory."³
438. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not assault the enemy before you are powerful [enough]."⁴
439. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not disclose your enmity to those over whom you have no power."⁵
440. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not confront your enemy when he is advancing, as this will help him over you; nor confront him when he is retreating, as his withdrawal will be sufficient for you regarding his affair."⁶
441. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "It is most destructive to your enemy that you do not inform him that you have taken him as an enemy."⁷
442. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "It is most fatal to your enemy that you do not let him know that you have taken him as an enemy."⁸

1. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 317, ḥ. 634.

2. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 8984.

3. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 2347.

4. *Ibid*, ḥ. 10258.

5. *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, vol. 2, p. 183, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 78, p. 93, ḥ. 104.

6. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10306.

7. *Nathr al-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 293.

8. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 283, ḥ. 244.

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عَدَمُ الْعُقُوبَةِ عَلَى الظَّنِّ وَالتَّهْمَةِ

443. الجمل: دَخَلَ [ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ] عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ فَأَبْتَدَأَهُ ﷺ وَقَالَ: يَا بَنَ عَبَّاسٍ، أَعِنْدَكَ خَبَرٌ؟

فَقَالَ: قَدْ رَأَيْتُ طَلْحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرَ.

فَقَالَ لَهُ: إِنَّهُمَا اسْتَأْذَنَانِي فِي الْعُمْرَةِ، فَأَذِنْتُ لَهُمَا بَعْدَ أَنْ اسْتَوَقَّعْتُ مِنْهُمَا بِالْأَيْمَانِ أَلَّا يَغْدِرَا وَلَا يَنْكُثَا وَلَا يُجِدُّنَا فُسَادًا. وَاللَّهِ يَا بَنَ عَبَّاسٍ مَا قَصَّدا إِلَّا الْفِتْنَةَ، فَكَأَنِّي بِهِمَا وَقَدْ صَارَا إِلَى مَكَّةَ لِيَسْتَعِينَا عَلَى حَرْبِي، فَإِنَّ يَعْلَى بْنَ مُنِيَةَ الْخَائِنَ الْفَاجِرَ قَدْ حَمَلَ أَمْوَالَ الْعِرَاقِ وَفَارِسَ لِيُفِيقَ ذَلِكَ، وَسَيُفْسِدُ هَذَانِ الرَّجُلَانِ عَلَيَّ أَمْرِي، وَيَسْفِكَانِ دِمَاءَ شِيعَتِي وَأَنْصَارِي.

فَقَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: إِذَا كَانَ عِنْدَكَ الْأَمْرُ كَذَلِكَ فَلِمَ أَذِنْتَ لَهُمَا؟ وَهَلَا حَبَسْتَهُمَا وَأَوْقَعْتَهُمَا بِالْحَدِيدِ، وَكَفَيْتَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ شَرَّهُمَا؟

فَقَالَ لَهُ ﷺ: يَا بَنَ عَبَّاسٍ، أَتَأْمُرُنِي أَنْ أَبْدَأَ بِالظُّلْمِ وَبِالسَّيِّئَةِ قَبْلَ الْحَسَنَةِ، وَأُعَاقِبَ عَلَى الظَّنِّ وَالتَّهْمَةِ وَأَخُذَ بِالْفِعْلِ قَبْلَ كَوْنِهِ؟ كَلَّا! وَاللَّهِ لَا عَدَلْتُ عَمَّا أَخَذَ اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ مِنَ الْحُكْمِ بِالْعَدْلِ، وَلَا الْقَوْلَ بِالْفَصْلِ. يَا بَنَ عَبَّاسٍ، إِنِّي أَذِنْتُ لَهُمَا وَأَعْرِفُ مَا يَكُونُ مِنْهُمَا، لَكِنِّي اسْتَظْهَرْتُ بِاللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمَا، وَاللَّهِ لَا قَتْلَ لِنَهْمَا وَلِيَخْبِينَ ظَنَّهُمَا، وَلَا يَلْقِيَانِ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ مَنَافِعَهُمَا، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْخُذُهُمَا بِظُلْمِهِمَا لِي، وَنَكْبَهُمَا بِيَعْتِي، وَبَغْيِهِمَا عَلَيَّ.

8/9

Refraining from Punishment on the Basis of Conjecture

443. *al-Jamal*: "Ibn 'Abbās visited the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) and he first started to speak and said: "O Ibn 'Abbās! Do you have any news?"

He said: "I saw Ṭalḥa and Zubair."

He told him: "The two asked my permission for 'Umra (pilgrimage) and I granted them permission after I had them pledge not to deceive, commit betrayal or get involved in corruption. O Ibn 'Abbās! By God, they have no intention other than treason. I know that they have gone to Mecca to seek assistance against me; for the treacherous wicked Ya'lā ibn Munyah has taken the wealth of Iraq and Persia to spend it all. The two men will soon ruin my affair and shed the blood of my followers and companions."

'Abdullah ibn 'Abbās said: "If you think so, why did you give them permission and why did you not put them in jail and shackle them so that you would save Muslims from their harm?"

The Imām (a.s.) said: "O Ibn 'Abbās! Are you asking me to hasten to tyrannize and practice evil instead of doing good and punish on the basis of conjecture and accusation? Far be it! By God, I will not withdraw from the pledge I made to God as to judge on the basis of justice and speaking the truth.

O Ibn 'Abbās! I gave them permission and I know what they will commit; however, I asked God for help against them and I swear by God that I will kill them and make them hopeless and they will not fulfill their wish, for God will punish them for their injustice and transgression towards me and their violation of my allegiance and persecuting me."¹

1. *al-Jamal*, p. 166.

444. تاريخ الطبري عن جندب: لما بلغ علياً مصاب بني ناجية وقتل صاحبهم، قال:

موت أمه! ما كان أنقص عقله، وأجرأه على ربه! فإن جاثياً جاءني مرة فقال لي: في

أصحابك رجال قد خشيت أن يفارقوك، فما ترى فيهم؟

فقلت له: إني لا آخذ على التهمة، ولا أعاقب على الظن، ولا أقاتل إلا من

خالفتني وناصبني وأظهر لي العداوة، ولست مقاتله حتى أدعوه وأعذر إليه، فإن

تاب ورجع إلينا قبلنا منه، وهو أخونا، وإن أبى إلا الاعتزام على حربنا استعنا

عليه الله، وناجزناه، فكف عني ما شاء الله.

ثم جاءني مرة أخرى فقال لي: قد خشيت أن يفسد عليك عبد الله بن وهب

الراسي وزيد بن حصين، إني سمعتهما يذكرا نك بأشياء لو سمعتهما لم تفارقهما

عليها حتى تقتلها أو توبقها، فلا تفارقهما من حبسك أبداً.

فقلت: إني مستشيرك فيهما، فماذا تأمرني به؟

قال: فإني أمرك أن تدعويهما، فتضرب رقابهما، فعلمت أنه لا ورع ولا عاقل،

فقلت: والله ما أظنك ورعاً، ولا عاقلاً نافعاً، والله لقد كان ينبغي لك لو أردت

قتلهم أن تقول: إني الله، لم تستحل قتلهم ولم يقتلوا أحداً، ولم ينادوك، ولم

يخرجوا من طاعتك؟^١

445. الإمام الصادق: كان أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه يقول

لِلنَّاسِ بِالكُوفَةِ: يَا أَهْلَ الكُوفَةِ، أَتَرَوْنِي لَا أَعْلَمُ مَا يُصْلِحُكُمْ؟! بلى، ولكني أكره

أَنْ أَصْلِحُكُمْ بِفَسَادِ نَفْسِي.^٢

١. تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 131، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 3 ص 148 عن حبيب الغارات: ج 1 ص 371 وفيها «توبقها» بدل «توبقها» وكلاهما نحوه.

٢. الأمان للنفيد: ص 207 ح 40 عن هشام، بحار الأنوار: ج 41 ص 110 ح 18.

444. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabari* - narrated from Jundab: "When 'Ali (a.s.) was informed about the afflictions and tragedies inflicted upon of Banī Nājiya and the murder of their chief, he said: "May his mother fall [die]! How feeble-minded he was and how daring he was towards God! Once somebody came to me and said, "There are men among your companions who, I fear, may separate from you. What do you think of them?"

I told him: "I do not administer punishment on the basis of accusation, nor do I chastise on the basis of assumptions. I do not fight against anyone but the one who has antagonized me and manifested his enmity towards me and that I will not start to fight him [but] after I have invited him and presented my proofs to him. Then, if he repents and returns to us, I will accept him as one of our brothers; but if he refused and wished for nothing but battle against us, we will ask God to help us against him and will fight him. May God keep away from me what He wishes!"

Once again he came to me and said: "I fear that 'Abdullah ibn Wahab al-Rāsbī and Zaid ibn Ḥuṣayn would ruin your affair. I heard them say things about you that if you hear, you will not let them go unless you kill or chastise them. So never release them from the prison."

I said: "I will consult with you about them, so what do you suggest?" He said: "I suggest you send for them and kill them."

Then I found out that he was neither pious nor wise, so I said: "By God, I do not suppose you are pious, nor helpful or wise. By God, even if I ever wanted to kill them, it would be more fitting for you to say to me: "Be wary of God! Why do you consider their blood as lawful since they have neither killed anyone, nor have they risen up in war against you, or given up obeying you?"¹

445. Imām al-Ṣādiq: "The Commander of the Faithful 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) used to say to the people in Kūfa: "O people of Kūfa! You suppose that I do not know what sets you aright? Yes, I do. But I do not like to do so by ruining myself [using unlawful means]."²

1. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabari*, vol. 5, p. 131, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 148, *al-Gharāt*, vol. 1, p. 371.

2. *al-Amālī* by al-Mufid, p. 207, ḥ. 40, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 41, p. 110, ḥ. 18.

446. الغارات - في خبر مُفَارَقَةِ الْخَزِيرَةِ بْنِ رَاشِدٍ (وَهُوَ مِنَ الْخَوَارِجِ) أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ :-
 قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ قَعِينٍ: ... أَتَيْتُ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ ... فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ بِمَا سَمِعْتُ مِنَ الْخَزِيرَةِ
 وَمَا قُلْتُ لِابْنِ عَمِّهِ وَمَا رَدَّ عَلَيَّ.

فَقَالَ ﷺ: دَعُهُ، فَإِنْ قَبِلَ الْحَقَّ وَرَجَعَ عَرَفْنَا ذَلِكَ لَهُ وَقَبَلْنَاهُ مِنْهُ؛ وَإِنْ أَبَى طَلَبْنَاهُ.
 فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَلِمَ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ الْآنَ فَتَسْتَوِثِقَ مِنْهُ؟
 فَقَالَ: إِنَّا لَوْ فَعَلْنَا هَذَا لِكُلِّ مَنْ نَتَّبِعُهُ مِنَ النَّاسِ مَلَأْنَا السُّجُونَ مِنْهُمْ، وَلَا
 أَرَانِي يَسْعِي الثُّوبُ عَلَى النَّاسِ وَالْحَبْسُ هُمْ وَعُقُوبَتُهُمْ حَتَّى يُظْهِرُوا لَنَا
 الْخِلَافَ.¹

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب ﷺ: ج 4 ص 43 (خروج الخزير بن راشد).

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التَّحذِيرُ مِنَ التَّغْذِيْبِ

447. الإمام علي ﷺ: مَنْ ضَرَبَ رَجُلًا سَوْطًا ظُلْمًا، ضَرَبَهُ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى بِسَوْطٍ مِنْ
 نَارٍ.¹

448. عنه ﷺ: أَبْغَضُ الْخَلْقِ إِلَى اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ مَنْ جَرَّدَ ظَهَرَ مُسْلِمٍ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ، وَمَنْ ضَرَبَ
 فِي غَيْرِ حَقٍّ مَنْ لَمْ يَضْرِبْهُ أَوْ قَتَلَ مَنْ لَمْ يَقْتُلْهُ.²

1. الغارات: ج 1 ص 333 و ص 335، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 407 ح 1628 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 3 ص 129.

2. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 541 ح 1927.

3. دعائم الإسلام: ج 2 ص 444 ح 1551، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 10 ص 148 ح 588 عن السكوني عن الإمام الصادق ﷺ: عن رسول الله ﷺ وليس فيه * ومن ضرب في غير ... 4.

446. *al-Ghārāt* – reporting on the desertion of Khirrīt ibn Rāshid, who was one of the Khārijis, from the Commander of the Faithful: “‘Abdullah ibn Qa‘īn said: “...I came to the Commander of the Faithful and reported to him what I had heard about Khirrīt, what I had told his cousin and the response he had given me.”

The Imām said: “Leave him alone. If he accepts the truth and returns, we will recognize that and accept it from him; and if he rejects it, we will send for him.”

I said: “O Commander of the Faithful! Why do you not seize him right now to give his pledge of assurances [to be secure of his evils]?”

He said, “If we treat all those whom we accuse like this, then we should fill up prisons by them; and I do not believe it to be permissible to attack people, imprison them and punish them, unless they have openly expressed their antagonism towards us.”¹

See: *The Encyclopedia of Commander of the Faithful*, VI, 447 (The Revolt of Khirrīt ibn Rāshid).

8/10

Warning against Torture

447. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “He who whips a person unjustly, God the Blessed and the Exalted will whip him with a whip of fire.”²
448. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “The most detested person before God is one who bares a Muslim’s back unrightfully and beats a person who has not beaten him, or kills he who has not committed a murder.”³

1. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 333 & 335, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 407, ḥ. 628, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 129.

2. *Da‘a’im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 541, ḥ. 1927.

3. *Da‘a’im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 444, ḥ. 1551, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 10, p. 148, ḥ. 588.

449. عنه: «- مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى أَمْرَاءِ الْحَرَجِ :- لَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِيهَا نُبَيٌّ عَنْهُ مِنَ الظُّلْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ عِقَابٌ يُخَافُ، كَانَ فِي ثَوَابِهِ مَا لَا عُذْرَ لِأَحَدٍ بِتَرْكِ طَلَبِهِ، فَارْحَمُوا تُرْحَمُوا، وَلَا تُعَذِّبُوا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تُكَلِّفُوهُمْ فَوْقَ طَاقَتِهِمْ»^١.

450. عنه: «: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! إِنِّي دَعَوْتُكُمْ إِلَى الْحَقِّ فَتَوَلَّيْتُمْ عَنِّي، وَصَرَبْتُمْ بِالذُّرَّةِ فَأَعْيَيْتُمُونِي. أَمَا إِنَّهُ سَيَلِيكُمُ بَعْدِي وُلَاةٌ لَا يَرْضَوْنَ مِنْكُمْ بِهَذَا حَتَّى يُعَذِّبُوكُمُ بِالسَّيَاطِطِ وَبِالْحَدِيدِ، فَأَمَّا أَنَا فَلَا أُعَذِّبُكُمْ بِهِمَا؛ إِنَّهُ مَنْ عَذَّبَ النَّاسَ فِي الدُّنْيَا عَذَّبَهُ اللَّهُ فِي الْآخِرَةِ»^٢.

451. مسند زيد عن زيد بن علي عن أبيه عن جده عن الإمام علي: «- أَنَّهُ قَالَ لِعُمَرَ فِي امْرَأَةٍ حَامِلٍ اعْتَرَفَتْ بِالْفُجُورِ فَأَمَرَ بِهَا أَنْ تُرْجَمَ :- فَلَعَلَّكَ انْتَهَرْتَهَا أَوْ اخْفَنْتَهَا؟ قَالَ: قَدْ كَانَ ذَلِكَ، فَقَالَ: أَوْ مَا سَمِعْتَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: لَا حُدَّ عَلَى مُعْتَرِفٍ بَعْدَ بَلَاءٍ، إِنَّهُ مَنْ قَيَّدَتْ أَوْ حَبَسَتْ أَوْ تَهَدَّدَتْ فَلَا إِقْرَارَ لَهُ. قَالَ: فَخَلَى عُمَرُ سَبِيلَهَا، ثُمَّ قَالَ: عَجَزَتْ النِّسَاءُ أَنْ تَلِدَ مِثْلَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، لَوْ لَا عَلِيٌّ هَلَكَ عُمَرُ»^٣.

452. الإمام علي: «- مِنْ خُطْبَةٍ لَهُ فِي أَوَائِلِ خِلَافَتِهِ :- إِنَّ اللَّهَ حَرَّمَ حَرَاماً غَيْرَ مَجْهُولٍ، وَأَحَلَّ حَلَالاً غَيْرَ مَدْخُولٍ، وَفَضَّلَ حُرْمَةَ الْمُسْلِمِ عَلَى الْحَرَمِ كُلِّهَا، وَشَدَّ بِالْإِخْلَاصِ وَالتَّوْحِيدِ حُقُوقَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِي مَعَاقِدِهَا، «فَالْمُسْلِمُ مَنْ سَلِمَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ مِنْ لِسَانِهِ وَيَدِهِ» إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ، وَلَا يَحِلُّ أَذَى الْمُسْلِمِ إِلَّا بِهَا يَجِبُ»^٤.

١. وقعة صفين: ص 108، نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 51 نحوه: المعيار والموازنة: ص 122.

٢. الفارقات: ج 2 ص 458 عن زيد بن علي بن أبي طالب، الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 322 وليس فيه «فأما أنا فلا أعذبكم بهما» شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 2 ص 306 عن زيد بن علي.

٣. مسند زيد: ص 335، كشف اليقين: ص 73 ح 55، كشف الغمّة: ج 1 ص 113 ذخائر العقبى: ص 146 وليس فيه «ثم قال...»، المناقب للخوارزمي: ص 81 ح 65.

٤. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 167، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 40 ح 26.

449. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to the chiefs [collectors] of land tax: "Even if there had been no fear of punishment for revolt and disobedience, which God has prohibited, the reward in keeping aloof from them would be enough [incentive] to abstain from going after them. Show mercy [on others] so as to be shown mercy; do not torture servants of God and do not charge them to that which is beyond their capacity."¹
450. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O People! I called you to the Truth but you turned your back on me and I beat you with the lash but you tired me out. Know that after me you will be ruled by rulers who would not be content with this; rather they would torture you with whips and iron. But I do not torture you with whips and iron, for whoever tortures people in this world, God will torture him in the Hereafter."²
451. *Musnad Zaid* – narrating from Zaid ibn 'Ali (a.s.), from his father, from his grandfather about 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib (a.s.): "In truth, he ['Ali] (a.s.) told 'Umar concerning a pregnant woman who had admitted to committing adultery and 'Umar had ordered her to be stoned: "Perhaps you have shouted at her or frightened her?"
 'Umar replied: "That is so."
 'Ali (a.s.) said: "Have you not heard the saying of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.): "There should be no legal punishment to the one who has confessed after being tortured. Indeed the confession of the person whom you shackle, incarcerate, or threaten is invalid?"
 He [the narrator] said: "'Umar released the woman, then he said: "Women are unable to give birth to a son like 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib. If it was not for 'Ali, 'Umar would be perished."³
452. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his sermon at the beginning of his government: "Surely, God has made unlawful the things which are not unknown and made lawful the things which are without defect. He has given precedence to the esteem of Muslims over others. He has placed the rights of Muslims in the same grade of importance as sincerity [to Him Almighty] and monotheism. Therefore a Muslim is one from whose tongue and hand every (other) Muslim is safe except in the matter of truth. It is not lawful to harm another Muslim unless it is obligatory."⁴

1. *Waq'at Šifīn*, p. 108, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 51, *al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzin*, p. 122.

2. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 2, p. 458, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 322, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 2, p. 306.

3. *Musnad Zaid*, p. 335, *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, p. 73, ḥ. 55, *Dbakhā'ir al-'Uqbā*, p. 146

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 167, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 40, ḥ. 26.

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النَّهْيُ عَنِ السَّبِّ

453. وقعة صفين عن عبد الله بن شريك: خَرَجَ حُجْرُ بْنُ عَدِيٍّ وَعَمْرُو بْنُ الْحَقِيقِ يُظَاهِرَانِ الْبَرَاءَةَ وَاللَّعْنَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الشَّامِ، فَأَرْسَلَ إِلَيْهِمَا عَلِيٌّ: أَنْ كُفَّا عَمَّا يَبْلُغُنِي عَنْكُمَا. فَأَتَيَاهُ فَقَالَا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، أَلَسْنَا مُخَقِّقِينَ؟
قَالَ: بَلَى.

قَالَا: أَوَلَيْسُوا مُبْطِلِينَ؟

قَالَ: بَلَى.

قَالَا: فَلِمَ مَنَعْتَنَا مِنْ سَتْمِهِمْ؟

قَالَ: كَرِهْتُ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا لِعَانِينَ شَتَامِينَ، تَشْتَمُونَ وَتَتَبَرَّؤُونَ، وَلَكِنْ لَوْ وَصِفْتُمْ مَسَاوِي أَعْمَالِهِمْ فَقُلْتُمْ: مِنْ سِيرَتِهِمْ كَذَا وَكَذَا، وَمِنْ عَمَلِهِمْ كَذَا وَكَذَا، كَانَ أَصَوَّبَ فِي الْقَوْلِ، وَأَبْلَغَ فِي الْعُذْرِ. وَلَوْ قُلْتُمْ مَكَانَ لَعْنِكُمْ إِيَّاهُمْ وَبَرَاءَتِكُمْ مِنْهُمْ: اللَّهُمَّ احْقِنِ دِمَاءَنَا وَدِمَاءَهُمْ، وَأَصْلِحْ ذَاتَ بَيْنِنَا وَبَيْنَهُمْ، وَاهْدِهِمْ مِنْ ضَلَالَتِهِمْ، حَتَّى يَعْرِفَ الْحَقُّ مِنْهُمْ مِنْ جَهْلِهِ، وَيَرْعَوْيَ عَنِ الْغَيِّ وَالْعُدْوَانِ مَنْ لَحِجَ بِهِ، كَانَ هَذَا أَحَبَّ إِلَيَّ وَخَيْرًا لَكُمْ.

فَقَالَا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، نَقْبَلُ عِظَتَكَ، وَنَتَأَذَّبُ بِأَدَبِكَ.^١

454. الإمام علي عليه السلام: لَا تَشِينُ^١ عَدُوَّكَ وَإِنْ شَانَكَ^٢.

١. وقعة صفين: ص 103، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 399 ح 369 - 373 وراجع: نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 206 والأخبار الطوال: ص 165.

٢. الشَّيْنُ: القُبْحُ (لسان العرب: ج 13 ص 244).

٣. غرر الحكم: ج 10418.

8/11

Warning against Insult

453. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – narrating from 'Abdullah ibn Sharik: "Ḥujr ibn 'Adī and 'Amr ibn Ḥamq went out while openly expressing their aversion and cursing the people of Shām, so 'Ali (a.s.) sent a message to them to avoid what he had been informed about.

The two came to 'Ali (a.s.) and said: "O Commander of the Faithful! Are we not on the right path?"

He said: "Yes."

They asked again: "Are they not on the wrong path?"

He said: "Yes."

They said: "Why then did you prevent us from cursing them?"

He said: "I did not like you to be among the cursers and revilers who curse people and express aversion; but if you described their misbehavior and said: "Their conduct is such and their behavior is so", it would be more appropriate in saying and more effective in excusing. If instead of cursing and disavowing them, you would say: "O God! Spare our blood and theirs, reconcile between us and them and deliver them from their misguidance so that the one who has ignored the truth knows it and the one who has attached himself to aggression and enmity refrains from it", this would be dearer to me and better for you."

They both said: "O Commander of the Faithful! We accept your advice and we shall discipline ourselves by your good manners."¹

454. Imām 'Ali(a.s.): "Do not dishonor your enemy even if he dishonors you."²

1. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 103, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 399, ḥ. 369-373. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 206, al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl, p. 165.

2. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 10418.

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الرَّفْقُ مَا لَمْ يَكُنْ نَامِرًا

455. الإمام عليّ عليه السلام: الرَّفْقُ يَقْلُ حَذَّ الْمُخَالَفَةِ.^١
456. عنه عليه السلام - في الحُكْمِ الْمُنْصَوِيَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: قَارِبَ عَدُوِّكَ بَعْضَ الْمُقَارَبَةِ تَنْلُ حَاجَتَكَ، وَلَا تُفْرِطُ فِي مُقَارَبَتِهِ فَتُذِلَّ نَفْسُكَ وَنَاصِرُكَ، وَتَأْمَلَ حَالَ الْحَشِيَّةِ الْمُنْصَوِيَةِ فِي الشَّمْسِ الَّتِي إِنْ أَمْلَتْهَا زَادَ ظِلُّهَا، وَإِنْ أَفْرَطْتَ فِي الْإِمَالَةِ نَقَصَ الظِّلُّ.^٢
457. تاريخ الطبري عن عبد الملك بن أبي حُرَّةَ الْحَنْفِيِّ: أَنَّ عَلِيًّا خَرَجَ ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ يَخْطُبُ، فَإِنَّهُ لَفِي خُطْبَتِهِ إِذْ حَكَمَتِ الْمُحْكَمَةُ فِي جَوَانِبِ الْمَسْجِدِ.
فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! كَلِمَةُ حَقٍّ يُرَادُ بِهَا بَاطِلٌ! إِنْ سَكْتُوا عَمَمْنَاهُمْ،^٣ وَإِنْ تَكَلَّمُوا حَجَجْنَاهُمْ، وَإِنْ خَرَجُوا عَلَيْنَا قَاتَلْنَاهُمْ.^٤
458. السنن الكبرى عن كثير بن نعيم: بَيْنَا أَنَا فِي الْجُمُعَةِ وَعَلِيٌّ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) عَلَى الْمِنْبَرِ، إِذْ قَامَ رَجُلٌ فَقَالَ: لَا حُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ، ثُمَّ قَامَ آخَرُ فَقَالَ: لَا حُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ، ثُمَّ قَامُوا مِنْ نَوَاحِي الْمَسْجِدِ، فَأَشَارَ إِلَيْهِمْ عَلِيٌّ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) بِيَدَيْهِ: اجْلِسُوا، نَعَمْ لَا حُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ، كَلِمَةٌ يُبْتَغَى بِهَا بَاطِلٌ، حُكْمَ اللَّهِ نَنْظُرُ فِيكُمْ، أَلَا إِنْ لَكُمْ عِنْدِي ثَلَاثَ خِصَالٍ: مَا كُنْتُمْ مَعَنَا لَا نَمْنَعُكُمْ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ أَنْ تَذْكُرُوا فِيهَا اسْمَ اللَّهِ، وَلَا نَمْنَعُكُمْ فَيْئًا مَا

١. محرر الحكم: ح 560.

٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 342 ح 923.

٣. لعنه من قولهم: عَمَمْنَاهُ أَمْرًا؟ أي الزمناه (راجع: لسان العرب: ج 12 ص 427).

٤. تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 72، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 398، أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 135 وليس فيه «وإن

خرجوا...» وفيها «عَمَمْنَاهُمْ» بدل «عَمَمْنَاهُمْ».

8/12

Gentleness as long as There Is no Conspiracy

455. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Gentleness will soften the roughness of opposition and defiance."¹
456. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in the aphorisms attributed to him: "Get close to your enemy to the extent that you may fulfill your need; and do not get too close to him lest you should debase your companions and yourself. Look at the stick erected before the sun. If you tilt it, the shadow will get longer and if you go to extremes in tilting the stick, the shadow will diminish."²
457. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* – narrating from 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī: "One day 'Ali (a.s.) went out to give a sermon. He was lecturing while the Khawārij were chanting in a corner of the mosque 'there is no Sovereignty save for God' (*lā ḥukm illā li'llāh*)!"
'Ali (a.s.) said: "God is the Greatest (*Allāh Akbar*)! It is a true word but falsehood is intended. If they keep silent, we will abandon them; if they go on talking, we will debate with them; and if they rise against us, we will fight them."³
458. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* – narrating from Kathir ibn Namir: "While I was attending the Friday prayer and 'Ali (a.s.) was on the pulpit when a man rose and said, 'there is no Discretion belong only to God' (*lā ḥukm illā li'llāh*)!"

Another person rose and said, 'there is no Sovereignty save for God'. Then the Khawārij stood up from around the mosque. 'Ali (a.s.) requested them to sit down and he said: "Yes, Sovereignty belongs to God alone; a word by which a falsehood is intended. We will deal with you according to the judgment of God. Let it be known that there are three issues regarding you that matters for me:

So long as you are with us, we will not prevent you from the mosque in which you may utter the name of God;

1. Ibid, p. 560.

2. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 342, ḥ. 923.

3. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 72, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 398, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 3, p. 135.

كَانَتْ أَيْدِيكُمْ مَعَ أَيْدِينَا، وَلَا تُقَاتِلُكُمْ حَتَّى تُقَاتِلُوا. ثُمَّ أَخَذَ فِي خُطْبَتِهِ.^١

459. الأموال عن كثير بن نمر: جاء رجلٌ برجلٍ^٢ من الخوارج إلى عليٍّ، فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، إني وجدتُ هذا يسُبُّكَ، قال: فسبُّه كما سبَّني. قال: ويتوعَّدُكَ؟ فقال: لا أقتل من لم يقتلني، قال عليٌّ: هم علينا ثلاث: أن لا تمنعهم المساجد أن يذكروا الله فيها، وأن لا تمنعهم الفياء ما دامت أيديهم مع أيدينا، وأن لا يُقاتِلَهُمْ حَتَّى يُقَاتِلُونَا.^٣

460. المصنّف لابن أبي شيبة عن كثير بن نمر: جاء رجلٌ برجالٍ إلى عليٍّ فقال: إني رأيتُ هؤلاء يتوعَّدونكَ، ففروا وأخذتُ هذا، قال: أفأقتل من لم يقتلني؟ قال: إنَّه سبَّكَ! قال: سبُّه أو دَع.^٤

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 3 ص 645 (صبر الإمام علي عليه السلام وأذاهم ورفقه بهم).

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إجلال المتأمرين أو حبسهم

461. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: قد روي أن عمران بن الحصين كان من المنحرفين عنه^٥، وأن علياً سبَّه إلى المدائن، وذلك أنه كان يقول: إن مات علي فلا أدري ما موته، وإن قُتل فعسى أني - إن قُتل - رجوتُ له.^٦

١. السنن الكبرى: ج 8 ص 319 ح 16763، تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 73 عن كثير بن نمر، الكامل في التاريخ:

ج 2 ص 398، البداية والنهاية: ج 7 ص 285 كلها نحوه.

٢. في المصدر: «الرجل» وهو تصحيف.

٣. الأموال: ص 245 ح 567، كنز العمال: ج 11 ص 300 ح 31569.

٤. المصنّف لابن أبي شيبة: ج 8 ص 614 ح 147، كنز العمال: ج 11 ص 319 ح 31616.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 77.

So long as your hands are in ours, we will not deprive you of the public assets; and we will not fight against you unless you fight against us." Then he went on with his sermon."¹

459. *al-Amwāl* – narrating from Kathīr ibn Namir: "A man brought another man from the Khawārij to 'Ali (a.s.) and said, 'O Commander of the Faithful! I saw this man cursing you.'

He said: "Curse him back, the same way as he cursed me."

He said: "He has threatened you!"

'Ali (a.s.) said: "I will not kill a person who has not killed me."

Then he said: "They have three rights over us: not to prevent them from the mosques where they utter the name of God; not to deprive them of public assets so long as their hands are in ours and not to fight against them until they begin to fight against us."²

460. *al-Muṣannif* – narrating from Kathīr ibn Namir: "A man brought another man from the Khawārij to 'Ali (a.s.) and said he [and his group] have threatened you and then ran away and I caught this man."

The Imām said: "Should I kill the person who has not killed me?"

The man said: 'He cursed you!'

He said: "You either curse him or let him go."³

See *The Encyclopedia of Commander of the Faithful*, VI, 390 (The Imām's patience with the persecutions of the Khawārij and his tolerance towards them).

8/13

Exiling or Detaining the Plotters

461. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*: "It is narrated that 'Umrān ibn Ḥuṣayn was one of those who had deviated from 'Ali (a.s.) and he (a.s.) had exiled him to Madā'in for he had said: "If 'Ali dies, I do not know how his death will come! And if he is to be killed – that I hope he will – I look forward to that!"⁴

1. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 319, ḥ. 16763, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 73, *al-Kamīl fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 398.

2. *al-Amwāl*, p. 245, ḥ. 567, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 11, p. 300, ḥ. 31569.

3. *al-Muṣannif fī al-Aḥādīth wa al-Āthār*, vol. 8, p. 614, ḥ. 147, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 11, p. 319, ḥ. 31616.

4. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 4, p. 77.

462. الغارات عن سعيد الأشعري: اسْتَخْلَفَ عَلِيٌّ ١٢ حِينَ سَارَ إِلَى النَّهْرَوَانِ رَجُلًا مِّنَ النَّخَعِ يُقَالُ لَهُ: هَانِي بْنُ هُوَذَةَ، فَكَتَبَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ ١٣: إِنَّ غَنِيًّا وَبَاهِلَةً فَتَنُوا، فَدَعَوْا اللَّهَ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ يَظْفِرَ بِكَ عَدُوُّكَ، قَالَ: فَكَتَبَ إِلَيْهِ عَلِيٌّ ١٤: أَجْلِبْهُمْ مِنَ الْكُوفَةِ وَلَا تَدْعَ مِنْهُمْ أَحَدًا^١.

463. تاريخ الطبري عن المُجَلِّ بن خَلِيفَةَ: إِنَّ رَجُلًا مِنْهُمْ مِنْ بَنِي سَدُوسٍ يُقَالُ لَهُ الْعِزَارُ بْنُ الْأَخْنَسِ كَانَ يَرَى رَأْيَ الْخَوَارِجِ، خَرَجَ إِلَيْهِمْ، فَاسْتَقْبَلَ وَرَاءَ الْمَدَائِنِ عَدِيَّ بْنَ حَاتِمٍ وَمَعَهُ الْأَسْوَدُ بْنُ قَيْسٍ وَالْأَسْوَدُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ الْمُرَادِيَّانِ، فَقَالَ لَهُ الْعِزَارُ حِينَ اسْتَقْبَلَهُ: أَسَلِمُ غَانِمٍ، أَمْ ظَالِمٌ آثِمٌ؟ فَقَالَ عَدِيٌّ: لَا، بَلْ سَلِمٌ غَانِمٌ، فَقَالَ لَهُ الْمُرَادِيَّانِ: مَا قُلْتَ هَذَا إِلَّا لِشَرِّ فِي نَفْسِكَ، وَإِنَّكَ لَنَعْرِفُكَ يَا عِزَارُ بِرَأْيِ الْقَوْمِ، فَلَا تُفَارِقْنَا حَتَّى نَذْهَبَ بِكَ إِلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَتُخْبِرَهُ خَبْرَكَ. فَلَمْ يَكُنْ بِأَوْشَكَ أَنْ جَاءَ عَلِيٌّ فَأَخْبَرَاهُ خَبْرَهُ، وَقَالَا: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّهُ يَرَى رَأْيَ الْقَوْمِ، قَدْ عَرَفْنَاهُ بِذَلِكَ. فَقَالَ: مَا يَحِلُّ لَنَا دَمُهُ، وَلَكِنَّا نَحْبِسُهُ.

فَقَالَ عَدِيٌّ بْنُ حَاتِمٍ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، ادْفَعُهُ إِلَيَّ وَأَنَا أَضْمِنُ أَلَا يَأْتِيكَ مِنْ قِبَلِهِ مَكْرُوهٌ. فَدَفَعَهُ إِلَيْهِ^٢.

١. الغارات: ج ١ ص ١٨، بحار الأنوار: ج ٣٣ ص ٣٥٦ ح ٥٨٨.

٢. تاريخ الطبري: ج ٥ ص ٣٩.

462. *al-Ghārāt* – narrating from Sa'īd al-Ash'arī: "When setting out for Nahrawān, 'Alī (a.s.) put a man from the Nakha' tribe by the name of Hānī ibn Hūdha in his place. He wrote to 'Alī (a.s.) that: "The Ghanī and Bāhila tribes had revolted and prayed that your enemy gain victory [over you]."

'Alī (a.s.) wrote back: "Deport them from Kūfa and do not leave any of them therein."¹

463. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* – narrating from Muḥill ibn Khalīfa: "A man from the Banī Sadūs tribe called 'Ayzār ibn Akhnas who believed in the Khawārij [sympathizing with them] set off on a trip towards them. In the outskirts of Madā'in, he ran into 'Adī ibn Ḥātim who was accompanied by Aswad ibn Qays al-Murādī and Aswad ibn Yazīd al-Murādī.

When 'Ayzār encountered 'Adī, he asked him: "Are you a healthy and successful person or a tyrannic and sinful one?"

'Adī said: "healthy and successful."

The two Murādīs said: "You only ask this out of the evil you have in you. We know for sure that you carry the views of the Khawārij. O 'Ayzār! You shall not be separated until we take you to the Commander of the Faithful and report your state to him."

A short while later 'Alī (a.s.) came and they reported to him saying: "O Commander of the Faithful! He is of the same opinion as that of the Khawārij. We know him."

He (a.s.) said: "[The shedding of] his blood is not permissible to us; however, we will imprison him."

'Adī ibn Ḥātim said: "O Commander of the Faithful! Leave him with me and I ensure that no harm would come to you from him." 'Alī (a.s.) left him with 'Adī."²

1. *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 18, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 356, ḥ. 588.

2. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 89.

الفصل التاسع

السِّيَاسَةُ الْحَرْبِيَّةُ

1 / 9

الِإِهْتِمَامُ بِالتَّدْرِيسِ الْعَسْكَرِيِّ

١- تَعْلِيمُ الْجَيْشِ

464. الإمام علي عليه السلام - مِنْ وَصِيَّتِهِ لِزِيَادِ بْنِ النَّضْرِ حِينَ أَنْفَذَهُ عَلَى مُقَدَّمَتِهِ إِلَى صِفَيْنَ -: إَعْلَمُ أَنَّ مُقَدَّمَةَ الْقَوْمِ عُيُونُهُمْ، وَعُيُونُ الْمُقَدَّمَةِ طَلَاتِعُهُمْ، فَإِذَا أَنْتَ خَرَجْتَ مِنْ بِلَادِكَ وَدَنَوْتَ مِنْ عَدُوِّكَ فَلَا تَسَامُ^١ مِنْ تَوَجُّهِهِ الطَّلَاتِعِ فِي كُلِّ نَاحِيَةٍ، وَفِي بَعْضِ الشُّعَابِ وَالشَّجَرِ وَالْحَقَمَرِ^٢، وَفِي كُلِّ جَانِبٍ، حَتَّى لَا يُغَيِّرُكُمْ عَدُوُّكُمْ، وَيَكُونَ لَكُمْ كَمِينٌ. وَلَا تُسَيِّرِ الْكَتَائِبَ وَالْقَبَائِلَ مِنْ لَدُنِ الصَّبَاحِ إِلَى الْمَسَاءِ إِلَّا تَعِيَّةً، فَإِنْ دَهَمَكُمْ أَمْرٌ أَوْ غَشِيَكُمْ مَكْرُوهٌ كُنْتُمْ قَدْ تَقَدَّمْتُمْ فِي التَّعِيَّةِ. وَإِذَا نَزَلْتُمْ بِعَدُوٍّ أَوْ نَزَلَ بِكُمْ فَلْيَكُنْ مُعَسَّكُكُمْ فِي أَقْبَالِ الْأَشْرَافِ، أَوْ فِي سِفَاحِ الْجِبَالِ، أَوْ أَثْنَاءِ الْأَنْهَارِ؛ كَيْمَا تَكُونَ لَكُمْ رِدهَاً وَدُونَكُمْ مَرَدًّا. وَلَتَكُنْ مُقَاتِلَتُكُمْ مِنْ وَجْهِ وَاحِدٍ وَاثْنَيْنِ.

١. سَيِّئٌ مِنْهُ: قُلْتُ (لسان العرب: ج ١٢ ص 280).

٢. الْحَقَمَرُ: مَا وَارَاكَ مِنَ الشَّجَرِ وَالْجِبَالِ وَنَحْوِهَا (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 256).

Chapter Nine

Warfare Policies

9/1

Attaching Importance to Military Training

A. Training the Troops

464. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his commandments to Ziyād ibn Naḍr when he assigned him as the commander of his army in the battle of Şiffin: "You should know that the vanguards of an army serve as their eyes and the eyes of the vanguard are their forerunners. Therefore when you leave your town and approach the enemy you should not feel weary to search for them because the informers are everywhere and in some of the defiles, woods, and secret places as well as every area so [be on your guard] that your enemies will not raid you or lay trap for you.

Do not make the battalions and tribes proceed from morning to evening unless you want to mobilize them, so that when a matter occurs or a trouble befalls you are already mobilized for it.

وَاجْعَلُوا رُقْبَاءَكُمْ فِي صَيَاصِي الْجِبَالِ، وَبِأَعْلَى الْأَشْرَافِ، وَبِمَنَاكِبِ الْأَنْهَارِ؛
يُرِينُونَ لَكُمْ؛ لَيْلًا يَأْتِيكُمْ عَدُوٌّ مِنْ مَكَانٍ مَخَافَةٍ أَوْ أَمْنٍ.

وَإِذَا نَزَلْتُمْ فَانْزِلُوا جَمِيعًا، وَإِذَا رَحَلْتُمْ فَارْحَلُوا جَمِيعًا، وَإِذَا غَشِيَكُمْ اللَّيْلُ فَتَزَلْتُمْ
فَحُفُوا عَسْكَرَكُمْ بِالرَّمَاكِ وَالْتَرَسَةِ، وَاجْعَلُوا رُمَاتِكُمْ يَلُودُونَ تَرَسَتِكُمْ؛ كَيْلًا
تُصَابَ لَكُمْ غِرَّةٌ، وَلَا تُلْقَى لَكُمْ غَفْلَةٌ.

وَاحْرُسْ عَسْكَرَكَ بِنَفْسِكَ، وَإِيَّاكَ أَنْ تَرُقُدَ أَوْ تُصْبِحَ إِلَّا غِرَارًا^١ أَوْ مُضْمَضَةً^٢.
ثُمَّ لِيَكُنْ ذَلِكَ شَأْنَكَ وَذَابُكَ حَتَّى تَنْتَهِيَ إِلَى عَدُوِّكَ.

وَعَلَيْكَ بِالتَّائِي فِي حَرْبِكَ، وَإِيَّاكَ وَالْعَجَلَةَ إِلَّا أَنْ تُمَكِّنَكَ فُرْصَةً. وَإِيَّاكَ أَنْ
تُقَاتِلَ إِلَّا أَنْ يَبْدُووكَ، أَوْ يَأْتِيكَ أَمْرِي. وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ.^٣

465. عنه - وَمِنْ وَصِيَّةٍ لَهُ: لِمَعْقِلِ بْنِ قَيْسٍ الرِّيَّاحِيِّ حِينَ أَنْفَذَهُ إِلَى الشَّامِ فِي ثَلَاثَةِ
آلَافٍ مُقَدَّمَةٍ لَهُ -: إِنَّنِي اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا بُدَّ لَكَ مِنْ لِقَائِهِ وَلَا مُتَهَيٍّ لَكَ دُونَهُ. وَلَا
تُقَاتِلَنَّ إِلَّا مَنْ قَاتَلَكَ. وَسِرِّ الْبَرْدَيْنِ. وَغَوِّرِ بِالنَّاسِ. وَرَفِّهِ فِي السَّيْرِ. وَلَا تَسِرْ أَوَّلَ
اللَّيْلِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ جَعَلَهُ سَكْنًا وَقَدَرَهُ مُقَامًا لَا ظَعْنًا. فَأَرْحَ فِيهِ بَدَنَكَ وَرَوْحَ ظَهْرِكَ.
فَإِذَا وَقَفْتَ حِينَ يَنْبَطِخُ السَّحَرُ أَوْ حِينَ يَنْفَجِرُ الْفَجْرُ فَمِرْ عَلَى بَرَكََةِ اللَّهِ. فَإِذَا لَقِيتَ
الْعَدُوَّ فَقِفْ مِنْ أَصْحَابِكَ وَسَطًا، وَلَا تَدْنُ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ دُنُوًّا مَنْ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يُنْشِبَ
الْحَرْبَ، وَلَا تَبَاعِدْ عَنْهُمْ تَبَاعُدَ مَنْ يَهَابُ الْبَأْسَ حَتَّى يَأْتِيكَ أَمْرِي، وَلَا يَحْمِلَنَّكُمْ
شَنَائُهُمْ عَلَى قِتَالِهِمْ قَبْلَ دُعَائِهِمْ وَالْإِعْذَارِ إِلَيْهِمْ.^٤

١. صَيَاصِي الْجِبَالِ: أطرافها العالية (مجمع البحرين: ج 2 ص 1063).

٢. الغرار: النوم القليل، وقيل: هو القليل من النوم وغيره (لسان العرب: ج 5 ص 17).

٣. أي ينام ثم يستيقظ ثم ينام تشبيهاً بمضمضة الماء في الفم يأخذه ثم يمجّه، وهو أدق التشبيه وأجمله (صبحي الصالح).

٤. تحف العقول: ص 191، نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 11، ومعه صفين: ص 123 عن يزيد بن خالد بن قطن: الأخيار الطوال: ص 166 كلها نحوه.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 12.

Your camp should be upon heights, slopes of the mountains, or in between rivers so that they will form fortresses for you and will prevent your enemies from reaching you. Your fighting should be from one or two fronts. Order the vanguards to settle on the summits of mountains, heights and on the edges of rivers. They should oversee for you so that the enemies will not attack you from a fearful or secured place.

If you want to reside, you should reside collectively and when you want to continue your march, you should continue collectively. When you reside at night, you should encompass your camp with spears and armors. Put the archers behind the carriers of armors so that you will not be taken by surprise or inattentively.

Guard your army yourself. Beware, you should not sleep unbrokenly and should not pass a night with deep sleep. You should keep up this method until you meet your enemy.

You should be careful and deliberate in fighting. Beware of hasting unless a good opportunity arises for you. Do not fight before the enemy attacks you or you receive my order. Peace and God's mercy be upon you."¹

465. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – from his commandments to Ma'qal ibn Qays al-Riyāhī when he was dispatched to Sham as the head of a three thousand strong vanguards: "Be wary of God before Whom attendance is inevitable and with other than Whom there is no meeting. Do not fight except with those who fight you. Travel in the two cool periods (i.e. morning and evening). Let the men have midday rest and sleep. Give them ease and comfort when marching and do not travel during early hours of night for God has made it for resting and has ordained it for staying, not for journeying. Therefore give rest to your body in the night and let your carrier-beasts also rest. When morning has appeared and dawn has arrived, commence your journey with God's blessings. When you face the enemy stand in the midst of your comrades. Do not get too close to the foe, like the one who wants to commence the fighting, nor remain too distant like he who is afraid of action, till you receive my orders. Hatred for them should not lead you to fight before inviting them (to guidance) and leaving no excuses for them."²

1. *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 191, *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 11, *Waq'at Šiffin*, p. 123, *al-Akbbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 166.

2. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 12.

466. عنه: - مِنْ كِتَابِ لَهُ: إِلَى بَعْضِ أُمَرَاءِ جَيْشِهِ -: فَإِنْ عَادُوا إِلَى ظِلِّ الطَّاعَةِ فَذَاكَ الَّذِي نُحِبُّ، وَإِنْ تَوَاقَّتِ الْأُمُورُ بِالْقَوْمِ إِلَى الشُّقَاقِ وَالْعِصْيَانِ فَأَنْهَدُ^١ بِمَنْ أَطَاعَكَ إِلَى مَنْ عَصَاكَ، وَاسْتَغْنِي بِمَنْ انْقَادَ مَعَكَ عَمَّنْ تَفَاعَسَ عَنْكَ؛ فَإِنَّ الْمُتَكَارَةَ مَغْيِيهِ خَيْرٌ مِنْ مَشْهَدِهِ، وَقَعُودُهُ أَغْنَى مِنْ مُهُوضِهِ^٢.

467. عنه: - إِنْ رَحَفَ الْعَدُوُّ إِلَيْكُمْ فَصُفُّوا عَلَى أَبْوَابِ الْحَنَاقِ، فَلَيْسَ هُنَاكَ إِلَّا السُّيُوفُ، وَلُزُومُ الْأَرْضِ بَعْدَ إِحْكَامِ الصُّفُوفِ، وَلَا تَنْظُرُوا فِي وُجُوهِهِمْ، وَلَا يَهْوَلَنَّكُمْ عَدَدُهُمْ، وَانْظُرُوا إِلَى أَوْطَانِكُمْ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ. فَإِنْ حَمَلُوا عَلَيْكُمْ فَاجْتُوا عَلَى الرُّكْبِ، وَاسْتَبْرُوا بِالْأَتْرِسَةِ، صَفًّا مُحْكَمًا لَا خَلَلَ فِيهِ، وَإِنْ أَدْبَرُوا فَاحْمِلُوا عَلَيْهِمْ بِالسُّيُوفِ، وَإِنْ ثَبَتُوا فَانْبِتُوا عَلَى التَّعَابِي، وَإِنْ انْهَرَمُوا فَارْكَبُوا الْحَيْلَ وَاطْلُبُوا الْقَوْمَ^٣.

468. عنه: - إِنْ كَانَتْ - وَأَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ - فِيكُمْ هَزِيمَةٌ فَتَدَاعَوْا، وَادْكُرُوا اللَّهَ وَمَا تَوَعَّدَ بِهِ مَنْ قَرَّ مِنَ الرَّحَفِ، وَبَكَّتُوا^٤ مَنْ رَأَيْتُمُوهُ وَتَى. وَاجْمَعُوا الْأَلْوِيَةَ، وَاعْتَقِدُوا. وَلْيُسْرِعِ الْمُخِفُونَ فِي رَدِّ مَنْ انْهَرَمَ إِلَى الْجَمَاعَةِ وَإِلَى الْمُعَسْكَرِ، فَلْيَنْفِرْ مَنْ فِيهِ إِلَيْكُمْ، فَإِذَا اجْتَمَعَ أَطْرَافُكُمْ، وَآتَتْ أُمْدَادُكُمْ، وَانْصَرَفَ فُلُكُم، فَأَلْحِقُوا النَّاسَ بِقُوَادِمِهِمْ، وَأَحْكِمُوا تَعَابِيَهُمْ، وَقَاتِلُوا، وَاسْتَعِينُوا بِاللَّهِ، وَاصْبِرُوا؛ وَفِي الثَّبَاتِ عِنْدَ الْهَزِيمَةِ، وَحَمَلِ الرَّجُلِ الْوَاحِدِ الْوَائِقِ بِشَجَاعَتِهِ عَلَى الْكُتَيْبَةِ، فَضْلٌ عَظِيمٌ^٥.

١. المناهضة في الحرب: المناقضة، ونهت إلى العدو ينهت: نهض (لسان العرب: ج 3 ص 429).

٢. مهج البلاغة: الكتاب 4، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 67 ح 46 تذكرة الخواص: ص 166.

٣. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 373.

٤. الشبكي: التزويج والتوبيخ (النهاية: ج 1 ص 148).

٥. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 373.

466. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to some of his army chiefs: "If they [the enemies] return to the shelter of obedience, then this is all that we want. But if the affair of these people led to separation and disobedience, then take with you those who obey you and rush upon those who disobey you. And be content with those who follow you and do not worry about those who hold back from you because the absence of a halfhearted man is better than his presence and his sitting down is better than his rising up."¹
467. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "If the enemy launches an assault upon you, then spread your troops on the gates of the ditches for there exists nothing save swords; stand firm on the ground after arraying the troops. Do not look at the enemies in the face. Their number should not scare you, look to your own land [and front] instead. If they assault you, bend over on your horses and hide yourselves behind your shields like an impenetrable stronghold; and if they turn their back on you, launch an attack on them with your swords. If they stand firm, then stand firm on the other side too. And if they run away, rush on them and catch them."²
468. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "If God forbids you happen to face a defeat, hold a gathering and remember God and how He promised the deserters of the battlefield [to be punished]. Reproach the one whom you see turning his back on the enemy. Gather the banners and tie them together. The roughriders must hasten to bring the fugitives back to the troops and the army and anyone hiding in the hideaways is to come back to you. When the dispersed troops were gathered and your power was reclaimed and the defeated state has left you, hand over the troops to the commanders, mobilize the forces and fight. Seek assistance from God and be patient, for there is great reward for perseverance at the time of defeat and for the brave man's attack on the enemy."³

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 4, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 67, ḥ. 46, *Tadhkira al-Khawāḍir*, p. 166.

2. *Da'ā'im al-Islam*, vol. 1, p. 373.

3. *Da'ā'im al-Islam*, vol. 1, p. 373.

469. تاريخ دمشق عن ابن عباس: عَقِمَ النِّسَاءُ أَنْ يَأْتِينَ بِمِثْلِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَاللَّهِ، مَا رَأَيْتُ وَلَا سَمِعْتُ رَئِيساً يُوزَنُ بِهِ، لَرَأَيْتُهُ يَوْمَ صِفِّينَ وَعَلَى رَأْسِهِ عِمَامَةٌ قَدْ أَرَخَى طَرَفَيْهَا، كَأَنَّ عَيْنَيْهِ سِرَاجَا سَلِيطَ، وَهُوَ يَقِفُ عَلَى شِرْذِمَةٍ يَحْضُهُمْ، حَتَّى انْتَهَى إِلَيَّ وَأَنَا فِي كَنَفٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ فَقَالَ:

مَعَاشِرَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ! اسْتَشْعِرُوا الْحَشِيَّةَ، وَغَضُّوا الْأَصْوَاتَ، وَتَجَلَّبَبُوا السَّكِينَةَ، وَاعْمَلُوا الْأَيْسَةَ، وَأَقْلِقُوا السُّيُوفَ قَبْلَ السَّلَاقِ، وَاطْعَنُوا الرِّزْخَ،^٢ وَنَافِحُوا الظُّبَا، وَصَلُّوا السُّيُوفَ بِالْحِطَا، وَالنَّبَالَ بِالرَّمَاكِ، فَإِنَّكُمْ بِعَيْنِ اللَّهِ وَمَعَ ابْنِ عَمِّ نَبِيِّهِ ﷺ.

عَاوِدُوا الْكَرَّ، وَاسْتَحْيُوا مِنَ الْفَرِّ؛ فَإِنَّهُ عَارٌّ بَاقٍ فِي الْأَعْقَابِ وَالْأَعْنَاقِ، وَنَارٌ يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ. وَطَيَّبُوا عَنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَنْفُسًا، وَامْشُوا إِلَى الْمَوْتِ أَسْحَابًا. وَعَلَيْكُمْ بِهَذَا السَّوَادِ الْأَعْظَمِ، وَالرُّوَاقِ الْمُطَيَّبِ،^٣ فَاضْرِبُوا ثَبَجَهُ؛^٤ فَإِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ رَاكِبٌ صَعْبَةٌ، وَمُفْرِشٌ ذِرَاعِيهِ، قَدْ قَدَّمَ لِلْوَثْبَةِ يَدًا، وَأَخَّرَ لِلنُّكُوصِ رِجْلًا، فَصَمْدًا صَمْدًا حَتَّى يَتَجَلَّى لَكُمْ عَمُودُ الدِّينِ: ﴿وَأَنْتُمْ الْأَعْلَوْنَ وَاللَّهُ مَعَكُمْ وَلَنْ يَبْرِكَنَّ أَعْمَالَكُمْ﴾^{٥،٦}.

470. الإمام علي عليه السلام: لَا تَمِيلُوا بِرَايَاتِكُمْ، وَلَا تُزِيلُوهَا، وَلَا تَجْعَلُوهَا إِلَّا مَعَ شُجْعَانِكُمْ؛ فَإِنَّ الْمَانِعَ لِلذَّمَارِ وَالصَّابِرَ عِنْدَ نُزُولِ الْحَقَائِقِ هُمْ أَهْلُ الْحِفَاطِ... وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ أَهْلَ

١. في تاريخ دمشق «ترجمة الإمام علي عليه السلام» تحقيق محمد باقر المحمودي: «وأعلموا» (ج 3 ص 145 ح 1191).

٢. أفلق الشيء من مكانه وقلقه: حركه (لسان العرب: ج 10 ص 324).

٣. كذا في المصدر، وفي نهج البلاغة: «واطعنوا الشُّرُخَ».

٤. كذا في المصدر، وفي نهج البلاغة: «شُجْحًا». ومثبة شجاع: أي سهلة (لسان العرب: ج 2 ص 475).

٥. كذا في المصدر، وفي نهج البلاغة: «المطنب» وهو أنسب.

٦. ثَبَجُهُ: وسطه ومعظمه (النهاية: ج 1 ص 206).

٧. محمد: 35.

٨. تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 460، مروج الذهب: ج 2 ص 389، صبر الأعيان لابن قتيبة: ج 1 ص 110؛ نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 66 وفيه من «معاشير المسلمين...»، «خصائص الأئمة...»: ص 75، «بشارة المصطفى»: ص 141 كلها نحوه.

469. *Tārīkh Dimashq* – narrating from Ibn ‘Abbās: “Women fail to give birth to the like of the Commander of the Faithful ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.). By God, I have neither seen nor heard of any chief to be compared to him. I saw him at the Battle of Ṣiffīn wearing a turban with the folders on both sides let down. His two eyes looked [glazing] like two fiery lights. He was standing before a small group and inciting them to fight until he reached me while I was standing amid the people. Then he said: “O Gathering of the Muslims! Let your heart feel the fear of God, lower the voices, put on tranquility, make use of the spears and before drawing your sword give it a good shake. Wave your swords to the left and right and strike them with their sharp edges. Coordinate your swords with your steps and your arrows with your spears. Certainly you are in the sight of God and in the company of the Prophet’s cousin. Launch your assaults consecutively and be ashamed of deserting, for it is a great shame that will remain in generations and it is fire on the Day of Account.

Keep yourselves lively and delighted. Step toward death readily and lightheartedly. Take care of (concentrate on) the bulk of the [enemy’s] troop and the tent whose ropes are stretched around and aim at their hearts, for the Satan has mounted the unruly camel and has extended his arms, holding one hand forward to attack and a foot backward to run away. So stay firm and persevere, so as the Light of God may shine on you, as: “...and when you have the upper hand and God is with you, and He will not stint [the reward of] your works.”^{1 2}

470. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “Do not let your banners bend down, nor leave it alone. Do not give it to anyone except the brave and the defenders of honor among you because they alone endure the befalling of troubles. And know that the guardians are those

1. Qur’ān, 47:35.

2. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 460, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 389, *Uyūn al-Akbbār*, vol. 1, p. 110.

الْحِفَافِ هُمْ الَّذِينَ يَحْقُونَ بِرَايَاتِهِمْ، وَيَكْتَفُونَهَا، وَيَصِيرُونَ حِفَافِيهَا، وَوَرَاءَهَا،
وَأَمَامَهَا، وَلَا يُضَيِّعُونَهَا، لَا يَتَأَخَّرُونَ عَنْهَا فَيَسْلَمُوهَا، وَلَا يَتَقَدَّمُونَ عَلَيْهَا فَيُفَرِّدُوهَا.^١

ب - تَنْظِيمُ الْجَيْشِ

471. دعائم الإسلام - في عليٍّ ؑ :- إِنَّهُ كَانَ إِذَا رَحَفَ لِلْقِتَالِ جَعَلَ مِيمَنَةً وَمَيْسَرَةً وَقَلْبًا
يَكُونُ هُوَ فِيهِ، وَيَجْعَلُ لَهَا رَوَابِطَ، وَيُقَدِّمُ عَلَيْهَا مُقَدِّمِينَ، وَيَأْمُرُهُمْ بِخَفْضِ
الْأَصْوَاتِ، وَالذُّعَاءِ، وَاجْتِنَاعِ الْقُلُوبِ، وَشَهْرِ السُّيُوفِ، وَإِظْهَارِ الْعِدَّةِ، وَلُزُومِ
كُلِّ قَوْمٍ مَكَائِهِمْ، وَرُجُوعِ كُلِّ مَنْ حَمَلَ إِلَى مَصَافِهِ بَعْدَ الْحَمَلَةِ.^٢

472. دعائم الإسلام - في عليٍّ ؑ :- إِنَّهُ كَانَ إِذَا رَحَفَ لِلْقِتَالِ يُعَبِّئُ الْكَتَائِبَ، وَيُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ
الْقَبَائِلِ، وَيُقَدِّمُ عَلَى كُلِّ قَوْمٍ رَجُلًا، وَيُصَغِّفُ الصُّفُوفَ، وَيُكَرِّدُ الْكَرَادِيْسَ،^٣ ثُمَّ
يَزَحَفُ إِلَى الْقِتَالِ.^٤

473. الإمام عليٍّ ؑ - في كَيْفِيَّةِ الْقِتَالِ :- قَدِّمُوا الرِّجَالَ وَالرُّمَاهُ؛ فَلْيَرْتُقُوا بِالنَّبْلِ،
وَلْيَتَنَاوَسِ الْجَنْبَانِ،^٥ وَاجْعَلُوا الْحَيْلَ الرُّوَابِطَ وَالْمُسْتَجَبَةَ^٦ رِدَاءً لِلَّوَاءِ وَالْمُقَدِّمَةِ، وَلَا
تَنْشُرُوا^٧ عَنْ مَرَاكِزِكُمْ لِغَارِسِ شَذٍّ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ.^٨

١. الكافي: ج 5 ص 39 ح 4 عن مالك بن أعين، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 563 ح 468 وراجع: نهج البلاغة: الخطبة: 124.

٢. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 372.

٣. الكرديوس: الحيل العظيمة، وقبل: القطعة من الحيل العظيمة. والكراديس: الفِرَق منهم، ويقال: كَرَدَسَ القائد خيلَه أي جعلها كتيبة كتيبة (لسان العرب: ج 6 ص 195).

٤. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 372.

٥. الجنب: الناحية (لسان العرب: ج 1 ص 278).

٦. المستجب: المختار من كل شيء (لسان العرب: ج 1 ص 748).

٧. يقال: نَشَرَ من مكانه نُشُورًا؛ إِذَا ارْتَفَعَ عَنْهُ. وَنَشَرَ الرَّجُلُ مِنْ أَمْرَانِهِ: تَرَكَّهُمَا (الصباح المنير: ص 605).

٨. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 372.

who surround the banners and encircle them on all sides and do not let it be ruined. They do not remain behind lest they give them over to the enemy, nor they go ahead of them lest they leave them alone."¹

B. Arrangement of the Troops

471. *Da'ā'im al-Islām* – regarding 'Ali (a.s.): "When he advanced forward to fight, he would arrange the troops to the left, the right and the middle flanks, with himself stationed in the middle. He would appoint liaisons for them, would send forth vanguards and would order them to lower their voices, to pray, to have their hearts united, to draw their swords, to display their power. He would also order every group to be stationed in their own positions and that everyone who would make a raid should return to his position after the raid."²
472. *Da'ā'im al-Islām* – regarding 'Ali (a.s.): "When he was ready to go on a battle, he would prepare the battalions and separate the tribes. He would appoint a person over every group, array the troops and divide them into divisions. Then he would set off for the battle."³
473. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – on how to prepare for a war: "Send the infantry and the archers ahead to storm them [the enemy] with arrows, while the two flanks raid on them with spears. Set the riders and the elite forces as the support of the banner and the forerunners; and do not leave your positions for a rider from the enemy who has been left alone."⁴

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 39, ḥ. 4, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 563, ḥ. 468. Also, cf., *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 124.

2. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 372.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *ibid*, vol. 1, p. 372.

474. عنه - في وصية له - وصى بها جيشاً بعثه إلى العدو -: فإذا نزلتم بعدو أو نزل بكم فليكن معسكركم في قبلي^١ الأشراف، أو سفاح الجبال، أو أثناء الأنهار؛ كيما يكون لكم رداء، ودونكم مرذاً. ولتكن مقاتلتكم من وجه واحد أو اثنين.

واجعلوا لكم رقباء في صياصي الجبال، ومناكب الهضاب؛ لئلا يأتيكم العدو من مكان مخافة أو أمن. واعلموا أن مقدمة القوم عيوتهم، وعيون المقدمة طلائعهم.

وإياكم والتفرق، فإذا نزلتم فانزلوا جميعاً، وإذا ارتحلتم فارحلوا جميعاً. وإذا غشيكم الليل فاجعلوا الرماح كفة، ولا تذوقوا النوم إلا غراراً أو مضمضة.^٢

ج - عدم مفارقة السلاح في الحرب

475. دعائم الإسلام: إنه [علياً] - كره أن يلقي الرجل سلاحه عند القتال؛ وقد قال الله عز وجل عند ذكر صلاة الخوف: (وَلْيَأْخُذُوا أَسْلِحَتَهُمْ)، وقال: (وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَوْ تَغفلُونَ عَنْ أَسْلِحَتِكُمْ وَأَمْتِعَتِكُمْ فَيَمِيلُونَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَيْلَةً وَحِدَةً)،^٣ فأفضل الأمور لمن كان في الجهاد أن لا يفارقه السلاح على كل الأحوال.^٤

راجع: ج 4 ص 128 (استشهاد محمد بن أبي بكر) و ص 135 (حزن الإمام).

د - انتهاء الفرصة

476. الإمام علي - في وصف القتال -: من رأى فرصة من العدو فليستز، وليستز الفرصة بعد إحكام مركزه، فإذا قضى حاجته عاد إليه.^٥

١. القبل - بالضم - من الجبل: سفحه؛ يقال: انزل بقبل هذا الجبل أي بسفحه (تاج العروس: ج 15 ص 595).
٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 11، تحف العقول: ص 192، روضة صفين: ص 124 عن يزيد بن خالد بن قطن الأحمير الطوال: ص 166 كأنها نحوه.

٣. النساء: 102.

٤. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 371.

٥. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 372.

474. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his commandment to the troops when dispatching them to confront the enemy: "When you proceed towards the enemy or he proceeds towards you, the position of your forces should be on the high ground or on the mountain slopes or the bends of rivers so that it may serve you as a shelter and a hindrance to the enemy. Your encounter should be from one or two fronts.

Place watchers on the peaks of mountains and the sides of highlands so that the enemy may not approach you from a secure or a fearful place. And know that the vanguard of an army serves as their eyes, and the eyes of the vanguard are their informers.

Beware of separation. When you halt, do so together, and when you move, you should move together. When night comes fix your spears in a circle and do not sleep except for a dosing or napping."¹

C. Keeping Hold of One's Weapon in Battles

475. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*: "He ['Ali] (a.s.) detested a man to drop his weapon during combat. When pointing out the 'Prayer at the time of Fear', God said: "Let a group of them stand with you carrying their weapons" and He also said: "The faithless are eager that you should be oblivious of your weapons and your baggage, so that they could assault you all at once."²

The best thing for those who are in combat is not to separate their weapon from themselves by any means."³

See *The Encyclopedia of Commander of the Faithful*, VII, 100, (Martyrdom of Muḥammad ibn Abi Bakr), and 104, (the sorrow of the Imām).

D. Taking Opportunities

476. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – describing the fighting: "He who notices a chance over the enemy should raid on him and take advantage of the opportunity – of course after strengthening his position – and when his goal is achieved he should return to his position."⁴

1. *Nahj al-Balagh*, Letter 11, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 192, *Waq'at Ṣiffin*, p. 124, *al-Akhbar al-Tiwal*, p. 166.

2. Qur'ān, 4:102.

3. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 371.

4. *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 372.

477. وقعة صفين: أَقْبَلَ الْأَحْتَفُ بْنُ قَيْسِ السَّعْدِيِّ [فِي حَرْبِ صِفَيْنَ] فَقَالَ: يَا أَهْلَ الْعِرَاقِ، وَاللَّهِ لَا تُصَيِّبُونَ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ أَذَلَّ عُقْماً مِنْهُ الْيَوْمَ، قَدْ كَشَفَ الْقَوْمُ عَنْكُمْ قِنَاعَ الْحَيَاءِ، وَمَا يُقَاتِلُونَ عَلَى دِينٍ، وَمَا يَصْبِرُونَ إِلَّا حَيَاءً؛ فَتَقَدَّمُوا.
فَقَالُوا: إِنَّا إِنْ تَقَدَّمْنَا الْيَوْمَ فَقَدْ تَقَدَّمْنَا أَمْسٍ، فَمَا تَقُولُ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ؟ قَالَ: تَقَدَّمُوا فِي مَوْضِعِ التَّقَدُّمِ، وَتَأَخَّرُوا فِي مَوْضِعِ التَّأَخُّرِ؛ تَقَدَّمُوا مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ يَتَقَدَّمُوا إِلَيْكُمْ.^١

هـ- الإنسحاب التكتيكي

478. الإمام عليؑ: الْفِرَارُ فِي أَوَانِهِ يَعْدِلُ الظَّفَرُ فِي زَمَانِهِ.^٢
479. عنهؑ: - كَانَ يَقُولُ لِأَصْحَابِهِ عِنْدَ الْحَرْبِ -: لَا تَشْتَدَّنْ عَلَيْكُمْ فَرَّةٌ بَعْدَهَا كَرَّةٌ، وَلَا جَوْلَةٌ بَعْدَهَا حَمَلَةٌ.^٣

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تأسيس القوات الخاصة

480. الإمام الصادقؑ: كانوا - شُرطةُ الخميس - سِتَّةَ آلَافٍ رَجُلٍ أَنْصَارُهُ [أَيُّ عَلِيٍّ]ؑ.^٤
481. الاختصاص عن علي بن الحكم: أصحابُ أميرِ المؤمنينؑ الَّذِينَ قَالَ لَهُمْ: تَسَرَّطُوا، فَأَنَا أُشَارِطُكُمْ عَلَى الْجَنَّةِ، وَلَسْتُ أُشَارِطُكُمْ عَلَى ذَهَبٍ وَلَا فِضَّةٍ؛ إِنْ

١. وقعة صفين: ص 406، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 511 ح 437.

٢. غرر الحكم: ج 2003.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 16، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 530 ح 9644 وفيه «صولة» بدل «حملة».

٤. شُرط السلطان: نخبة أصحابه الذين يقدمهم على غيرهم من جنده. وقال ابن الأعرابي: هم الشُرط، والنسبة إليهم:

شُرطي؛ والشُرطة، والنسبة إليهم: شُرطي (النهاية: ج 2 ص 460).

٥. الاختصاص: ص 2.

477. *Waq'at Şiffin*: [in the battle of Şiffin], Aḥnaf ibn Qays al-Sa'dī addressed the people and said: "O people of Iraq! By God, You will not confront this issue with your necks more lowered [more humiliated] than [you are] today. They lifted the veils of shame and they do not fight for the religion nor do they resist except out of shamefulness. So proceed!"

They said: "If we proceed today, [it will be the same way as] we proceeded yesterday. O Commander of the Faithful! What do you say?"

The Imām said: "At the time of proceeding, do proceed; and at the time of withdrawal, withdraw. Proceed before they proceed towards you."¹

E. Tactical Withdrawal

478. Imām 'Alī (a.s.): "To retreat at the right time is equal to victory in its time."²
479. Imām 'Alī (a.s.) – would say to his companions at the time of battle: "The retreat after which return is intended and the withdrawal after which attack is in view should not make you unhappy."³

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Establishment of Special Forces

480. Imām al-Şādiq (a.s.): "The elite army included six thousand of 'Alī's (a.s.) companions."⁴
481. *al-Ikhtisāṣ* – narrating from 'Alī ibn al-Ḥakam: "The companions of the Commander of the Faithful were those to whom he said: 'Swear [your] allegiance, and I will promise you Paradise and not gold and silver. Our Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) has

1. *Waq'at Şiffin*, p. 406, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 511, ḥ. 437.

2. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 2003.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 16, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 530, ḥ. 9644.

4. *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 2.

نَبِيَّنَا ﷺ: فِيهَا مَضَى قَالَ لِأَصْحَابِهِ: تَشَرُّطُوا، فَإِنِّي لَسْتُ أَشَارِطُكُمْ إِلَّا عَلَى الْجَنَّةِ - وَهُمْ: سَلْمَانَ الْفَارِسِيِّ، وَالْمِقْدَادُ، وَأَبُو ذَرٍّ الْغِفَارِيُّ، وَعَمَّارُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ، وَأَبُو سَاسَانَ وَأَبُو عَمْرٍو الْأَنْصَارِيُّ، وَسَهْلٌ - بَدْرِيُّ - وَعُثْمَانُ ابْنُ حُنَيْفٍ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ، وَجَابِرُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ.

وَمِنْ أَصْفِيَاءِ أَصْحَابِهِ، عَمْرُو بْنُ الْحَقِيقِ الْخَزَاعِيُّ عَرَبِيٌّ، وَمَيْثَمُ التَّمَارُ - وَهُوَ مَيْثَمُ ابْنُ يَحْيَى، مَوْلَى -، وَرُسَيْدُ الْهَجَرِيِّ، وَحَبِيبُ بْنُ مُظَهَّرِ الْأَسَدِيِّ، وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ.

وَمِنْ أَوْلِيَائِهِ: الْعَلَمُ الْأَزْدِيُّ، وَسُوَيْدُ بْنُ غَفَلَةَ الْجُعْفِيُّ، وَالْحَارِثُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْأَعْوَرِ الْهَمْدَانِيُّ، وَأَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْجَنْدَلِيُّ، وَأَبُو يَحْيَى حَكِيمُ بْنُ سَعْدِ الْحَنْفِيِّ.

وَكَانَ مِنْ شُرَطَةِ الْحَمِيسِ: أَبُو الرَّضِيِّ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ يَحْيَى الْحَضْرَمِيُّ، وَسَلِيمُ بْنُ قَيْسِ الْهَلَلِيِّ، وَعُبَيْدَةُ السَّلْمَانِيُّ الْمُرَادِيُّ، عَرَبِيٌّ.

وَمِنْ خَوَاصِّهِ: تَمِيمُ بْنُ جَذِيمٍ النَّاجِي - وَقَدْ شَهِدَ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ ﷺ -، [وَ] قَنْبَرُ مَوْلَى عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ، [وَ] أَبُو فَائِضَةَ مَوْلَى بَنِي هَاشِمٍ، وَعُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ أَبِي رَافِعٍ - وَكَانَ كَاتِبَهُ -^١.

482. رجال الكشي عن أبي الجارود: قُلْتُ لِلْأَصْبَغِ بْنِ نُبَاتَةَ: مَا كَانَ مَنَزِلَةُ هَذَا الرَّجُلِ [عَلِيٍّ] ﷺ فِيكُمْ؟ قَالَ: مَا أَدْرِي مَا تَقُولُ! إِلَّا أَنَّ سُيُوفَنَا كَانَتْ عَلَى عَوَاتِقِنَا، فَمَنْ أَوْمَى إِلَيْهِ صَرَبْنَاهُ بِهَا. وَكَانَ يَقُولُ لَنَا: تَشَرُّطُوا، فَوَاللَّهِ مَا اشْتَرَاطُكُمْ لِذَهَبٍ وَلَا لِفِضَّةٍ، وَمَا اشْتَرَاطُكُمْ إِلَّا لِلْمَوْتِ، إِنَّ قَوْمًا مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ مِنْ [بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ] ^٢

١. الاختصاص: ص ١٢، الفهرست لابن النديم: ص ٢٢٣ وفيه إلى «إلا على الجنة».

٢. سقط ما بين المعقوفين من المصدر وأثبتناه من بحار الأنوار.

previously said to his companions: "Swear allegiance as I do not promise you except [the reward of] Paradise."

And they [the Commander of the Faithfull's companions] included: Salmān al-Fārsī; al-Miqdād; Abū Dhar al-Ghifārī; 'Ammār ibn Yāsir; Abū Sāsān and Abū 'Amr al-Anṣārīyan; Sahl (Badrī) and 'Uthmān, the sons to Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī; and Jābir ibn 'Abdullah al-Anṣārī."

And from among his close companions were: 'Amr ibn al-Ḥamq al-Khuzā'ī, the Arab; Maytham al-Tammār – Maytham ibn Yaḥyā, the freed slave – Rushayd al-Hijrī; Ḥabīb ibn Muḥahar al-Asadī; and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr.

His friends included: al-'Alm al-Azdī; Suwayd ibn Ghafla al-Ja'fī; al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abdullah al-A'war al-Hamdānī; Abū 'Abdullah al-Jadalī, Abu Yaḥyā Ḥakīm ibn Sa'd al-Ḥanafī.

His elite forces included: Abū al-Raḍī 'Abdullah ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī; Salīm ibn Qays al-Hilālī; and 'Ubayda al-Salmānī al-Murādī, Arabī.

The elite from among his friends included: Tamīm ibn Ḥadhīm al-Nājī (who was killed as a martyr with 'Ali (a.s.); Qanbar (a slave freed by 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.)); Abū Fākhita (freed slave by Banī Hāshim); and 'Ubaydullah ibn Abī Rāfi' (who was 'Ali's (a.s.) secretary)."¹

482. *Rijāl al-Kashshī* – narrating from Abū Jārūd: "I said to Aṣḥab ibn Nubāta: 'What is the status of this man ['Ali] (a.s.) among you?'"

He said: "I do not know what you say; but our swords were on our shoulders, whomever he beckoned we would strike by sword. 'Ali (a.s.) would say to us: Swear [your] allegiance! I swear by Allah that your allegiance is not for gold and silver rather it is for death. In the past a group of people from Banī Isrā'īl

1. *al-Ikhtisās*, p. 2, *Ibn Nadīm, al-Fihrist*, p. 223.

تَشَارَطُوا بَيْنَهُمْ، فَمَا مَاتَ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ حَتَّى كَانَ نَبِيٌّ قَوْمِهِ، أَوْ نَبِيٌّ قَرِيْبَتِهِ، أَوْ نَبِيٌّ نَفْسِهِ، وَإِنَّكُمْ لَبِمَنْزِلَتِهِمْ، غَيْرَ أَنْكُمْ لَسْتُمْ بِأَنْبِيَاءَ.^١

483. رجال الكشي: رُوِيَ عَنْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﷺ أَنَّهُ قَالَ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ يَحْيَى الْخَضْرَمِيِّ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ: أَبَشِرْ يَا بَنَ يَحْيَى؛ فَأَنْتَ وَأَبُوكَ مِنْ شُرْطَةِ الْحَمِيسِ حَقًّا، لَقَدْ أَخْبَرَنِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ بِاسْمِكَ وَاسْمِ أَبِيكَ فِي شُرْطَةِ الْحَمِيسِ، وَاللَّهُ سَمَّاكُمْ شُرْطَةَ الْحَمِيسِ عَلَى لِسَانِ نَبِيِّهِ ﷺ. وَذَكَرَ أَنَّ شُرْطَةَ الْحَمِيسِ كَانُوا سِتَّةَ آلَافٍ رَجُلًا، أَوْ خَمْسَةَ آلَافٍ.^٢

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الْعِنايةُ الخاصَّةُ بالقُوَّاتِ المسلَّحةِ

484. الإمام عليّ ﷺ - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: ثُمَّ تَفَقَّدَ مِنْ أُمُورِهِمْ مَا يَتَفَقَّدُهُ الْوَالِدَانِ مِنْ وَلَدَيْهِمَا، وَلَا يَتَفَقَّحَنَّ فِي نَفْسِكَ شَيْءٌ قَوَّيْتَهُمْ بِهِ. وَلَا تُخَفِّرَنَّ لُطْفًا تَعَاهَدْتَهُمْ بِهِ وَإِنْ قُلْتَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ دَاعِيَةٌ تَهْمُ إِلَى بَذْلِ النَّصِيحَةِ لَكَ، وَحُسْنِ الظَّنِّ بِكَ. وَلَا تَدَعُ تَفَقُّدَ لَطِيفِ أُمُورِهِمْ اتِّكَالًا عَلَى جَسِيمِهَا؛ فَإِنَّ لِلْيَسِيرِ مِنْ لُطْفِكَ مَوْضِعًا يَنْتَفِعُونَ بِهِ، وَلِلْجَسِيمِ مَوْضِعًا لَا يَسْتَغْنُونَ عَنْهُ.

وَلَيْكُنْ أَثَرُ رُؤُوسِ جُنْدِكَ عِنْدَكَ مَنْ وَاسَاهُمْ فِي مَعُونَتِهِ، وَأَفْضَلَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ جِدَّتِهِ بِمَا يَسْعُهُمْ وَيَسَعُ مَنْ وَرَاءَهُمْ مِنْ خُلُوفِ أَهْلِيهِمْ، حَتَّى يَكُونَ هَمُّهُمْ هَمًّا وَاحِدًا فِي جِهَادِ الْعَدُوِّ؛ فَإِنَّ عَطْفَكَ عَلَيْهِمْ يَعْطِفُ قُلُوبَهُمْ عَلَيْكَ. وَإِنْ أَفْضَلَ قُرَّةَ عَيْنِ الْوَلَاةِ اسْتِقَامَةُ الْعَدْلِ فِي الْبِلَادِ، وَظُهُورُ مَوَدَّةِ الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَإِنَّهُ لَا تَظْهَرُ مَوَدَّتُهُمْ

١. رجال الكشي: ج 1 ص 19 ح 8، بحار الأنوار: ج 42 ص 150 ح 16.

٢. رجال الكشي: ج 1 ص 24 ح 10، بحار الأنوار: ج 42 ص 151 ح 18.

swore allegiance among themselves and none of them departed from the world except that he was a Prophet to his folk or his village or himself and you are like them, except that you are not Prophets.”¹

483. *Rijāl al-Kashshī*: “It is narrated from the Commander of the Faithful that he told ‘Abdullah ibn Yahyā al-Haḍramī in the battle of Jamal: “Glad tidings to you O son of Yahyā, for you and your father are indeed among the elite forces. The Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) informed me that you and your father are named among the elite forces. God has called you the elite forces (*shurṭah al-khamis*), on the tongue of His Prophet. He also said: “The elite forces consist of five or six thousand people.”²

9/3

Paying Special Attention to the Armed Forces

484. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: “Inspect the affairs of the soldiers as parents inspect their own child. Never let anything through which you have strengthened them distress you and do not underestimate the kindness you have undertaken for them even if it were small, for it will invite them to counsel you sincerely and trust you. Do not leave out attending to their minor affairs while depending upon (the examination of) the great matters because your small favors will also be of benefits to them as the big ones are also such that they cannot do without.

Among the chiefs of your army favor most him who assists the soldiers with his aid and bestows upon them what is at his disposal to the extent that suffices both them and those members of their families left behind, then their worries and concern in battle with enemy will be a single concern. Your kind inclination towards them will incline their hearts to you. Verily the foremost delight of the eye for rulers is the establishment of justice in the land and the manifestation of love for the subjects. But surely the subjects' love will not appear without

1. *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, vol. 1, p. 19, ḥ. 8, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 42, p. 150, ḥ. 16.

2. *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, vol. 1, p. 24, ḥ. 10, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 42, p. 151, ḥ. 18.

إِلَّا بِسَلَامَةٍ صُدُورِهِمْ، وَلَا تَصِحُّ نَصِيحَتُهُمْ إِلَّا بِحِيطَتِهِمْ عَلَى وُلَاةِ أُمُورِهِمْ، وَقِلَّةِ اسْتِثْقَالِ دَوْلِهِمْ، وَتَرْكِ اسْتِبْطَاءِ انْقِطَاعِ مُدَّتِهِمْ.

فَافْسَحْ فِي أَمَالِهِمْ، وَوَاصِلْ فِي حُسْنِ الثَّنَاءِ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَتَعْدِيدِ مَا أَبْلَى ذَوُو الْبَلَاءِ مِنْهُمْ؛ فَإِنَّ كَثْرَةَ الذِّكْرِ لِحُسْنِ أَعْمَالِهِمْ تَهْزُ الشُّجَاعَ، وَتُحَرِّضُ النَّائِلَ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ. ثُمَّ اعْرِفْ لِكُلِّ امْرِئٍ مِنْهُمْ مَا أَبْلَى، وَلَا تَقْصُرَنَّ بِلَاءَ امْرِئٍ إِلَى غَيْرِهِ، وَلَا تُقْصِرَنَّ بِهِ دُونَ غَايَةِ بِلَائِهِ، وَلَا يَدْعُوَنَّكَ شَرَفُ امْرِئٍ إِلَى أَنْ تُعْظِمَ مِنْ بِلَائِهِ مَا كَانَ صَغِيرًا، وَلَا ضَعْفُ امْرِئٍ إِلَى أَنْ تَسْتَصْغِرَ مِنْ بِلَائِهِ مَا كَانَ عَظِيمًا.^١

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الْإِهْتِمَامُ بِمَغْنَوِيَّاتِ الْجَيْشِ

١- التَّحْرِيزُ

485. الكافي عن أبي صادق: سَمِعْتُ عَلِيًّا عليه السلام يُحَرِّضُ النَّاسَ فِي ثَلَاثَةِ مَوَاطِنَ: الْجَمَلِ، وَصِفَيْنَ، وَيَوْمِ النَّهْرِ؛ يَقُولُ: عِبَادَ اللَّهِ، اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ، وَغُضُّوا الْأَبْصَارَ، وَاخْفِضُوا الْأَصْوَاتَ، وَأَقْلُوا الْكَلَامَ، وَوَطِّنُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ عَلَى الْمُنَازَلَةِ، وَالْمُجَادَلَةِ، وَالْمُبَارَزَةِ، وَالْمُنَاصَلَةِ، وَالْمُنَابَذَةِ، وَالْمُعَانَقَةِ، وَالْمُكَادَمَةِ،^١ وَابْتُئُوا ﴿وَاذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ﴾ وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَلَا تَنَزَعُوا فَتَفْشَلُوا وَتَذْهَبَ رِيحُكُمْ وَاصْبِرُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ^٢.

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 137، دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 361 كلاهما نحوه.

٢. الكذب: العضم يَأْدِي الفم كما يَكْذِبُ الجمار، وقيل: هو العضم عامة، أو كَذَمَهُ: أَثَرُ فِيهِ بِحْدِيدَةٍ، وَكَذَمَ الصَّيْدَ كَدَمًا: طَرَدَهُ وَجَذَّ فِي مَلَبِهِ حَتَّى يَغْلِبَهُ (تاج العروس: ج 17 ص 604).

٣. الأنفال: 45-46.

٤. الكافي: ج 5 ص 38 ح 2، الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 265، وقعة صفين: ص 204 عن الحضرمي، المعيار والموازنة: ص 158، شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 26 كلاهما نحوه.

the well-being of their hearts, and their advice and sincerity (toward rulers) will not become right and free from blemishes unless they watch over the rulers, find their governments of little burden and cease to hope that their period (of rule) will soon come to an end.

Therefore, let their hopes be expanded, persist in praising them warmly and taking into account the (good) accomplishments of everyone among them who has accomplished, for frequent mention of their good deeds will encourage the bold and rouse the weak and the indolent, God willing.

"Then recognize in every man that which he has accomplished, attribute not one man's accomplishment to another and fall not short (of rewarding) the full extent of his accomplishment. The eminence of one man should not lead you to regard his small deeds as big nor should the low position of a man make you consider his big deeds as small."¹

9/4

Care for the Troops' Morale

A. Encouragement

485. *al-Kāfi* – narrating from Abū Ṣādiq: "I heard 'Ali (a.s.) encourage people [to war] in three places: Jamal, Ṣiffin, and Nahrawān.

He would say: "O Servants of God! Be wary of God, cast down your eyes, lower your voices, speak little; and prepare yourselves for battle, conflict, confrontation, struggle, warfare, involvement, tough combat and steadfastness: "...and remember God greatly so that you may be felicitous. And obey God and His Apostle, and do not dispute, or you will lose heart and your power will be gone. And be patient; indeed God will be with the patient."^{2 3}

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 137, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p.361.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 38, ḥ. 2, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 265, *Waq'at Ṣiffin*, p. 204, *al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzin*, p. 158.

3. Qur'an, 8:45-46.

486. الإمام علي عليه السلام - من كلام له عليه السلام لابن أبي عمير محمد بن الحنفية لما أعطاه الزانية يوم الحمل :-
تزوّل الجبال ولا تزول، عَضَّ عَلَى نَاجِدِكَ. أَعِزَّ اللَّهُ جُجُمَتَكَ. يَدٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ قَدَمَكَ.
أَرِمَ بِبَصَرِكَ أَقْصَى الْقَوْمِ، وَغَضَّ بِبَصَرِكَ، وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ النَّصْرَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ.¹
487. عنه عليه السلام - يَمَا كَانَ يَقُولُهُ لِأَصْحَابِهِ عِنْدَ الْحَرْبِ :- لَا تَشْتَدَّنَّ عَلَيْكُمْ فَرَّةٌ بَعْدَهَا كَرَّةٌ،
وَلَا جَوْلَةٌ بَعْدَهَا حَمَلَةٌ، وَأَعْطُوا السُّيُوفَ حُقُوقَهَا. وَوَطَّنُوا لِلْجُنُوبِ مَصَارِعَهَا،
وَادْمُرُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ عَلَى الطَّعْنِ الدَّعِي² وَالضَّرْبِ الطَّلْحِي³.⁴ وَأَمِيتُوا الْأَصْوَاتَ؛
فَإِنَّهُ أَطْرَدُ لِلْفَسْلِ. فَوَالَّذِي فَلَقَ الْحَبَّةَ وَبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ مَا أَسْلَمُوا، وَلَكِنْ اسْتَسْلَمُوا،
وَأَسْرُوا الْكُفْرَ، فَلَمَّا وَجَدُوا أَعْوَانًا عَلَيْهِ أَظْهَرُوهُ.⁵
488. عنه عليه السلام - فِي حَثِّ أَصْحَابِهِ عَلَى الْقِتَالِ :- فَقَدَّمُوا الدَّارِعَ، وَأَخْرُوا الْحَايِرَ، وَعَضُّوا
عَلَى الْأَصْرَاسِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أَنْبَى⁶ لِلْسُّيُوفِ عَنِ الْهَامِ. وَالتَّوَوَّا فِي أَطْرَافِ الرِّمَاحِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ
أَمَوْرٌ⁷ لِلْأَسِنَّةِ. وَغَضُّوا الْأَبْصَارَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أَرْبَطُ لِلْجَاشِ، وَأَسْكَنُ لِلْقُلُوبِ. وَأَمِيتُوا
الْأَصْوَاتَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أَطْرَدُ لِلْفَسْلِ. وَرَايْتَكُمْ فَلَا تُمِيلُوهَا، وَلَا تُخْلُوها، وَلَا تُجْعَلُوهَا إِلَّا
بِأَيْدِي شُجْعَانِكُمْ وَالْمَانِعِينَ الذَّمَّارَ مِنْكُمْ؛ فَإِنَّ الصَّابِرِينَ عَلَى نُزُولِ الْحَقَائِقِ هُمُ
الَّذِينَ يُخَفُّونَ بِرَايَاتِهِمْ، وَيَكْتَنِفُونَهَا حَفَافِيهَا وَوَرَاءَهَا وَأَمَامَهَا، لَا يَتَأَخَّرُونَ عَنْهَا
فِيُسَلِّمُوهَا، وَلَا يَتَقَدَّمُونَ عَلَيْهَا فَيُفَرِّدُوهَا.

١. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة ١١، المنائب لابن شهر آشوب: ج ٣ ص ١٥٥.

٢. أي شغلوا (أساس البلاغة: ص ١٤٥).

٣. الذئس: شدة الوطء (لسان العرب: ج ٦ ص ٨٤) والمراد هنا الطعن الشديد.

٤. ضربه ضرباً طلحفاً: أي شديداً (لسان العرب: ج ٩ ص ٢٢٣).

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب ١٦، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص ٥٣٠ ح ٩٦٤٤ نحوه وليس فيه من «فوالذي...».

٦. نيا السيف عن الضربة: كُئِلَ وَلَمْ يُكَلَّ فِيهَا (لسان العرب: ج ١٥ ص ٣٠١).

٧. ماز الشيء يَمُورُ مُوراً: تَرَهَيْناً، أي تحركاً وجاء وذهب كما تنكفأ النخلة العبدانة (لسان العرب: ج ٥ ص ١٨٦).

486. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in a sermon he delivered in the Battle of Jamal when the Commander of the Faithful gave the banner to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya: "Mountains may move from their position, but you should not move from yours. Grit your teeth, lend your head to God (in fighting for God, give yourself to God), fix your feet firmly on the ground. Have your eye on the remotest foe and close your eyes (to their numerical majority) and be sure that help is only from God the Glorified."¹
487. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to his followers at the time of battle: "The retreat after which return is intended and the withdrawal after which attack is in view should not make you unhappy. Give the swords their due (to its maximum use). Knock your foes down on the ground; prepare yourselves for hurling strong spears and striking swords with full force and keep your voices down as it wards off defeat. By Him who split the seed (for growing) and created living beings, they [the hypocrites] had not accepted Islam but they surrendered (by verbally professing it) and had hidden their disbelief. Consequently, when they found helpers for their disbelief, they disclosed it."²
488. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – exhorting his followers to fight: "Put the armored men forward and keep the unarmored ones behind. Grit your teeth because this will make the swords skip off the skull. Dodge on the sides of the spears for it changes the direction of their blades. Close the eyes because it strengthens the spirit and gives peace to the heart. Kill the voices because it wards off defeat. Do not let your banner bend down, nor leave it alone. Do not give it to anyone except the brave and the defenders of honor among you because those who endure the befalling of troubles are the ones who surround the banners and encircle them from the left, the right the rear and the front. They do not separate from them lest they give them over (to the enemy). They do not go ahead of them lest they leave

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 11, *Manāqib 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib*, vol. 3, p. 155.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 16, *'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 530, h. 9644.

أَجْزَأَ امْرُؤُ قِرْنَهُ،^١ وَأَسَى أَخَاهُ بِنَفْسِهِ، وَلَمْ يَكِلْ قِرْنَهُ إِلَى أَخِيهِ، فَبَجْتَمَعَ عَلَيْهِ قِرْنُهُ
وَقِرْنُ أَخِيهِ. وَابَيْمُ اللَّهِ لَيْنٌ فَرَرْتُمْ مِنْ سَيْفِ الْعَاجِلَةِ لَا تَسْلَمُوا مِنْ سَيْفِ الْآخِرَةِ،
وَأَنْتُمْ لَهَا مِيمٌ^٢ الْعَرَبِ، وَالسَّنَامُ الْأَعْظَمُ؛ إِنَّ فِي الْفِرَارِ مَوْجِدَةَ اللَّهِ، وَالذَّلَّ اللَّازِمَ،
وَالْعَارَ الْبَاقِيَّ. وَإِنَّ الْفَارَّ لَغَيْرُ مَزِيدٍ فِي عُمْرِهِ، وَلَا مَحْجُوزٌ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ يَوْمِهِ. مَنْ
الرَّايِحُ إِلَى اللَّهِ كَالظَّمَانِ يَرِدُ الْمَاءَ؟ الْجَنَّةُ تَحْتَ أَطْرَافِ الْعَوَالِي! الْيَوْمَ تُبْلَى الْأَخْبَارُ!
وَاللَّهُ لَا تَأْتِي أَشْوَقُ إِلَى لِقَائِهِمْ مِنْهُمْ إِلَى دِيَارِهِمْ!!

اللَّهُمَّ فَإِنْ رَدُّوا الْحَقَّ فَافْضُضْ جَمَاعَتَهُمْ، وَشَتَّ كَلِمَتَهُمْ، وَأَبْسِلْهُمْ
بِخَطَايَاهُمْ، إِنَّهُمْ لَنْ يَزُولُوا عَنْ مَوَاقِفِهِمْ دُونَ طَعْنِ دِرَاكٍ؛ يَخْرُجُ مِنْهُمْ النَّسِيمُ،
وَضَرْبُ يَفْلِقُ الْهَامَ، وَيُطِيحُ الْعِظَامَ، وَيُنْدِرُ^٣ السَّوَاعِدَ وَالْأَقْدَامَ، وَحَتَّى يُرْمَوْا
بِالْمَنَاسِيرِ تَتْبَعُهَا الْمَنَاسِيرُ، وَيُرْجَمُوا بِالْكَتَائِبِ تَقْفُوهَا الْحَلَاثِبُ، وَحَتَّى يُجَرَّ بِبِلَادِهِمْ
الْحَمِيسُ يَتْلُوهُ الْحَمِيسُ، وَحَتَّى تَدْعُقَ^٤ الْحَيُولُ فِي نَوَاحِرِ أَرْضِهِمْ، وَيَأْعَانِ
مَسَارِيهِمْ وَمَسَارِحِهِمْ.^٥

489. الكافي عن مالك بن أعين: حَرَّضَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ النَّاسَ بِصِفَتَيْنِ،
فَقَالَ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ دَلَّكُمْ عَلَى تِجَارَةٍ تُنْجِيكُمْ مِنْ عَذَابِ أَلِيمٍ، وَتُشْفِي^٦ بِكُمْ عَلَى
الْحَيْرِ، وَالْإِيمَانِ بِاللَّهِ، وَالْجِهَادِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ، وَجَعَلَ ثَوَابَهُ مَغْفِرَةً لِلذَّنْبِ، وَمَسَاكِينَ

١. أجزاء الشيء: كفاء (لسان العرب: ج ١ ص 46).

٢. قلمهم وقلموم: جواد سابق يجري أمام الخيل؛ لالتهامة الأرض، الجمع لهاميم (لسان العرب: ج 12 ص 554).

٣. نذر: أي سقط ووقع (النهاية: ج 5 ص 35).

٤. قال الشريف الرضي: الدعق: الدق؛ أي تدق الحيول بحوافرها أرضهم. وتواحر أرضهم: متقابلاتها، ويقال: منازل
بني فلان تنناحر، أي تتقابل (نهج البلاغة: ذيل الخطبة 124).

٥. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 124 وراجع: الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 266 ووقعة صفين: ص 235.

٦. أشفى على الشيء: أشرف عليه (لسان العرب: ج 14 ص 436).

them alone. Everyone should deal with his adversary and also help his comrade by his own life and should not leave his adversary to his comrade lest both his own adversary and his comrade's join against him (comrade). By God, even if you run away from the sword of today you would not remain safe from the sword of the world to come. You are the foremost among the Arabs and the great figures. Certainly in running away there is the wrath of God, unceasing disgrace and lasting shame. And certainly he who runs away does not lengthen his life. Nor does anything come to intervene between him and his day (of death). He who come forward to God is like a thirsty man who approaches the water.

Paradise lies under the edges of spears. Today the reputations will be tested (all that is in mind will be revealed in the war). By God! I am more eager to meet them (in combat) than they are for (returning to) their houses!

'O God! If they reject truth, disperse their group, divide their words and destroy them on account of their sins. They will not budge from their positions until the continuous striking of spears causes piercing (of wounds) through which wind may pass, until the hitting of swords cuts through their skull, cleaves bones and breaks forearms and legs, until they are attacked by contingent after contingent and assaulted by detachments which are followed by reserves for support, until their cities are continuously assailed by force after force and until the horses trample the extreme ends of the lands, the tracks of their beast and their meadows."¹

489. *al-Kāfi* – narrating from Mālik ibn A'yan: "The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) exhorted the people in Šifīn and said: "God Almighty and Exalted guided you to a transaction that will deliver you from painful torments and persuade you to good faith in God and the struggle in the path of God. And He has set aside as rewards for this the forgiveness of your sins and

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 124. Also cf. *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 266, *Waq'at Šifīn*, p. 235.

طَيِّبَةً فِي جَنَاتٍ عَدْنٍ، وَقَالَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ صَفًا
كَأَنَّهُمْ بُنِينَ مَرْصُوصٍ﴾^١ فَسَوَّاهُ صُفُوفَكُمْ كَالْبُنْيَانِ الْمَرْصُوصِ.

فَقَدِّمُوا الدَّارِعَ، وَأَخْرُوا الْحَايِرَ، وَعَضُّوا عَلَى النَّوَاجِذِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أُنْبَى لِلسُّيُوفِ عَلَى
الْهَامِ، وَالتَّوَّاهُ عَلَى أَطْرَافِ الرِّمَاحِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أَمُورٌ لِلْأَسِنَّةِ، وَعُضُّوا الْأَبْصَارَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أَرْبَطُ
لِلجَاشِ، وَأَسْكَنُ لِلْقُلُوبِ، وَأَمِيتُوا الْأَصْوَاتَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ أَطْرَدُ لِلْفَسْلِ، وَأُولَى بِالْوَقَارِ.^٢
490. الإمام علي عليه السلام - فِي الْحِكْمِ الْمُنَسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: لَا يَصْبِرُ عَلَى الْحَرْبِ وَيَصْدُقُ فِي اللَّقَاءِ إِلَّا
ثَلَاثَةٌ: مُسْتَبْصِرٌ فِي دِينٍ، أَوْ غَيْرَانِ عَلَى حُرْمَةٍ، أَوْ مُتَعَضِّصٌ^٣ مِنْ ذَلِكَ.^٤

ب - الشعار

491. الإمام علي عليه السلام: إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ أَمَرَ بِإِعْلَانِ الشُّعَارِ قَبْلَ الْحَرْبِ، وَقَالَ: لِيَكُنْ فِي
شُعَارِكُمْ اسْمٌ مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ.^٥

492. وقعة صفين عن الأصْبَغِ بْنِ ثُبَّانَةَ: مَا كَانَ عَلِيٌّ فِي قِتَالِ قُطٍّ إِلَّا نَادَى: ﴿كَيْهَيْعَصَ﴾.^٦

493. الإمام الصادق عليه السلام: شُعَارُنَا: «يَا مُحَمَّدُ يَا مُحَمَّدُ»، وشُعَارُنَا يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ: «يَا نَصَرَ اللَّهُ
اقْتَرِبْ اقْتَرِبْ»، وشُعَارُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ يَوْمَ أُحُدٍ: «يَا نَصَرَ اللَّهُ اقْتَرِبْ»، وَيَوْمَ بَنِي النُّضَيْرِ:
«يَا رُوحَ الْقُدُسِ أَرْحَ»، وَيَوْمَ بَنِي قَيْنِقَاعَ: «يَا رَبَّنَا لَا يَغْلِبَنَّكَ»، وَيَوْمَ الطَّلَافِ:

١. الصف: 4.

٢. الكافي: ج 5 ص 39 ح 4.

٣. مِعِصٌّ مِنْ ذَلِكَ الْأَمْرِ يَمِيعُضُ مِعْضًا وَمِعْضًا، وَامْتِعِصٌّ مِنْهُ: غَضِبَ وَشَقَّ عَلَيْهِ وَأَوْجَعَهُ (لسان العرب: ج 7 ص 234).

٤. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 288 ح 292.

٥. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 370.

٦. وقعة صفين: ص 231، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 461 ح 398 و ج 100 ص 36 ح 132 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 3 ص 176.

pleasant abodes in the Garden of Eden. God the Exalted said: *"Indeed God loves those who fight in His way in ranks, as if they were a compact structure."*¹

Then put the armored men forward and keep the unarmored ones behind. Grit your teeth because this will make the swords skip off the skull. Dodge on the sides of the spears for it better changes the direction of their blades. Cast down the eyes because it strengthens the spirit and gives peace to the heart. Kill the voices because it wards off defeat and is better for enhancing dignity."²

490. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in the aphorisms attributed to him: "No one will practice forbearance in war and veraciously face it except three groups: Those who are insightful in religion, those who are zealous over sacred and chastity, or those to whom degradation is torturous."³

B. Slogan

491. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) commanded the proclaiming of slogans before [launching] war and he said: "Let your slogans include one of the Divine names."⁴
492. *Waq'at Šiffīn* – narrating from Aṣḥab ibn Nabāta: "'Ali (a.s.) never set out to fight except that he would cry 'Kāf, Hā, Yā, 'Ayn, Šād."⁵
493. Imām al-Šādiq: "Our slogan is "O Muḥammad, O Muḥammad! And the slogan of the Muslims in the battle of Badr was: "O Divine Triumph come nigh, come nigh!"
- The slogan of the Muslims in the battle of Uḥud was: "O Divine Triumph come nigh!"
- The slogan of the battle of Banī Naḍīr was: "O Holy Spirit! Comfort!"
- The slogan of the battle of Banī Qaynaqā' was: "O Our Lord! Never will they overpower You!"

1. Qur'ān, 61:4.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 39, ḥ. 4.

3. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 288, ḥ. 292.

4. *Da'a'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p.370.

5. *Waq'at Šiffīn*, p. 231, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 461, ḥ. 398 & vol. 100, p. 36, ḥ. 32.

«يا رِضْوَانُ»، وِشعارُ يَوْمِ حُنين: «يا بَنِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ يا بَنِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ»، وَيَوْمِ الْأَحْزَابِ: «حَم لا يُبْصِرُونَ»، وَيَوْمِ بَنِي قُرَيْظَةَ: «يا سَلامُ أَسْلِمَهُمْ»، وَيَوْمِ الْمُرَيْسِيعِ؛ وَهُوَ يَوْمُ بَنِي الْمُصْطَلِقِ: «أَلا إِيَّاهُ الْأَمْرُ»، وَيَوْمِ الْحُدَيْبِيَّةِ: «أَلا لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَى الظَّالِمِينَ»، وَيَوْمِ خَيْبَرَ؛ يَوْمِ الْقَمُوصِ: «يا عَلِيُّ أُنْهَم مِنْ عَلِيٍّ»، وَيَوْمِ الْفَتْحِ: «نَحْنُ عِبَادُ اللَّهِ حَقًّا حَقًّا»، وَيَوْمِ ثَبُوكَ: «يا أَحَدُ يا صَمَدُ»، وَيَوْمِ بَنِي الْمُلُوحِ: «أُمّت أُمّت»، وَيَوْمِ صِفِّينَ: «يا نَصَرَ اللَّهِ»، وِشعارُ الْحُسَيْنِ: «يا مُحَمَّدُ»، وِشعارُنا: «يا مُحَمَّدُ».^٢

494. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد عن سلام بن سويد عن الإمام علي عليه السلام - في كَلِمَةِ «اللهُ أَكْبَرُ» قَالَ -: هِيَ آيَةُ النَّصْرِ.

قَالَ سَلامٌ: كَانَتْ شِعارَهُ عليه السلام، يَقُولُهَا فِي الْحَرْبِ، ثُمَّ يَحْمِلُ فَيُورِدُ - وَاللهُ - مَنْ اتَّبَعَهُ وَمَنْ حَادَهُ حِيَاضَ الْمَوْتِ.^٣

495. وقعة صفين عن عقيم: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ إِذَا سَارَ إِلَى الْقِتَالِ ذَكَرَ اسْمَ اللَّهِ حِينَ يَرْكَبُ... ثُمَّ يَقُولُ: اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ، اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ، لا إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ وَاللهُ أَكْبَرُ، يا اللَّهُ، يا أَحَدُ، يا صَمَدُ، يا رَبَّ مُحَمَّدٍ، بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، لا حَوْلَ ولا قُوَّةَ إِلاَّ بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ، (الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ * الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ * مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ * إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ) اللَّهُمَّ كُفَّ عَنَّا بَأْسَ الظَّالِمِينَ. فَكَانَ هَذَا شِعارَهُ بِصِفِّينَ.^٤

١. أثبتته من علي الدار - بكسر اللام وضمتها - وأثبتته من علي، ومن عال، كل ذلك أي من فوق (ناج العروس: ج 19 ص 696).

٢. الكافي: ج 5 ص 47 ح 1 عن معاوية بن عمار، بحار الأنوار: ج 19 ص 163 ح 1.

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 5 ص 1177 بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 461 ح 400 و ج 100 ص 37 ح 35.

٤. وقعة صفين: ص 1230 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 5 ص 176 عن جابر الجعفي.

The slogan of the battle of Ta'if was: "O Ridwān (O Approver)!"

The slogan of the battle of Hunayn was: "O Sons of 'Abdullah! O Sons of 'Abdullah!"

The slogan of the battle of Aḥzāb was: "Hā, Mīm, they do not see!"

The slogan of the battle of Banī Qurayza was: "O Salām! Keep them safe!"

The slogan of the battle of Murisī', i.e., the battle of Banī Muṣṭalaq was: "Indeed, things return to God!"

The slogan of the battle of Hudyabiya was: "May God's curse be on the unjust!"

The slogan of the battle of Khaybar, i.e., the battle of al-Qamūṣ¹ was "O 'Ali, forgive them out of dignity!"

The slogan on the day of the conquest of Mecca was "We are truly-truly the servants of God

The slogan of the battle of Tabuk was: "O One (aḥad)! O The Absolute, The Eternal (samad)!"

The slogan of the battle of Banī Malūḥ was: "Cause them to die! Cause them to die!"

The slogan of the battle of Ṣiffīn was: "O Divine help!"

The slogan of Husain (a.s.) was: "O Muḥammad!" And our slogan is: "O Muḥammad!"²

494. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* – narrating from Salām ibn Suwayd from Imām 'Ali (a.s.) concerning the phrase: "God is the greatest (*Allah Akbar*): "This is an expression for victory."

[Salām says:] "*Allahu Akbar* was 'Ali's (a.s.) slogan that he uttered in battles and then launched his attacks. By God, he would lead whoever chased him and those who fought against him to the docks (sources) of death."³

495. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* – narrating from Tamīm: "Whenever he set out on a battle, 'Ali (a.s.) would utter the name of God when mounting. Then he would say, "*Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar! Lā ilāha illa Allah wa Allah Akbar! O God! O Aḥad! O Samad! O Lord of Muḥammad! In the Name of God the Compassionate the Merciful! There is no power and no strength save in God, the All-Exalted, the All-Supreme. "All praise belongs to God, Lord of all the worlds, the Compassionate the Merciful, Master of the Day of Retribution. You [alone] do we worship, and to You [alone] do we turn for help."* O God! Keep away from us the harm of the oppressors!" This was 'Ali's (a.s.) slogan in the battle of Ṣiffīn."⁴

1. The name of a fortress of the castles of Khaybar.

2. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 47, h. 1, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 19, p. 163, h. 1.

3. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 5, p. 177, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 461, h. 400 & vol. 100, p. 37, h. 35.

4. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 230, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 5, p. 176.

496. وقعة صفين: كانت علامة أهل العراق بصفتين الصوف الأبيض؛ قد جعلوه في رؤوسهم،

وعلى أكتافهم. وشعارهم: «يا الله، يا أحد، يا صمد، يا رب محمد، يا رحمن يا رحيم».

وكان علامة أهل الشام خرقاً صفراً قد جعلوها على رؤوسهم وأكتافهم،

وكان شعارهم: «نحن عباد الله حقاً حقاً، يا لثارات عثمان»^١.

ج - تحديث النفس بالغلبة

497. الجمل عن عمرو بن دينار: قال أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام لابنه محمد: خذ الراية وامض.

وعلي عليه السلام خلفه، فناداه: يا أبا القاسم! فقال: لبيك يا أبا. فقال: يا بني لا يستغرك ما

ترى، قد حملت الراية وأنا أصغر منك فما استغرتني عدوي وذلك أنني لم ألق أحداً

إلا حدثتني نفسي بقتله، فحدثت نفسك - بعون الله - بظهورك عليهم، ولا يتخذ لك

ضعف النفس باليقين؛ فإن ذلك أشد الخذلان. قال: فقلت: يا أبا، أرجو أن أكون

كما تحب، إن شاء الله^٢.

د - التحذير من الفرار

498. الإمام علي عليه السلام: الفرار من الزحف من الكبائر^٣.

499. عنه عليه السلام: الفرار أحد الدلّين^٤.

500. عنه عليه السلام: عاودوا الكر، واستحيوا من القر؛ فإنه عار في الأعقاب، وناز يوم

الحساب. وطبوا عن أنفسكم نفساً، وامنشوا إلى الموت مشياً سحجاً^٥.

١. وقعة صفين: ص 332، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 27 ح 1380 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 8 ص 15.

٢. الجمل: ص 368.

٣. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 370 المصنف لابن أبي شيبة: ج 7 ص 733 ح 6 عن مالك بن جوير الحضرمي.

٤. تحرير الحكم: ج 1663.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 66 تاريخ دمشق: ج 42 ص 460 وفيه «فإنه عار باق في الأعقاب والأعناق».

496. *Waq'at Şiffin*: The sign of the people of Iraq in [the battle of] Şiffin was a white piece of wool cloth worn over their heads and shoulders and their slogan was "O God! O *Aḥad* (One)! O *Şamad* (O Everlasting Refuge)! O Lord of Muḥammad! O Compassionate, O Merciful!"

And the sign of the people of Shām was a piece of yellow cloth worn over their heads and shoulders and their slogan was: "We are the slaves of God indeed, indeed; O Avengers for 'Uthmān's blood!"¹

C. Inculcation of Victory

497. *al-Jamal* – narrating from 'Amr ibn Dīnār: "The Commander of the Faithful said to his son Muḥammad: "Hold the banner and move on!" 'Ali (a.s.) was behind him, he then called him: "O Abū al-Qasim!"

He replied: "Yes. O Father!"

He said: "My son! What you see should not frighten you. I carried the banner when I was smaller than you and the enemy did not frighten me for I did not confront anyone except that I instilled in myself that I would kill him.

So with the help of God inculcate in your mind that you will triumph over them; and do not let mistrust in yourself bring you to your knees as it is the worst of degradations.

[Muḥammad said:] I said: "O Father! I hope I will be the way you wish for me to be. God willing!"²

D. Warning against Fleeing from the Battleground

498. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Escape from the battle is among the great sins."³
 499. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Escape is one of the two degradations."⁴
 500. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Launch successive attacks and feel ashamed of escaping for it is a disgrace among generations to come and a cause of fire on the Day of Judgment. Give your lives (to God) willingly and walk towards death with ease."⁵

1. *Waq'at Şiffin*, p. 332, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 27, ḥ. 380, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 8, p. 15.

2. *al-Jamal*, p. 368.

3. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 370, *al-Muḥannif fī al-Aḥādith wa al-Āthār*, vol. 7, p. 733, ḥ. 6.

4. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 1663.

5. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 66, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 460

501. عنه: لِيَعْلَمِ الْمُتَهَزِّمُ بِأَنَّهُ مُسَخِّطُ رَبِّهِ، وَمُوبِقُ نَفْسِهِ، إِنَّ فِي الْفِرَارِ مَوْجِدَةَ اللَّهِ، وَالذَّلَّ الْإِلَازِمَ، وَالْعَارَ الْبَاقِيَّ، وَفَسَادَ الْعَيْشِ عَلَيْهِ. وَإِنَّ الْفَارَّ لَغَيْرُ مَزِيدٍ فِي عُمرِهِ، وَلَا مَحْجُوزٌ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ يَوْمِهِ، وَلَا يُرْضِي رَبَّهُ. وَلَمَوْتُ الرَّجُلِ مَحَقًّا قَبْلَ إِتْيَانِهِ هَذِهِ الْخِصَالِ خَيْرٌ مِنَ الرُّضَى بِالتَّلْبِيسِ بِهَا، وَالْإِقْرَارِ عَلَيْهَا^١

502. الكافي عن مالك بن أعين: خَرَضَ أميرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ النَّاسَ بِصَفَيْنَ فَقَالَ: ... رَجِمَ اللَّهُ أَمْرًا وَاسَى أَخَاهُ بِنَفْسِهِ، وَلَمْ يَكِلْ قِرْنَهُ إِلَى أَخِيهِ؛ فَيَجْتَمِعَ قِرْنُهُ وَقِرْنُ أَخِيهِ، فَيَكْتَسِبَ بِذَلِكَ اللَّائِمَةَ، وَيَأْتِيَ بِدَنَاءَةٍ؛ وَكَيْفَ لَا يَكُونُ كَذَلِكَ وَهُوَ يُقَاتِلُ الْإِثْنَيْنِ، وَهَذَا مُمَسِّكٌ يَدَهُ قَدْ خَلَى قِرْنُهُ عَلَى أَخِيهِ، هَارِبًا مِنْهُ، يَنْظُرُ إِلَيْهِ وَهَذَا!! فَمَنْ يَفْعَلْهُ يَمَقِّتُهُ اللَّهُ، فَلَا تَعَرَّضُوا لِمَقَاتِلَةِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ؛ فَإِنَّهَا تَمُرُّكُمْ إِلَى اللَّهِ، وَقَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: «لَنْ يَنْفَعَكُمْ الْفِرَارُ إِنْ فَرَرْتُمْ مِّنَ الْمَوْتِ أَوْ الْقَتْلِ وَ إِذَا لَا تُمْتَعُونَ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا»^٢.

وَأَيْمُ اللَّهِ، لَئِنْ فَرَرْتُمْ مِنْ سُيُوفِ الْعَاجِلَةِ لَا تَسْلَمُونَ مِنْ سُيُوفِ الْآجِلَةِ، فَاسْتَعِينُوا بِالصَّبْرِ وَالصَّدْقِ؛ فَإِنَّهَا يَنْزِلُ النَّصْرُ بَعْدَ الصَّبْرِ، فَجَاهِدُوا فِي اللَّهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ. وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ^٣.

هـ: كِتَابُ مَا يُضَرُّ بِمَعْنَوِيَّاتِ الْجَيْشِ

503. وقعة صفين عن أبي روق: قَالَ زِيَادُ بْنُ النَّضْرِ الْحَارِثِيُّ لِعَبِيدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ بُدَيْلِ بْنِ وَرْقَاءَ: إِنَّ يَوْمَنَا وَيَوْمَهُمْ لَيَوْمٌ عَصِيبٌ؛ مَا يَصِيرُ عَلَيْهِ إِلَّا كُلُّ مُشِيعِ الْقَلْبِ، صَادِقٌ

١. الكافي: ج 5 ص 41 ح 4 عن مالك بن أعين، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 472 ح 411 عن زيد بن وهب نحوه وفيه «الإصرار» بدل «الإقرار» وراجع: المعيار والموازنة: ص 150.

٢. الأحزاب: 16.

٣. الكافي: ج 5 ص 39 ح 4، وقعة صفين: ص 235 عن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن زياد المحاربي؛ تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 16 عن أبي عمرة الأنصاري وكلاهما نحوه وراجع: نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 124.

501. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The escapee (from the battle) should know that he has infuriated God and has destroyed himself. Verily in escaping there is hostility towards God, perpetual degradation, eternal disgrace and depravity of life. The escapee will not prolong his life, nor will there come an interval between him and the day he is destined to die, nor will he please God. A man's death in honesty and truthfulness before committing such a practice [escape from battle] is better than involving in these practices and accepting them."¹
502. *al-Kāfi* – narrating from Mālik ibn A'yan: "The Commander of the Faithful exhorted the people in the Battle of Šiffin saying, "...May God have mercy on him who helps his brother and does not leave the adversary to his comrade lest both his own adversary and his comrade's join against him (comrade). This way he will be condemned and will come to vileness; and why should it not be so when his brother fights with two people whereas he has given up and left his adversary to his brother and while he is fleeing he looks back at the enemy and his brother? Everyone who does so, God will regard him as His enemy. Do not expose yourselves to enmity with God for you will certainly be moving towards Him. God the Glorified and Exalted said: *"Flight will not avail you, should you flee from death or from being killed, and then you will be left to enjoy only for a little while."*²

"By God, if you flee from the sword of the world, you will not be secure against the swords of the world to come. Take recourse in patience and truthfulness, for triumph would verily follow patience. Struggle for the sake of God with a struggling which is worthy of Him; and there is no power and no strength save in God."³

E. Concealing that which Ruins the Troops' Morale

503. *Waq'at Šiffin* – narrating from Abū Rawq: "Ziyad ibn al-Nadr al-Hārithī said to 'Abdullah ibn Badīl ibn Warqā': "Indeed our day and theirs is so hard. No one will endure it except he who is brave-hearted, well-intended and steadfast. By God, I

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 41, h. 4, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 472, h. 411. Also cf. *al-Mi'yār wa al-Mawāzin*, p. 105.

2. Qur'ān, 33:16.

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 39, h. 4, *Waq'at Šiffin*, p. 235, *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, h. 16. Also cf. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 124.

النِّبَّةِ، رَابِطُ الْجَنَاحِ، وَابْنُ اللَّهِ، مَا أَظُنُّ ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمَ يُبْقِي مِنَّا وَمِنْهُمْ إِلَّا الرُّذَالَ! قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ بُدَيْلٍ: وَاللَّهِ أَظُنُّ ذَلِكَ.

فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: لَيْكُنْ هَذَا الْكَلَامُ غَزَوْنَا فِي صُدُورِكُمْ، لَا تُظْهِرَاهُ، وَلَا يَسْمَعُهُ مِنْكُمْ سَامِعٌ؛ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَتَبَ الْقَتْلَ عَلَى قَوْمٍ، وَالْمَوْتَ عَلَى آخَرِينَ، وَكُلَّ آتِيهِ مَيِّتُهُ كَمَا كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَهُ، فَطُوبَى لِلْمُجَاهِدِينَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ، وَالْمَقْتُولِينَ فِي طَاعَتِهِ.¹

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الْخُدْعَةُ

504. الإمام عليٌّ: إِذَا حَدَّثْتُكُمْ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ حَدِيثًا، فَوَاللَّهِ لَأَنْ أُخَرَّ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ

أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ أَكْذِبَ عَلَيْهِ، وَإِذَا حَدَّثْتُكُمْ فِيمَا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكُمْ، فَإِنَّ الْحَرْبَ خُدْعَةٌ.²

505. الإمام الباقر: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا ﷺ كَانَ يَقُولُ: لَأَنْ تَحْطَفَنِي الطَّيْرُ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ أَقُولَ

عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ مَا لَمْ يَقُلْ، سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ فِي يَوْمِ الْحَنْدَقِ: الْحَرْبُ

خُدْعَةٌ. يَقُولُ: تَكَلَّمُوا بِهَا أَرَدْتُمْ.³

506. الإمام عليٌّ: فِي الْحُكْمِ الْمُنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ: كُنْ فِي الْحَرْبِ بِحِيلَتِكَ أَوْتَقَ مِنْكَ بِشِدَّتِكَ،

وَبِحَذَرِكَ أَفْرَحَ مِنْكَ بِنَجْدَتِكَ؛ فَإِنَّ الْحَرْبَ حَرْبُ الْمُتَهَوِّرِ، وَغَنِيمَةُ الْمُتَحَذِّرِ.⁴

1. رتعة صفين: ص 111، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 403 ح 369 - 373؛ شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 3 ص 183 وفيه «عصيب» بدل «عصيب».

2. صحيح البخاري: ج 6 ص 2539 ح 6531 و ج 3 ص 1322 ح 3415، صحيح مسلم: ج 2 ص 746 ح 1066، سنن أبي داود: ج 4 ص 244 ح 4767، مستدرج ابن حنبل: ج 1 ص 177 ح 616 وفيه «عن غيره فأنها أنا رجل محارب» بدل «فيما بيني وبينكم»، و ص 276 ح 1086 كلها عن سويد بن غفلة.

3. تهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 162 ح 298 عن إسحاق بن عمار عن الإمام الصادق: «تقرب الإسناد»، ص 133 ح 466 عن أبي البختري عن الإمام الصادق عن أبيه نحوه.

4. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 312 ح 588.

do not suppose that today anyone would survive except the villainous.”

Abdullah ibn Badīl said: “By God, I think so too.”

‘Ali (a.s.) said: “Let this word be hidden in your hearts. Do not express it, and nobody should hear of it from you. Verily God has destined some group to be killed and some to die; everyone will receive his death as it is ordained. So how blessed are those who fight in the path of God and those who are killed in obedience to Him.”¹

9/5

Deception

504. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “Whenever I quote a tradition from the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.), by God that it is dearer to me to fall off [such a high place as] heaven than to attribute a lie to him; but in respect to mine, then indeed war is a deception.”^{2 3}
505. Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.): “‘Ali (a.s.) would say: “Being snatched the way by the birds is better for me than attributing to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) something that he has not said. I heard the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) say on the day of [the battle of] Khandaq: “War is a deception.” And he would say: “Speak in any way you wish [when in battle].”⁴
506. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – in the aphorisms attributed to him: “In battles trust your tricks more than you trust your strength and be more delighted at your vigilance than at your valor, for the war is the war of the fearless and the advantage is of the vigilant.”⁵

1. *Waq‘at Šiffīn*, p. 111, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 403, ḥ. 369 – 373, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 18.

2. It is narrated in Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal in the following way: “When I relate something from someone other than the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), I am indeed a man in battle.” (*Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, vol. 1, p. 177, ḥ. 216)

3. *Šaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2539, ḥ. 6531, & vol. 3, p. 1322, ḥ. 3415, *Šaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, p. 746, ḥ. 1066.

4. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 162, ḥ. 298, *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 133, ḥ. 466

5. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 312, ḥ. 588.

507. الكافي عن عدي بن حاتم: إن أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام قال يوم النقي هو ومعاوية بصفين - ورفع بها صوته ليُسمع أصحابه -: والله لأقتلن معاوية وأصحابه، ثم يقول في آخر قوله: إن شاء الله - يخفص بها صوته - .

وكنْتُ قريباً منه، فقلت: يا أمير المؤمنين إنك خلعت على ما فعلت، ثم استنيت، فما أردت بذلك؟! فقال لي: إن الحرب خدعة، وأنا عند المؤمنين غير كذوب، فأردت أن أحرص أصحابي عليهم؛ كيلا يفشلوا، وكى يطمعوا فيهم، فأفقههم ينتفع بها بعد اليوم إن شاء الله^١.

508. تفسير القمي - في ذكر غزوة الحندق -: مرَّ أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام يهروء في مشيه... فقال له عمرو: من أنت؟ قال: أنا علي بن أبي طالب؛ ابن عم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، وخنته. فقال: والله إن أباك كان لي صديقاً قديماً وإني أكره أن أقتلك، ما أمِن ابن عمك - حين بعثك إلي - أن أختطفك برُحى هذا فأترُكك شائلاً بين السماء والأرض؛ لا حي ولا ميت!!

فقال له أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام: قد علم ابن عمي أنك إن قتلني دخلت الجنة وأنت في النار، وإن قتلتك فأنت في النار وأنا في الجنة.

فقال عمرو: وكلتاها لك يا علي! تلك إذا قسمة ضيزى!!

قال علي عليه السلام: دَع هذا يا عمرو، إني سمعت منك وأنت متعلق بأستار الكعبة تقول: «لا يعرضن علي أحد في الحرب ثلاث خصال إلا أجبتُه إلى واحدة منها»، وأنا أعرض عليك ثلاث خصال، فأجبنني إلى واحدة! قال: هات يا علي!

١. الكافي: ج 7 ص 460 ح 1، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 163 ح 299، تفسير القمي: ج 2 ص 60 نحوه وفيها «فأفقههم» بدل «فأفقههم»، بحار الأنوار: ج 100 ص 27 ح 33 نقلاً عن تفسير العياشي وفيه «فأفعلهم» بدل «فأفقههم».

507. *al-Kaḥfī* - narrating from 'Adī ibn Hātim: "When the Commander of the Faithful confronted Mu'āwiya in Ṣiffīn, he raised his voice so that his companions could hear him and he said: "By God, I will kill Mu'āwiya and his companions!" Then he lowered his voice and said: "If God wills!"

I was near him and I said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful! You have truly sworn to do it and then you said 'if God wills'. What did you mean by this?"

He said: "War is a deception and I am not a liar in the sight of the faithful. I wanted to incite my followers and encourage them not to show weakness and to fight against the enemy. Therefore, in future the wisest of them will benefit from this word. God willing!"¹

508. *Tafsīr al-Qummī* - in the report about the Battle of Khandaq: "The Commander of the Faithful passed by while walking hastily and 'Amr [Ibn 'Abduwud] asked him: "Who are you."

He said: "I am 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb, the cousin of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) and his son-in-law."

'Amr said: "By God, your father was an old friend of mine and I do not like to kill you. When your cousin sent you to me, wasn't he afraid that I would snatch you up with my weapon and leave you in the air, neither killed nor alive?"

The Commander of the Faithful said to him: "My cousin knew that if you killed me I would enter Heaven and you would be in fire; but if I killed you, you would stay in Hellfire and I will go to Heaven."

'Amr said: 'O 'Alī, both of them are for you! This is not a fair dividing!"

He said: "Leave it aside now! I heard you say while holding on to the curtain of the Ka'ba: "If a person presents to me three requests, I will at least answer one of them." And [now] I have three requests from you, so answer to one of them."

'Amr said: "O 'Alī, say what they are!"

1. *al-Kaḥfī*, vol. 7, p. 460, ḥ. 1, *Tabdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 163, ḥ. 299, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, vol. 2, p. 60.

قَالَ: أَحَدُهَا تَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ، وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ. قَالَ: نَحْنُ عَنِّي هَذِهِ، فَاسْأَلِ الثَّانِيَةَ.

فَقَالَ: أَنْ تَرْجِعَ وَتَرُدَّ هَذَا الْجَيْشَ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ؛ فَإِنْ يَكُ صَادِقًا فَأَنْتُمْ أَعْلَى بِهِ عَيْنًا، وَإِنْ يَكُ كَاذِبًا كَفَتَكُمْ دُوبَانُ الْعَرَبِ أَمْرُهُ! فَقَالَ: إِذَا لَا تَتَحَدَّثُ نِسَاءُ قُرَيْشٍ بِذَلِكَ، وَلَا تُنْشِدُ الشُّعْرَاءُ فِي أَشْعَارِهَا آتِي جَبَنْتُ وَرَجَعْتُ عَلَى عَقْبِي مِنَ الْحَرْبِ، وَخَذَلْتُ قَوْمًا رَأْسُونِي عَلَيْهِمْ!

فَقَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: فَالْثَالِثَةُ أَنْ تَنْزِلَ إِلَيَّ؛ فَإِنَّكَ رَاكِبٌ وَأَنَا رَاجِلٌ؛ حَتَّى أَنْابِدَكَ! فَوُتِبَ عَنْ فَرَسِهِ وَعَرَقَهُ، وَقَالَ: هَذِهِ خَصْلَةٌ مَا ظَنَنْتُ أَنَّ أَحَدًا مِنَ الْعَرَبِ يَسْؤُمُنِي عَلَيْهَا.

ثُمَّ بَدَأَ فَضْرَبَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِالسَّيْفِ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ، فَأَثَقَاهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِدَرَقَتَيْهِ، فَقَطَعَهَا، وَثَبَّتَ السَّيْفُ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: يَا عَمْرُو، أَمَا كَفَاكَ آتِي بَارَزْتُكَ وَأَنْتَ فَارِسُ الْعَرَبِ، حَتَّى اسْتَعْنَتْ عَلَيَّ بِظَهِيرٍ؟! فَالْتَمَتَ عَمْرُو إِلَى خَلْفِهِ، فَضْرَبَهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مُسْرِعًا عَلَى سَاقِيهِ [فَسَا] قَطَعَهَا جَمِيعًا، وَارْتَفَعَتْ بَيْنَهُمَا عَجَاجَةٌ، فَقَالَ الْمُنَافِقُونَ: قُتِلَ عَلِيٌّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ. ثُمَّ انْكَشَفَتِ الْعَجَاجَةُ فَنَظَرُوا فَإِذَا أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَقُولُ:

أَنَا عَلِيٌّ وَابْنُ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ الْمَوْتُ خَيْرٌ لِفَتَى مِنَ الْهَرَبِ

فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: يَا عَلِيُّ مَا كَرَّرْتَهُ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ؛ الْحَرْبُ خَدِيعَةٌ.^١

١. في بحار الأنوار نقلاً عن المصدر: «إِذَا تَتَحَدَّثُ نِسَاءُ قُرَيْشٍ بِذَلِكَ، وَيُنْشِدُ الشُّعْرَاءُ...»، وهو الأنسب.

٢. ما بين المعقوفين إضافة يقتضيهما السياق.

٣. في المصدر: «انْكَشَفَتْ»، والتصحيح من بحار الأنوار.

٤. تفسير القمي: ج 2 ص 183، بحار الأنوار: ج 20 ص 226.

He said: "The first is that you bear witness that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is His Messenger."

'Amr said: "Put this aside and ask the second one!"

He said: "The second is that you go back and turn this army [of yours] away from [confronting] the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.). If he [the Prophet] is truthful, you will be honored through him, and if he is a liar then the Arab robbers and rascals do it (kill him) for you."

'Amr said: "Would not the women of Quraysh then speak about it and the poets mention it in their poems that I was cowardice and retreated from a battle and that I betrayed a group that chose me as their chief."

The Commander of the Faithful said: "My third [request] is that you dismount [your horse] so that I could fight with you, as you are mounted and I am on foot."

He then dismounted his horse and hamstrung it and said: "This is a trait for which I did not suppose any of the Arabs would bargain with me." Then he started [the battle] and struck 'Ali's (a.s.) head with his sword. The Commander of the Faithful held his head behind his shield, but the sword rent the shield and hit his head.

'Ali (a.s.) said to him: "O 'Amr! As an Arab warrior will you not be able to fight by yourself and need to ask for assistance while I am fighting you alone?"

'Amr turned his face [to look behind him] and the Commander of the Faithful delivered a swift blow on his knees and cut them off. A huge cloud of dust rose around them and the hypocrites said 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed.

Soon the dust settled and they saw the Commander of the Faithful who was saying:

"I am 'Ali, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib;

Death is better for the knight than running away."

Thereupon, the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Did you play a trick on him?"

He replied: "Yes, O Messenger of God! War is a craftiness."¹

1. *Tafsīr al-Qummi*, vol. 2, p. 183, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 20, p. 226.

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أَخْلَاقُ الْحَرْبِ

أ- النَّهْيُ عَنِ الْإِبْتِدَاءِ بِالْقِتَالِ

509. تاريخ الطبري عن جُنْدَبِ الْأَزْدِيِّ: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا كَانَ يَأْمُرُنَا فِي كُلِّ مَوْطِنٍ لَقِينَا فِيهِ مَعَهُ عَدُوًّا فَيَقُولُ: لَا تُقَاتِلُوا الْقَوْمَ حَتَّى يَبْدُووَكُمْ، فَأَنْتُمْ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَلَى حُجَّةٍ، وَتَرْكُكُمْ إِيَّاهُمْ حَتَّى يَبْدُووَكُمْ حُجَّةٌ أُخْرَى لَكُمْ، فَإِذَا قَاتَلْتُمُوهُمْ فَهَزَمْتُمُوهُمْ فَلَا تَقْتُلُوا مُدْبِرًا، وَلَا تُجْهِزُوا عَلَى جَرِيحٍ، وَلَا تَكْشِفُوا عَوْرَةً، وَلَا تُمْتَلُوا بِقَتِيلٍ. فَإِذَا وَصَلْتُمْ إِلَى رِحَالِ الْقَوْمِ فَلَا تَهَيَّكُوا بَسْرًا، وَلَا تَدْخُلُوا دَارًا إِلَّا بِإِذْنٍ، وَلَا تَأْخُذُوا شَيْئًا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ إِلَّا مَا وَجَدْتُمْ فِي عَسْكَرِهِمْ، وَلَا تُبَيِّجُوا امْرَأَةً بِأَذَى، وَإِنْ شَتَمَنَ أَعْرَاضَكُمْ وَسَبَّ أُمَرَاءَكُمْ وَصُلَحَاءَكُمْ، فَإِنَّهُمْ ضِعَافُ الْقَوَى وَالْأَنْفُسِ.¹

510. الإمام علي عليه السلام - في كتابه إلى مالك الأشتر قبل وقعة صفين -: إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تَبْدَأَ الْقَوْمَ بِقِتَالٍ إِلَّا أَنْ يَبْدُووكَ، حَتَّى تَلْقَاهُمْ، وَتَسْمَعَ مِنْهُمْ، وَلَا يَجْرِيَنَّكَ شَتَائِهِمْ عَلَى قِتَالِهِمْ قَبْلَ دُعَائِهِمْ وَالْإِعْذَارِ إِلَيْهِمْ مَرَّةً بَعْدَ مَرَّةٍ!²

511. عنه عليه السلام - مِنْ وَصِيَّةٍ لَهُ لِعَسْكَرِهِ قَبْلَ لِقَاءِ الْعَدُوِّ بِصَفَيْنَ -: لَا تُقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّى يَبْدُووَكُمْ؛ فَإِنَّكُمْ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَى حُجَّةٍ، وَتَرْكُكُمْ إِيَّاهُمْ حَتَّى يَبْدُووَكُمْ حُجَّةٌ أُخْرَى لَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ. فَإِذَا كَانَتِ الْهَرِيمَةُ - بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ - فَلَا تَقْتُلُوا مُدْبِرًا، وَلَا تُصِيبُوا مُعْوِرًا، وَلَا تُجْهِزُوا عَلَى جَرِيحٍ.³

١. تاريخ الطبري: ج 5 ص 10، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 370، الفتوح: ج 3 ص 32 نحوه.

٢. وقعة صفين: ص 153، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 414 ح 374.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 14، وقعة صفين: ص 203.

9/6

Ethics of War

A. Prohibition of Initiating a Battle

509. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* - narrating from Jundab al-Azdī: "Ali (a.s.) would command us whenever we were in his company and we confronted the enemy: "Do not fight them until they begin; because you, by the grace of God, have proof (reason), and letting them initiate the fighting will be another proof and excuse for you. Whenever you fight with them and defeat them, do not kill one who retreats; do not murder the wounded; do not slander, nor mutilate the dead. When you reach the encampment of the enemy do not plunder nor enter a house without permission. Do not seize anything from them except what you find in their military base. Do not inflict pain on women by persecuting them even if they insulted your honor and abuse your officers, as they [the women] are weak in power and in will."¹
510. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar before the battle of Ṣiffīn: "Beware of starting the war against this group till you meet them and hear their words unless they begin it. Their evil should not prompt you to fight before inviting them [to guidance] and repeatedly leaving some room for their excuses."²
511. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to his army before confronting the enemy in Ṣiffīn: "Do not fight them unless they initiate the fighting for by the grace of God, you have proof, and let them until they begin fighting will be another proof for you against them. If, by the will of God, the enemy is defeated then do not kill the one who runs away, do not strike a helpless person and do not finish off the wounded."³

1. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 10, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 370, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p.32.

2. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 153, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 414, h. 374.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 14, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 203.

ب- النَّهْيُ عَنِ الدَّعْوَةِ إِلَى الْمُبَارَزَةِ

512. الإمام عليّ عليه السلام - لابنِهِ الْحَسَنِ عليه السلام -: لَا تَدْعُونَّ إِلَى مُبَارَزَةٍ، وَإِنْ دُعِيتَ إِلَيْهَا فَأَجِبْ؛ فَإِنَّ الدَّاعِيَ إِلَيْهَا بَاغٌ، وَالبَاغِي مَصْرُوعٌ.^١

ج- الْحَصَانَةُ السِّيَاسِيَّةُ لِلرُّسُلِ

513. الإمام عليّ عليه السلام -: إِنْ ظَفَرْتُمْ بِرَجُلٍ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْحَرْبِ فَزَعَمَ أَنَّهُ رَسُولٌ إِلَيْكُمْ؛ فَإِنْ عُرِفَ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُ وَجَاءَ بِهَا يَدُلُّ عَلَيْهِ فَلَا سَبِيلَ لَكُمْ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّى يُبْلَغَ رِسَالَتِهِ وَيَرْجِعَ إِلَى أَصْحَابِهِ، وَإِنْ لَمْ تَجِدُوا عَلَى قَوْلِهِ دَلِيلًا فَلَا تَقْبَلُوا مِنْهُ.^٢

د- إِقَامَةُ الْحُجَّةِ قَبْلَ الْحَرْبِ

514. السنن الكبرى عن البراء بن عازب: بَعَثَنِي عَلِيٌّ (رضي الله عنه) إِلَى النَّهْرِ إِلَى الْخَوَارِجِ، فَدَعَوْتُهُمْ ثَلَاثًا قَبْلَ أَنْ يُقَاتِلَهُمْ.^٣

515. الإمام عليّ عليه السلام - مِنْ كِتَابِهِ إِلَى مَنْ شَاقَّ وَغَدَرَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْجَنْدِ وَصَنَعَاءٍ -: إِذَا أَتَاكُمْ رَسُولِي فَتَفَرَّقُوا وَانصَرِفُوا إِلَى رِحَالِكُمْ أَعْفُ عَنْكُمْ، وَأَصْفَحْ عَنْ جَاهِلِكُمْ، وَأَحْفَظْ قَاصِيَكُمْ، وَأَعْمَلْ فِيكُمْ بِحُكْمِ الْكِتَابِ. فَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلُوا فَاسْتَعِدُّوا لِقُدُومِ

١. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 233، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 527 ح 9587، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 454 ح 668.

٢. دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 376.

٣. السنن الكبرى: ج 8 ص 309 ح 16739.

٤. الجند: مدينة شمالي يعض، وهي عن صنعاء ثمانية وأربعون فرسخاً، وهو بلد جليل به مسجد جامع لمعاذ بن جبل، وغالب أهلها شيعة (تقويم البلدان: ص 91).

٥. صنعاء: عاصمة اليمن، وتقع جنوب الحجاز، وشمال مدينة عدن. كانت من أهم مدن اليمن والحجاز آنذاك.

B. Prohibition of Calling to Fighting

512. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to his son Imām Ḥasan (a.s.): “Do not call out for fighting, but if you are called to it do respond, because the caller to fighting is a rebel and the rebel deserves destruction.”¹

C. Diplomatic Immunity of Envoys

513. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): “If you triumph over a man of the enemy and he claimed to be an envoy to you, if his claim is proven and he brings something that can substantiate it, then do not harm him until he delivers his message and returns to his comrades; but if you find no proof to his claim, do not accept his assertion.”²

D. Giving an Ultimatum before a Battle

514. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* – narrating from Barā' ibn 'Āzib: “‘Ali (a.s.) dispatched me to fight against the Khawārij in Nahrawān and I invited them [to guidance] three times before we fought them.”³
515. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to the people of Ṣan'ā and Janad who were hostile and deceitful: “When my messenger comes to you, disperse and go to your residences so that I may grant you amnesty, forgive your ignorance, protect those of you who are away, and treat you by the ordinances of the Qur'ān. However, if you do not do so, be prepared to face a mighty

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 233, *‘Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā‘iz*, p. 527, ḥ. 9587, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 454, ḥ. 668.

2. *Da‘ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 376.

3. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 309, ḥ. 16739.

جَيْشِ جَمِّ الْفُرْسَانِ، عَظِيمِ الْأَرْكَانِ، يَقْصُدُ لِنَ طَغَى وَعَصَى، فَتُطْلَحُوا كَطُحْنِ
الرَّحَا؛ فَمَنْ أَحْسَنَ فَلِنَفْسِهِ، وَمَنْ أَسَاءَ فَعَلَيْهَا، وَمَا رَبُّكَ بِظَلَّامٍ لِلْعَبِيدِ^١.

راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ج 3 ص 418 (إقامة الحجّة في ساحة القتال)
و ج 4 ص 21 (إقامة الحجّة في ساحة القتال).

هـ- الدُّعَاءُ إِذَا أَرَادَ الْقِتَالُ

516. الإمام الصادق: إِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ كَانَ إِذَا أَرَادَ الْقِتَالَ قَالَ هَذِهِ الدَّعَوَاتُ:
اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّكَ أَعْلَمْتَ سَبِيلًا مِنْ سُبُلِكَ، جَعَلْتَ فِيهِ رِضَاكَ، وَتَدَبَّتَ إِلَيْهِ أَوْلِيَاءُكَ،
وَجَعَلْتَهُ أَشْرَفَ سُبُلِكَ عِنْدَكَ ثَوَابًا، وَأَكْرَمَهَا لَدَيْكَ مَأْبَأًا، وَأَحَبَّهَا إِلَيْكَ مَسْلَكًا، ثُمَّ
اشْتَرَيْتَ فِيهِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنَّ هُمْ الْجَنَّةَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ
فَيَقْتُلُونَ وَيُقْتَلُونَ وَعَدًا عَلَيْكَ حَقًّا، فَاجْعَلْنِي مِمَّنْ اشْتَرَى فِيهِ مِنْكَ نَفْسَهُ ثُمَّ وَفَى
لَكَ بِبَيْعِهِ الَّذِي بَايَعَكَ عَلَيْهِ، غَيْرَ نَاكِثٍ وَلَا نَاقِضٍ عَهْدًا، وَلَا مُبَدِّلًا تَبْدِيلًا، بَلِ
اسْتِجَابًا لِحَبِيبِكَ، وَتَقَرُّبًا بِهِ إِلَيْكَ، فَاجْعَلْهُ خَائِمَةً عَمَلِي، وَصَبْرًا فِيهِ فَنَاءَ عُمْرِي،
وَارْزُقْنِي فِيهِ لَكَ وَبِهِ^٢ مَشْهَدًا تَوْجِبُ لِي بِهِ مِنْكَ الرِّضَا، وَتُحِطُّ بِهِ عَنِّي الْخَطَايَا،
وَتُجْعَلْنِي فِي الْأَحْيَاءِ الْمَرْزُوقِينَ بِأَيْدِي الْعُدَاةِ وَالْعُصَاةِ، تَحْتَ لِيَاةِ الْحَقِّ وَرَايَةِ
الْهُدَى، مَاضِيًا عَلَى نُصْرَتِهِمْ قُدَمًا، غَيْرَ مُؤَلَّ دُبْرًا، وَلَا مُخِذٍ شَكَا، اللَّهُمَّ وَأَعُوذُ
بِكَ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْجُبْنِ عِنْدَ مَوَارِدِ الْأَهْوَالِ، وَمِنَ الضَّعْفِ عِنْدَ مُسَاوَرَةٍ^٣

١. إشارة إلى الآية 46 من سورة فصلت.

٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 2 ص 5.

٣. قوله: «وبه مشهداً عطف على «فيه»، ولعله زيد من النسخ أو صُحِفَ (مرآة العقول: ج 18 ص 384). وفي
تهذيب الأحكام: «وارزقني فيه لك وبك مشهداً» ولعله أصوب.

٤. ساوَرَه مُسَاوَرَةٌ وَيَسَاوِرُ: وَاقَبَهُ، وَالْإِنْسَانُ يُسَاوِرُ إِنْسَانًا: إِذَا تَنَاوَلَ رَأْسَهُ (لسان العرب: ج 4 ص 385).

army with a great number of cavalymen who will head for those who have rebelled and disobeyed and you will be crushed as in a mill. *Whoever does well, it is for his own soul, and whoever does evil it is to its detriment, and your Lord is not tyrannical to the servants.*^{1 2}

E. Supplication before a Battle

- 516.** Imām Ṣādiq (a.s.) – when the Commander of the Faithful set out for a battle, he would recite the following supplication: “O God! Verily, You showed one of Your paths, put Your satisfaction in it, called Your friends to it and made it the best of Your ways for reward, the noblest for returning [to You] and the most favorable to You as a conduct. Then [in this path], You purchased of the believers their persons and their wealth, that they would gain in return (the Garden) Paradise; they fight in His Cause, and slay and are slain; a true promise binding on You.

So, place me among those from whom You have bought his soul and he has fulfilled his covenant to You; one of those who did not break a pact, nor violate or alter it; rather, he made it (his sacrifice) in response to Your loving kindness and as a means of approximation to You.

So make it the seal of my affairs and ordain the end of my life in this way. Bestow upon me in it a martyrdom which brings me Your pleasure and removes my blunders. Place me among those who are living and provided for by the enemies and the rebels [through being martyred by them] under the banner of truth and guidance; moving ahead to assist them, not turning his back [on fighting], and nor creating doubts.

O God! I seek refuge in You from cowardice at the time of terror, from indolence at the time of the champions’

1. Qur’ān, 41:46.

2. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 5.

الْأَبْطَالِ، وَمِنْ الذَّنْبِ الْمُحِيطِ لِلْأَعْمَالِ، فَأُحْجِمَ مَنْ شَكَّ، أَوْ أَمْضِيَ^١ بِغَيْرِ يَقِينٍ،
فَيَكُونُ سَعْيِي فِي تَبَابٍ، وَعَمَلِي غَيْرَ مَقْبُولٍ.^٢

517. وقعة صفين عن تميم: كَانَ عَلِيٌّ إِذَا سَارَ إِلَى الْقِتَالِ ذَكَرَ اسْمَ اللَّهِ حِينَ يَرْكَبُ، ثُمَّ يَقُولُ: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى نِعَمِهِ عَلَيْنَا، وَفَضْلِهِ الْعَظِيمِ، «سُبْحَنَ الَّذِي سَخَّرَ لَنَا هَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لَهُ مُقْرِنِينَ * وَإِنَّا إِلَى رَبِّنَا لَمُنْقَلِبُونَ»^٣، ثُمَّ يَسْتَقْبِلُ الْقِبْلَةَ، وَيَرْفَعُ يَدَيْهِ إِلَى اللَّهِ، ثُمَّ يَقُولُ: اللَّهُمَّ إِلَيْكَ تُقْلِبُ الْأَقْدَامَ، وَتُعَبِّتُ الْأَبْدَانُ، وَأَفْضَتِ الْقُلُوبُ، وَرُفِعَتِ الْأَيْدِي، وَشَخَصَتِ الْأَبْصَارُ، «رَبَّنَا افْتَحْ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ قَوْمِنَا بِالْحَقِّ وَأَنْتَ خَيْرُ الْفَاتِحِينَ»^٤، سِيرُوا عَلَى بَرَكََةِ اللَّهِ.

ثُمَّ يَقُولُ: اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ، اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ، لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ، يَا اللَّهُ، يَا أَحَدُ، يَا صَمَدُ، يَا رَبَّ مُحَمَّدٍ، بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ، «الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ * الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ * مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ * إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ»^٥، اللَّهُمَّ كُفَّ عَنَّا بَأْسَ الظَّالِمِينَ.

فَكَانَ هَذَا شِعَارَهُ بِصَفَيْنَ.^٦

و- الْبَدْءُ بِالْقِتَالِ بَعْدَ الزَّوَالِ

518. الإمام الصادق: كَانَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ لَا يُقَاتِلُ حَتَّى تَزُولَ الشَّمْسُ وَيَقُولُ: تُفْتَحُ أَبْوَابُ السَّمَاءِ، وَتُقْبَلُ الرَّحْمَةُ، وَيَنْزِلُ النَّصْرُ. وَيَقُولُ: هُوَ

١. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «مضى»، والتصحيح من بحار الأنوار نقلاً عن المصدر.

٢. الكافي: ج 5 ص 46 ح 1 عن ميمون، تهذيب الأحكام: ج 3 ص 81 ح 237 عن عبد الله بن ميمون عن الإمام الصادق عن أبيه عن الإمام زين العابدين عن الإمام علي بن أبي حمزة، تفسير العياشي: ج 2 ص 113 ح 143 عن عبد الله بن ميمون القداح وفيه إلى «تبدلاً»، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 452 ح 664.

٣. الزخرف: 13 و 14.

٤. الأعراف: 89.

٥. الفاتحة: 2 - 5.

٦. وقعة صفين: ص 230 و 231 نحوه، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 460 ح 397 و ج 100 ص 36 ح 31.

assault, and from the sins that would ruin my actions. I would thus be enfeebled out of doubt, or pass on without certitude, so my attempts would be futile and my actions unaccepted.”¹

517. *Waq'at Siffin* – narrating from Tamīm: “Whenever ‘Alī (a.s.) set out for a battle, he would utter the name of God when mounting [his horse] and say: “Thanks be to God for His bounties to us and His immense Grace! *Immaculate is He who has disposed this for us, and we [by ourselves] were no match for it. Indeed we shall return to our Lord.*”²

Then he would face the *Ka'ba*, raise his hands towards heaven and say: “O God! The steps were taken toward You, the bodies tired out, the hearts inclined to You, the hands raised up and the eyes turned keen. *Our Lord! Judge justly between us and our people, and you are the best of judges!*”³

Then he would say: “God is the greatest! God is the greatest! There is no god save God! God is the greatest! O God! O *Aḥad* (One)! O *Ṣamad* (Everlasting Refuge)! O Lord of Muḥammad! *“In the Name of Allah, the All-Beneficent, the All-Merciful”* There is no power and no strength save in Allah, the All-Exalted, the All-Supreme. *All praise belongs to Allah, Lord of all the worlds, the All-Beneficent, the All-Merciful, Master of the Day of Retribution, You [alone] do we worship, and to You [alone] do we return for help.*”⁴ O Lord! Repel from us the oppression of the oppressors”. This was his slogan in the battle of Siffin.⁵

F. Beginning the Battle in the Afternoon

518. *Waq'atu Siffin*: “The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) would not start fighting except in the afternoon and he would say: “At this time the doors of heaven will be open, mercy is accepted and victory descends.”

1. *al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 46, ḥ. 1, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 3, p. 81, ḥ. 237, *Tafsīr al-Najashi*, vol. 2, p. 113, ḥ. 143.

2. *Qur'ān*, 43:13-14.

3. *Qur'ān*, 7:89.

4. *Qur'ān*, 1:2-5.

5. *Waq'at Siffin*, p. 230 & 231, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 460, ḥ. 397 & vol. 100, p. 36, ḥ. 31.

أَقْرَبُ إِلَى اللَّيْلِ، وَأَجْدَرُ أَنْ يَقْلَ الْقَتْلُ، وَيَرْجَعَ الطَّالِبُ، وَيُقْلِتَ الْمُتَهْزِمُ.^١

ز - إِعَانَةُ الضَّعِيفِ

519. الإمام علي عليه السلام - لِأَصْحَابِهِ فِي سَاحَةِ الْحَرْبِ بِصَفَيْنَ -: أَيُّ أَمْرٍ مِنْكُمْ أَحْسَنُ مِنْ

نَفْسِهِ رِبَاطَةً جَاشَ عِنْدَ اللَّقَاءِ، وَرَأَى مِنْ أَحَدٍ مِنْ أَخَوَانِهِ فَشَلًّا، فَلْيَذُبْ عَنْ أَخِيهِ

بِفَضْلِ نَجْدَتِهِ الَّتِي فَضَّلَ بِهَا عَلَيْهِ، كَمَا يَذُبُّ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ، فَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَجَعَلَهُ مِثْلَهُ.^٢

520. عنه عليه السلام: إِذَا رَأَيْتُمْ مِنْ إِخْوَانِكُمْ فِي الْحَرْبِ الرَّجُلَ الْمَجْرُوحَ، أَوْ مَنْ قَدْ نُكِّلَ بِهِ، أَوْ

مَنْ قَدْ طَمَعَ عَدُوَّكُمْ فِيهِ، فَقَوُّوهُ بِأَنْفُسِكُمْ.^٣

ح - حُسْنُ الْمَعَامَلَةِ مَعَ بَقَايَا الْعَدُوِّ

521. تاريخ البعقوبي عن إسماعيل بن علي: إِنَّ أَوَّلَ مَنْ عَلَّمَ قِتَالَ أَهْلِ الْقِبْلَةِ عَلِيُّ بْنُ

أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَلَمْ يَكُنْ يَقْتُلُ أُسِيرًا، وَلَا يَتَّبِعُ مُنْهَزِمًا، وَلَا يُجْهِزُ عَلَى جَرِيح.^٤

522. العقد الفريد عن أبي الحسن - فِي ذِكْرِ حَوَادِثَ وَقَعَتْ صَفَيْنَ -: كَانَ مُنَادِي عَلِيٍّ يَخْرُجُ

كُلَّ يَوْمٍ وَيُنَادِي: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، لَا تُجْهِزُنَّ عَلَى جَرِيحٍ، وَلَا تَتَّبِعُنَّ مُوَلِّيًّا، وَلَا تَسْلُبُنَّ

قَتِيلًا، وَمَنْ أَلْقَى سِلَاحَهُ فَهُوَ آمِنٌ.^٥

١. الكافي: ج 5 ص 28 ح 5، علل الشرائع: ص 603 وح 70 وفيه «التوبة» بدل «الرحمة» وكلاهما عن يحيى بن أبي العلاء.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 123، الإرشاد: ج 1 ص 253، الجمل: ص 334 وليس فيها «بفضل نجاته».

٣. الخصال: ص 617 ح 10 عن أبي بصير ومحمد بن مسلم عن الإمام الصادق عن آبائه، تحف العقول: ص 107، بحار الأنوار: ج 100 ص 21 ح 8.

٤. تاريخ البعقوبي: ج 2 ص 383.

٥. العقد الفريد: ج 3 ص 333، هذا الموقف من العدو كان يمثل السيرة العملية للإمام أمير المؤمنين في حروبه جميعها

(راجع: وقعة صفين: ص 204 والفتية للشمس: ص 231 ح 15 وتفسير القمي: ج 2 ص 321). كما فعل مع عدوه في

حرب الجمل (راجع: الكافي: ج 5 ص 33 ح 3 وح 5 و ص 12 ح 2 وتهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 155 ح 274

و ص 156 ح 276 و ص 137 ح 230 والخصال: ص 276 ح 18 والأماشي للمفيد: ص 59 ح 3 والجمل: ص 341

و 342 و 403 ودعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 394 وتحف العقول: ص 290 والمناقب لابن شهر آشوب: ج 1 ص 274 ح 274

He would also say: "This time [the afternoon] is closer to the evening, helps reduce murder, helps the warriors to disengage [from] chasing the enemy] and the defeated to be saved."¹

G. Helping the Feeble

519. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to his companions on the battlefield in Şiffin: "Whoever among you feels spiritedness of heart during the battle and finds any of his comrades feeling disheartened, he should defend him just as he would do for himself because of the superiority in courage he enjoys over him. If God wills, He will make the former also like him."²
520. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Whenever in a war, you find any of your brothers wounded, or someone afflicted with an injury, or someone who has been targeted by the enemy, strengthen him by your spirit [giving him courage]."³

H. Good Conduct towards the Remaining Enemy Troops.

521. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* – narrating from Ismā'īl ibn 'Ali: "The first person who taught how to fight with the people of *qibla* was 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.). He would not kill the captives, would not chase after the defeated and would not finish off the wounded."⁴
522. *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* – narrating from Abū al-Ḥasan – in the reports concerning the events of the battle of Şiffin: "'Ali's (a.s.) herald would come out every day and call out: 'O People! Do not finish off the wounded; do not chase after those who have turned their back to the battlefield; do not rob the killed; and those who have laid down their weapons should remain secure.'"⁵

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 28, ḥ. 5, *Ilal al-Sharā'i*, p. 603, p. 70.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 123, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 253, *al-Jamal*, p. 334.

3. *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 617, ḥ. 10, *Tuḥaf al-Uqūl*, p. 107, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 100, p. 21, ḥ. 8.

4. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 383.

5. *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 333, Imām 'Ali (a.s.) also observed the same position toward the enemies in other battles, cf., *Waq'at Şiffin*, p. 204, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 33, ḥ. 3, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 2, p. 168, ḥ. 2661. He had inspired this way of conduct towards the enemy from the *sīra* of the Prophet (s.a.w.) *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 12, ḥ. 2, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 155, ḥ. 274, *ibid*, p. 156, ḥ. 276.

523. الكافي عن عبد الله بن شريك عن أبيه: لما هُزم الناس يوم الجمل، قال أمير المؤمنين: لا تتبعوا مؤلّياً، ولا تُجيزوا على جريح، ومن أغلق بابهُ فهو آمن.

فلما كان يوم صفين، قتل المُقبِل والمُدبر، وأجاز على جريح. فقال أبا بن تغلب لعبد الله بن شريك: هذه سیرتان مختلفتان! فقال: إن أهل الجمل قتل طلحة والزبير، وإن معاوية كان قائماً بعينه وكان قائدهم.

524. السنن الكبرى عن أبي فاختة: إن علياً (رضي الله عنه) أتى بأسير يوم صفين، فقال: لا تقتلني صبراً. فقال عليّ (رضي الله عنه): لا أقتلك صبراً؛ إني أخاف الله رب العالمين. فخلّى سبيله، ثم قال: أفيك خيرٌ تُبايع؟

525. المصنف لابن أبي شيبه عن يزيد بن بلال: شهدت مع عليّ يوم صفين، فكان إذا أتى بالأسير قال: لئن أقتلك صبراً؛ إني أخاف الله رب العالمين. وكان يأخذ سلاحه، ويخلقه لا يقائنه، ويعطيه أربعة دراهم.

526. المصنف لابن أبي شيبه عن أبي جعفر: كان عليّ إذا أتى بأسير صفين أخذ دابته وسلاحه، وأخذ عليه أن [لا] يعود، وخلّى سبيله.

١. وشرح الأخبار: ج 1 ص 388 ح 330 و ص 395 ح 334 والاختصاص: ص 95 والمستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج 2 ص 168 ح 2661 وتذكرة الخواصر: ص 72 وكثر العيال: ج 4 ص 478 ح 11424 و ج 11 ص 335 ح 31675. وكذلك في حرب صفين (راجع: المستدرک علی الصحیحین: ج 2 ص 167 ح 2660 والسنن الكبرى: ج 8 ص 315 ح 16753 ونحف العفول: ص 480). وقد استلهم الإمام هذا الموقف حيال العدو من سيرة النبي ﷺ، (راجع: الكافي: ج 5 ص 12 ح 2 و 3 وتهذيب الأحكام: ج 6 ص 137 ح 230 و ص 155 ح 274 ونحف العفول: ص 290).

٢. أجزت على الجريح: لغة في أجهزت. وجهاز على الجريح وأجهز: أثبت قتله (تاج العروس: ج 8 ص 40 و 41).

٣. كذا في جميع المصادر، ولعل المراد: «قتل قاداتهم» أو نحو ذلك.

٤. الكافي: ج 5 ص 33 ح 5، رجال الكشي: ج 2 ص 482 ح 392، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 446 ح 657.

٥. السنن الكبرى: ج 8 ص 315 ح 16754، كثر العيال: ج 11 ص 348 ح 31706.

٦. المصنف لابن أبي شيبه: ج 8 ص 725 ح 25، كثر العيال: ج 11 ص 345 ح 31703.

٧. إضافة يقتضيها السياق أثبتناها من كثر العيال.

٨. المصنف لابن أبي شيبه: ج 8 ص 724 ح 23، كثر العيال: ج 11 ص 345 ح 31702.

523. *al-Kāfi* – narrating from ‘Abdullah ibn Sharik from his father: “When the people were defeated in the battle of Jamal, the Commander of the Faithful said: “Do not chase after those who have turned their back to the battlefield and do not finish off the wounded. The one who shuts the door of his house is secure.”

When the battle of Şiffin took place, he killed the warriors as well as those who had turned their back on the battlefield and allowed concerning the wounded. Abān ibn Taghlib said to ‘Abdullah ibn Sharik: “These two treatments are different.”

He [‘Ali] (a.s.) said: “In the battle of Jamal, [their commanders] Talha and Zubair were killed but [in Şiffin] Mu‘āwiya is still standing and commanding (they could be remobilized and return to war again).”¹

524. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* – narrating from Abū Fākhita: “A captive was brought to ‘Ali (a.s.) in the battle of Şiffin. He [the captive] said: “Do not torture me to death.”

‘Ali (a.s.) said: “I will not torture you to death. Indeed, I fear God the Lord of the worlds.” He let him go and then said to him: “Is there any good in you to swear allegiance?”²

525. *Al-Muşannif* – narrating from Yazīd ibn Bilāl: “I was in the company of ‘Ali (a.s.) in Şiffin and when a captive was brought to him, he would say: “I will not torture you to death. Indeed, I fear God the Lord of the worlds.” He would take his weapon and swear him not to fight against him [any longer]; and he would grant him four dirhams.”³

526. *Al-Muşannif* – narrating from Abū Ja‘far: “In the battle of Şiffin, whenever a captive was brought to ‘Ali (a.s.), he would take his mount and weapon and make him promise not to return. Then he would free him.”⁴

1. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 33, h. 5, *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, vol. 2, p. 482, h. 392, *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 33, p. 446, h. 657.

2. *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 315, h. 16754, *Kanz al-Ummāl*, vol. 11, p. 348, h. 31706.

3. *al-Muşannif fi al-Aḥādith al-Āthār*, vol. 8, p. 725, h. 25, *Kanz al-Ummāl*, vol. 11, p. 345, h. 31703.

4. *al-Muşannif fi al-Aḥādith al-Āthār*, vol. 8, p. 724, h. 23, *Kanz al-Ummāl*, vol. 11, p. 345, h. 31702.

527. الإمام علي عليه السلام - بَعْدَ التَّحْرِيزِ عَلَى الْقِتَالِ فِي صِفَيْنَ -: وَلَا تُمْتَلُوا بِقَتِيلٍ، وَإِذَا وَصَلْتُمْ إِلَى رِحَالِ الْقَوْمِ فَلَا تَهَيَّجُوا بَسْتَرًا، وَلَا تَدْخُلُوا دَارًا، وَلَا تَأْخُذُوا شَيْئًا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ إِلَّا مَا وَجَدْتُمْ فِي عَسْكَرِهِمْ، وَلَا تُهَيِّجُوا امْرَأَةً بِأَذَى وَإِنْ شَتَمْنَ أَعْرَاضَكُمْ وَسَبَبْنَ أَمْرَاءَكُمْ وَصُلَحَاءَكُمْ؛ فَإِنَّهُنَّ ضِعَافُ الْقُوَى وَالْأَنْفُسِ وَالْعُقُولِ، وَقَدْ كُنَّا نُؤَمِّرُ بِالْكَفِّ عَنْهُنَّ وَهُنَّ مُشْرِكَاتٌ! وَإِنْ كَانَ الرَّجُلُ لَيَتَنَاوَلُ الْمَرْأَةَ فَيُعَيِّرُ^١ بِهَا وَعَقِبَهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ^٢.

528. تاريخ الطبري - في ذِكْرِ وَقْعَةِ الْجَمَلِ -: خَرَجَ إِلَيْهِ الْأَحْنَفُ بْنُ قَيْسٍ وَبَنُو سَعْدٍ مُشْمَرِينَ قَدْ مَنَعُوا حُرْقُوصَ بْنَ زُهَيْرٍ - وَلَا يَزُونَ الْقِتَالَ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ - فَقَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ، إِنَّ قَوْمَنَا بِالْبَصْرَةِ يَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّكَ إِنْ ظَهَرْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ عَدَاً أَنَّكَ تَقْتُلُ رِجَالَهُمْ، وَتُسَبِّي نِسَاءَهُمْ! فَقَالَ: مَا مِثْلِي يُخَافُ هَذَا مِنْهُ، وَهَلْ يُجِلُّ هَذَا إِلَّا مَنْ تَوَلَّى وَكَفَّرَ! أَلَمْ تَسْمَعْ إِلَى قَوْلِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: ﴿لَسْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ بِمُضْطَرٍ﴾ * إِلَّا مَنْ تَوَلَّى وَكَفَّرَ^٣!

529. الكامل في التاريخ: كَانَ فِي الْحَوَارِجِ أَرْبَعُونَ رَجُلًا جَرَحَى، فَأَمَرَ عَلِيٌّ بِإِدْخَالِهِمْ الْكُوفَةَ وَمُدَاوَاتِهِمْ حَتَّى يَبْرُؤُوا^٤.

١. في المصدر: «رجال»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في فروع الكافي، الطبعة الحجرية: ج ١ ص 338.

٢. في المصدر: «فيعير»، والصحيح ما أثبتناه كما في فروع الكافي، الطبعة الحجرية: ج ١ ص 338.

٣. الكافي: ج 5 ص 39 ح 4 عن مالك بن أعين، ومفصلة صفين: ص 204 عن جندب وزاد فيه «إلا ياذني» بعد «داراً»، نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 14 وفيه من «ولا تهيجوا...»، بحار الأنوار: ج 32 ص 563 ح 1468 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 4 ص 25 وزاد فيه «إلا ياذن» بعد «داراً».

٤. الغاشية: 22 و 23.

٥. تاريخ الطبري: ج 4 ص 496، الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 334.

٦. الكامل في التاريخ: ج 2 ص 424، أنساب الأشراف: ج 3 ص 248.

527. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to the army before confronting the enemy at Šiffin: "Do not mutilate the dead; when you reach the encampment of the enemy do not plunder nor enter a house [without permission]. Do not seize anything from them except what you find in their military base. Do not inflict pain on women by persecuting them even though they may insult your honor and abuse your officers, because they are weak in potencies, mind, and intelligence. We have been ordered to restrain (our hands) from them even though they may be unbelievers, for if a man offends a woman he will be rebuked along with his descendants after him."¹
528. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* - in the report on the battle of Jamal: "Aḥnaf ibn Qays and the children of Sa'd rushed towards 'Ali (a.s.), while dissuading Harqūš ibn Zahīr, as they did not approve of fighting with 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.).

Then he [Harqūš] said: "O 'Ali! Our people in Baṣra presume that if you triumph over them tomorrow, you will kill their men and take their women captive!"

He said: "There should be no fear from someone like me. Will it be permissible in regard to anyone except he who turns back [from the religion of God] i.e. an apostate and disbelieves? Have you not heard the words of God Almighty saying: "*And [you are] not a taskmaster over them, except he who turns back and disbelieves.*"^{2 3}

529. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: "There were forty wounded among the Khārijītes and 'Ali (a.s.) then ordered them to be taken inside Kūfa and be treated until they recovered."⁴

1. *al-Kaṣfī*, vol. 5, p. 39, ḥ. 4, *Waq'at Šiffin*, p. 204, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 14, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 32, p. 563, ḥ. 468.

2. Qur'ān, 89:22-23.

3. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 496, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 334.

4. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 424, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, vol. 3, p. 248.

الفصل العاشر

السِّيَاسَةُ الدُّوْلِيَّةُ

1 / 10

مَا يُوجِبُ بَقَاءَ الدُّوْلِ

1-1 / 10

إِقَامَةُ الْعَدْلِ

530. الإمام عليّ عليه السلام - لَمَّا سُئِلَ عَنِ الْعَدْلِ وَالْجُودِ أَيُّهُمَا أَفْضَلُ؟ - : الْعَدْلُ يَضَعُ الْأُمُورَ مَوَاضِعَهَا، وَالْجُودُ يُخْرِجُهَا مِنْ جِهَتَيْهَا، وَالْعَدْلُ سَائِسٌ عَامٌّ، وَالْجُودُ عَارِضٌ خَاصٌّ، فَالْعَدْلُ أَشْرَفُهُمَا، وَأَفْضَلُهُمَا.^١

531. عنه عليه السلام : مَنْ عَمِلَ بِالْعَدْلِ حَصَّنَ اللَّهُ مُلْكَهُ.^٢

532. عنه عليه السلام : اْعْدِلْ تَمْلِكْ.^٣

533. عنه عليه السلام : اْعْدِلْ تَحْكَمْ.^٤

534. عنه عليه السلام : مَا حُصِّنَ الدُّوْلُ بِمِثْلِ الْعَدْلِ.^٥

١. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 437، روضة الواعظين: ص 511.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 8722.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 2253، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 82 ح 1981.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 2223، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 78 ح 1886.

٥. غرر الحكم: ح 9574، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 476 ح 8712.

Chapter Ten

State Policies

10/1

Causes of Continuance of Governments

10/1 – 1

Establishing Justice

530. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – when asked which of the two is better, justice or generosity: "Justice puts things in their places while generosity takes them out from their directions. Justice is the general guideline (that applies to the whole community and is essential for the survival of the society) while generosity is an exceptional case; consequently, justice is superior and more distinguished of the two."¹
531. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who acts with justice, God will safeguard his kingdom."²
532. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Observe justice and you will rule."³
533. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do justice to [be able to] govern."⁴
534. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Nothing has safeguarded states like justice."⁵

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 437, *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn*, p. 511.

2. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 8722.

3. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 2253, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 82, ḥ. 1981.

4. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 2223, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 78, ḥ. 1886.

5. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 9574, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 476, ḥ. 8712.

535. عنه عليه السلام: لَنْ تُحَصَّنَ الدُّوْلُ بِمِثْلِ اسْتِعْمَالِ الْعَدْلِ فِيهَا.^١
536. عنه عليه السلام: دَوْلَةُ الْعَادِلِ مِنَ الرَّاجِيَاتِ.^٢
537. عنه عليه السلام: اَعْدِلْ، تَدُمَ لَكَ الْقُدْرَةُ.^٣
538. عنه عليه السلام: ثَبَاتُ الْمُلْكِ فِي الْعَدْلِ.^٤
539. عنه عليه السلام: الطَّاعَةُ جُنَّةٌ الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَالْعَدْلُ جُنَّةُ الدُّوْلِ.^٥
540. عنه عليه السلام: ثَبَاتُ الدُّوْلِ بِإِقَامَةِ سُنَنِ الْعَدْلِ.^٦
541. عنه عليه السلام: فِي الْعَدْلِ الْإِقْتِدَاءُ بِسُنَّةِ اللَّهِ، وَثَبَاتُ الدُّوْلِ.^٧
542. عنه عليه السلام: مَنْ عَدَلَ فِي سُلْطَانِهِ اسْتَغْنَى عَنْ أَعْوَانِهِ.^٨
543. عنه عليه السلام: الْعَدْلُ قِوَامُ الرَّعِيَّةِ.^٩
544. عنه عليه السلام: الْعَدْلُ قِوَامُ الْبَرِيَّةِ.^{١٠}
545. عنه عليه السلام: حُسْنُ الْعَدْلِ نِظَامُ الْبَرِيَّةِ.^{١١}
546. عنه عليه السلام: الْعَدْلُ نِظَامُ الْإِمْرَةِ.^{١٢}

١. غرر الحكم: ح 7444، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 408 ح 6904.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 5110، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 249 ح 4668.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 2285، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 83 ح 1998.

٤. المواعظ العددية: ص 54.

٥. غرر الحكم: ح 1873.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 4715، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 217 ح 4263 وليس فيه «سنن».

٧. غرر الحكم: ح 6496، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 355 ح 6023 وفيه «في العدل طاعة الله، وثبات الدول».

٨. غرر الحكم: ح 8669، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 441 ح 7665 وفيه «إخوانه» بدل «أعوانه»، الصراط المستقيم: ج 1 ص 222 وفيه «عدوانه» بدل «أعوانه».

٩. غرر الحكم: ح 697، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 30 ح 466 و ص 42 ح 994.

١٠. غرر الحكم: ح 806.

١١. غرر الحكم: ح 4819.

١٢. غرر الحكم: ح 774، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 42 ح 982.

535. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Nothing safeguards states like practicing justice in them."¹
536. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "A just government is one of the necessities."²
537. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do justice so that your authority may continue."³
538. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The stability of sovereignty is [dependent upon] justice."⁴
539. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Obedience is a shield for the subjects and justice is a shield for the governments."⁵
540. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The stability of governments is [dependent upon] setting up just traditions."⁶
541. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "In justice lies the emulation of Divine traditions and [grounds for] stability of the Governments."⁷
542. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who does justice will be in no need of companions."⁸
543. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Justice is [the source of] stability for the ruled."⁹
544. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Justice is [the source of] stability for people."¹⁰
545. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The advantage of justice is its organizing of people."¹¹
546. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Justice is the system of ruling."¹²

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 7444, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 408, h. 6904.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 5110, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 249, h. 4668.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 2285, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 83, h. 1998.

4. *al-Mawā'iz al-'Adliya*, p. 54.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 1873.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4715, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 217, h. 4263.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 6496, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 355, h. 6023.

8. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8669, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 441, h. 7665, *al-Širāf al-Mustaqīm*, vol. 1, p. 222.

9. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 697, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 30, h. 466, *Ibid*, p. 42, h. 994.

10. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 806.

11. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4819.

12. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 774, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 42, h. 982.

547. عنه: جَعَلَ اللهُ شُبْحَانَهُ الْعَدْلَ قِوَاماً لِلْأَنَامِ، وَتَنْزِيهاً مِنَ الْمَظَالِمِ وَالْآثَامِ، وَتَسْنِيَةً لِلْإِسْلَامِ.^١

548. عنه: إِذَا أَدَّتِ الرَّعِيَّةُ إِلَى الْوَالِي حَقَّهُ، وَأَدَّى الْوَالِي إِلَيْهَا حَقَّهَا عَزَّ الْحَقُّ بَيْنَهُمْ، وَقَامَتْ مَنَاجِجُ الدِّينِ، وَاعْتَدَلَتْ مَعَالِمُ الْعَدْلِ، وَجَرَّتْ عَلَى أَذْلَالِهَا^٢ السُّنَنُ، فَصَلَحَ بِذَلِكَ الزَّمَانُ، وَطُمِعَ فِي بَقَاءِ الدَّوْلَةِ، وَنَشِئَتْ مَطَامِعُ الْأَعْدَاءِ.^٣

549. عنه: الْعَدْلُ أَقْوَى أَسَاسٍ.^٤

550. عنه: الْعَالَمُ حَدِيقَةٌ؛ سَيَاحُهَا الشَّرِيعَةُ، وَالشَّرِيعَةُ سُلْطَانٌ نَحْبُ لَهُ الطَّاعَةُ، وَالطَّاعَةُ سِيَاسَةٌ يَقُومُ بِهَا الْمَلِكُ، وَالْمَلِكُ رَاعٍ يَعْضُدُهُ الْجَيْشُ، وَالْجَيْشُ أَعْوَانٌ يَكْفُلُهُمُ الْمَالُ، وَالْمَالُ رِزْقٌ يَجْمَعُهُ الرَّعِيَّةُ، وَالرَّعِيَّةُ سَوَادٌ يَسْتَعْبِدُهُمُ الْعَدْلُ، وَالْعَدْلُ أَسَاسٌ بِهِ قِوَامُ الْعَالَمِ.^٥

551. عنه: الْعَدْلُ أَفْضَلُ السِّيَاسَتَيْنِ.^٦

552. عنه: كَفَى بِالْعَدْلِ سَائِساً.^٧

553. عنه: مِلَاكُ السِّيَاسَةِ الْعَدْلُ.^٨

554. عنه: خَيْرُ السِّيَاسَاتِ الْعَدْلُ.^٩

١. غرر الحكم: ح 4789، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 223 ح 4355.

٢. أي وجوها وطرقها، وهو جمع ذَلَّ (النهاية: ج 2 ص 166).

٣. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 216 وراجع: الكافي: ج 8 ص 352 ح 550.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 863.

٥. بحار الأنوار: ج 78 ص 83 ح 87.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 1656.

٧. غرر الحكم: ح 7031، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 386 ح 6537.

٨. غرر الحكم: ح 9714، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 486 ح 8960.

٩. غرر الحكم: ح 4948، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 237 ح 4505.

547. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "God the Glorified made justice the stability of the subjects, purity from tyranny and sins, and the cause of easy execution of [the rules of] Islam."¹
548. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "When the subjects fulfill the rights of the ruler and the ruler fulfils their rights, then the right will attain the position of honor among them, the ways of religion become established, signs of justice become fixed and the *sunna* will be practiced. In the light of this, time [life] will improve, the continuity of government will be expected and the coveted objects of the enemies will be frustrated."²
549. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Justice is the strongest foundation."³
550. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The world is like a garden whose wayfarer is the *sharī'a* (religious law); the *sharī'a* is a king whose obedience is obligatory; obedience is a way by which the ruler will last; the ruler is a shepherd whom the troops help; the troops are assistants who are dependent on wealth; the wealth is [a means of] sustenance that the people gather; people are masses who are made obedient and submissive by justice; and justice is a foundation on which the world is based."⁴
551. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Justice is the best of two policies."⁵
552. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Justice is the only sufficient policy."⁶
553. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Politics can be measured by Justice only."⁷
554. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The best of politics is [doing] justice."⁸

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4789, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 223, h. 4355.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*: Sermon 216. Also cf., *al-Kāfi*: vol. 8, p. 352, h. 550.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 863.

4. *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 78, p. 83, h. 87.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 1656.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 7031, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 386, h. 6537.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9714, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 486, h. 8960.

8. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4948, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 237, h. 4505.

555. عنه: لا رياسة كالعَدْل في السِّيَاسَةِ.^١
556. عنه: جَمَالُ السِّيَاسَةِ العَدْلُ فِي الإِمْرَةِ، وَالْعَفْوُ مَعَ الْقُدْرَةِ.^٢
557. عنه: الرِّعْيَةُ لَا يُصْلِحُهَا إِلَّا العَدْلُ.^٣
558. عنه: إَجْعَلِ الدِّينَ كَهَفَاكَ، وَالْعَدْلَ سَيْفَكَ؛ تَنْجُ مِنْ كُلِّ سُوءٍ، وَتَنْظُرَ عَلَى كُلِّ عَدُوٍّ.^٤
559. عنه: إِذَا بُنِيَ الْمُلْكُ عَلَى قَوَاعِدِ العَدْلِ، وَدُعِيَ بِدَعَائِمِ العَقْلِ نَصَرَ اللَّهُ مَوَالِيَهُ، وَخَذَلَ مُعَادِيَهُ.^٥
560. عنه: قُلُوبُ الرِّعْيَةِ خَزَائِنُ رَاعِيهَا، فَمَا أَوْدَعَهَا مِنْ عَدْلٍ أَوْ جَوْرٍ وَجَدَهُ.^٦
561. عنه: مَا عُمِرَتِ الْبُلْدَانُ بِمِثْلِ العَدْلِ.^٧
562. عنه: عَدْلُ السُّلْطَانِ خَيْرٌ مِنْ خَصْبِ الزَّمَانِ.^٨
563. عنه: بِالْعَدْلِ تَنْضَاعِفُ الْبَرَكَاتُ.^٩
564. عنه: مَنْ عَدَلَ تَمَكَّنَ.^{١٠}

١. غرر الحكم: ح 10895، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 544 ح 10115.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 4792، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 223 ح 4356.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 1342 و ح 4215 وفيه «بالعدل تصلح الرعية»، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 303 ح 5396 وفيه «صلاح الرعية العدل».

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 2433، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 77 ح 1853 وفيه «تظهر» بدل «تظفر».

٥. غرر الحكم: ح 4118، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 132 ح 2971.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 6825، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 370 ح 6243 وفيه «مليكها» بدل «راعيها».

٧. غرر الحكم: ح 9543، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 481 ح 8864.

٨. مطالب السؤول: ص 56.

٩. غرر الحكم: ح 4211، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 188 ح 3858.

١٠. غرر الحكم: ح 7711، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 428 ح 7283.

555. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "No mastery is like justice in politics."¹
556. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The beauty of politics is [doing] justice in ruling and forgiveness at the time of [enjoying] power."²
557. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The subjects are not reformed except through justice."³
558. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Make religion your sanctuary and justice your sword so as to be safeguarded from any evil and gain victory over every enemy."⁴
559. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "If the government is based on justice and supported by wisdom, God will make His friends victorious and vilify His enemies."⁵
560. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The hearts of the ruled are treasures of the rulers. Whatever justice or injustice he stores in them, he will find [the same]."⁶
561. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Cities will not flourish except through justice."⁷
562. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Justice of the king is better than the abundance and fertility of the times and life."⁸
563. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "In the shadow of justice, bounties multiply."⁹
564. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who does justice will gain power."¹⁰

1. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 10895, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 544, h. 10115.

2. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 4792, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 223, h. 4356.

3. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 1342 & 4215, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 303, h. 5396.

4. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 2433, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 77, h. 1853.

5. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 4118, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 132, h. 2971.

6. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 6825, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 370, h. 6243.

7. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 9543, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 481, h. 8864.

8. *Maṭālib al-Su'āl*, p. 56.

9. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 4211, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 188, h. 3858.

10. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 7711, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 428, h. 7283.

565. عنه: مَنْ عَدَلَ فِي الْبِلَادِ نَشَرَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ الرَّحْمَةَ.^١
566. عنه: - فِي الْحُكْمِ الْمُنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: مَنْ عَمِلَ بِالْعَدْلِ فَيَمُنْ دُونَهُ، رُزِقَ الْعَدْلَ يَمُنْ فَوْقَهُ.^٢
567. عنه: لَيْسَ ثَوَابٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ أَعْظَمَ مِنْ ثَوَابِ السُّلْطَانِ الْعَادِلِ، وَالرَّجُلِ الْمُحْسِنِ.^٣
568. عنه: شَيْئَانِ لَا يُوَرِّنُ ثَوَابُهُمَا: الْعَفْوُ وَالْعَدْلُ.^٤
569. عنه: سِيَاسَةُ الْعَدْلِ ثَلَاثٌ: لِيْنٌ فِي حَزْمٍ، وَاسْتِقْصَاءٌ فِي عَدْلٍ، وَإِفْضَالٌ فِي قَصْدٍ.^٥
570. عنه: اسْتَعْنِ عَلَى الْعَدْلِ بِحُسْنِ النِّيَّةِ فِي الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَقِلَّةِ الطَّمَعِ، وَكَثْرَةِ الْوَرَعِ.^٦
- راجع: موسوعة الإمام علي بن أبي طالب: ص 481 (إقامة العدل).

2-1 / 10

حُسْنُ التَّدْبِيرِ

571. الإمام علي: الْمُلْكُ سِيَاسَةٌ.^٧
572. عنه: مَنْ حَسُنَتْ سِيَاسَتُهُ دَامَتْ رِيَاسَتُهُ.^٨
573. عنه: حُسْنُ السِّيَاسَةِ يَسْتَدِيمُ الرِّيَاسَةَ.^٩
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١. غرر الحكم: ح 8638، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 460 ح 8361.
٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 308 ح 535.
٣. غرر الحكم: ح 7526، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 410 ح 6976.
٤. غرر الحكم: ح 5769، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 297 ح 5298.
٥. غرر الحكم: ح 5592، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 284 ح 5141 وفيه «سياسة الدين ثلاث: رقة في حزم...».
٦. غرر الحكم: ح 2408، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 77 ح 1860.
٧. غرر الحكم: ح 17، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 18 ح 45.
٨. غرر الحكم: ح 8438، نظم درر السمطين: ص 160 وفيه «دانت» بدل «دامت».
٩. غرر الحكم: ح 4820، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 229 ح 4409.

565. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who brings justice to cities, God will bestow His mercy upon him."¹
566. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – among the aphorisms attributed to him: "Those who treat the subordinate justly, will be treated justly by the superior."²
567. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "No reward is greater with God than the reward for a just ruler and a benevolent person."³
568. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "There are two things whose reward cannot be measured: forgiveness and justice."⁴
569. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The policy of justice lies in three: leniency along with prudence, full enforcement of justice and generosity along with moderation."⁵
570. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "In establishing justice, seek assistance from having goodwill towards people, little expectation and plenty of piety."⁶

See Chapter Six, 6/1 (Establishing Justice).

10/1 – 2

Good Management

571. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Ruling is nothing but policies."⁷
572. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He whose administration is good, his supremacy will last."⁸
573. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Good politics immortalizes supremacy."⁹

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8638, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 460, h. 8361.

2. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*: 20/308/535.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 7526, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 410, h. 6976.

4. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 5769, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 297, h. 5298.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 5592, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 284, h. 5141.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 2408, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 77, h. 1860.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 17, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 18, h. 45.

8. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8438, *Nazm Durar al-Simṭayn*, p. 160.

9. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4820, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 229, h. 4409.

574. عنه: حُسْنُ السِّيَاسَةِ قِوَامُ الرِّعْيَةِ.^١
 575. عنه: مَنْ حَسُنَتْ سِيَاسَتُهُ وَجَبَتْ طَاعَتُهُ.^٢
 576. عنه: بِحُسْنِ السِّيَاسَةِ يَكُونُ الْأَدَبُ الصَّالِحُ.^٣

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حُسْنُ السِّيَرَةِ

577. الإمام علي: حُسْنُ السِّيَرَةِ جَمَالُ الْقُدْرَةِ، وَحِصْنُ الْإِمْرَةِ.^٤
 578. عنه: مَنْ كَثُرَ جَمِيلُهُ أَجْمَعَ النَّاسُ عَلَى تَفْضِيلِهِ.^٥
 579. عنه: مَنْ عَامَلَ النَّاسَ بِالْجَمِيلِ كَافَوْهُ بِهِ.^٦

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الْبِقَظَةُ لِحِرَاسَةِ الْأُمُورِ

580. الإمام علي: مِنْ أَمَارَاتِ الدَّوْلَةِ الْبِقَظَةُ لِحِرَاسَةِ الْأُمُورِ.^٧
 581. عنه: مِنَ النَّبْلِ أَنْ تَبْقِظَ لِإِيْجَابِ حَقِّ الرِّعْيَةِ إِلَيْكَ، وَتَتَغَابَى عَنِ الْجِنَايَةِ عَلَيْكَ.^٨
 582. عنه: مِنْ دَلَائِلِ الدَّوْلَةِ قِلَّةُ الْغَفْلَةِ.^٩

١. غرر الحكم: ج 4818، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 227 ح 4369.
 ٢. غرر الحكم: ج 8025، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 431 ح 7403.
 ٣. الكافي: ج 1 ص 28 ح 34 عن يحيى بن عمران عن الإمام الصادق.
 ٤. غرر الحكم: ج 4847.
 ٥. غرر الحكم: ج 8407، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 455 ح 8218.
 ٦. غرر الحكم: ج 8716، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 440 ح 7633.
 ٧. غرر الحكم: ج 9360، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 469 ح 8558 وفيه «البقظة» بدل «البقطة».
 ٨. غرر الحكم: ج 9407، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 470 ح 8597 وفيه «عليك» بدل «إليك».
 ٩. غرر الحكم: ج 9410، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 473 ح 8668 وفيه «من دلائل إقبال الدولة...».

574. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Good politics is [the source of] steadfastness of the subjects."¹
575. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who follows good politics, obedience to him will be made incumbent."²
576. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Through good politics there will be righteous manners."³

10/1 – 3

Good Behavior

577. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Good behavior is the beauty of power and a haven for governing."⁴
578. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He whose good behavior increases, people agree on his superiority."⁵
579. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who treats people nicely will be treated likewise."⁶

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Vigilance in Taking Care of Affairs

580. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Vigilance in taking care of the affairs is a sign of [the permanency of] sovereignty."⁷
581. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "It is sagacious to be vigilant in securing the rights of the subjects and to feign negligence of their offences against you."⁸
582. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Lack of heedlessness leads to the [permanency of the] states."⁹

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4818, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 227, h. 4369.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8025, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 431, h. 7403.

3. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 28, h. 34.

4. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4847.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8407, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 455, h. 8218.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8716, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 440, h. 7633.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9360, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 469, h. 8558.

8. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9407, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 470, h. 8597.

9. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9410, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 473, h. 8668.

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مَا يُوجِبُ زَوَالِ الدُّلِ

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إِحْتِقَابُ الْمَظَالِمِ

583. الإمام علي عليه السلام: شَرُّ الْأُمَرَاءِ مَنْ ظَلَمَ رَعِيَّتَهُ.^١
584. عنه عليه السلام: مَنْ ظَلَمَ رَعِيَّتَهُ نَصَرَ أَضْدَادَهُ.^٢
585. عنه عليه السلام: الظُّلْمُ بَوَارُ الرَّعِيَّةِ.^٣
586. عنه عليه السلام: الظُّلْمُ يُدَمِّرُ الدِّيَارَ.^٤
587. عنه عليه السلام: مَنْ عَامَلَ رَعِيَّتَهُ بِالظُّلْمِ أزالَ اللهُ مُلْكَهُ، وَعَجَّلَ بَوَارَهُ وَهُلِكَ.^٥
588. عنه عليه السلام: - فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: أَنْصِفِ اللَّهَ وَأَنْصِفِ النَّاسَ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ، وَمِنْ خَاصَّةِ أَهْلِكَ، وَمَنْ لَكَ فِيهِ هَوًى مِنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ؛ فَإِنَّكَ إِلَّا تَفْعَلَ تَظْلِمُ، وَمَنْ ظَلَمَ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ كَانَ اللَّهُ خَصَمَهُ دُونَ عِبَادِهِ، وَمَنْ خَاصَمَهُ اللَّهُ أَدْحَضَ حُجَّتَهُ وَكَانَ لِلَّهِ حَرْبًا حَتَّى يَنْزِعَ أَوْ يَتَوَبَّ، وَلَيْسَ شَيْءٌ أَدْعَى إِلَى تَغْيِيرِ نِعْمَةِ اللَّهِ وَتَعْجِيلِ نِقْمَتِهِ مِنْ إِقَامَةِ عَلَى ظُلْمٍ؛ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ دَعْوَةَ الْمُضْطَهَّدِينَ، وَهُوَ لِلظَّالِمِينَ بِالْمِرْصَادِ.^٦

١. غرر الحكم: ح 5717، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 295 ح 5283.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 7815، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 429 ح 7299.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 807، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 42 ح 995.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 1068، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 43 ح 1047.

٥. غرر الحكم: ح 8740.

٦. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 127 وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 355.

10/2

Causes of the Decline of States

10/2 – 1

Tyranny

583. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The worst ruler is he who oppresses his subjects."¹
584. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who does injustice to his subjects assists his adversaries."²
585. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Injustice ruins the subjects."³
586. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Injustice devastates the cities."⁴
587. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who treats his subjects unjustly, God would destroy his sovereignty and expedite his overthrow and destruction."⁵
588. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Make sure that you, the members of your family and those whom you favor from amongst your subjects observe justice as regard to Allah and the people. For indeed if you do not do so, you have wronged. And as for he who wrongs the servants of God, God is his adversary instead of His servants. God renders null and void the argument of whosoever contends with Him. Such a person will be God's enemy until he desists or repents. Nothing is more conducive to the removal of God's blessing and the hastening of His vengeance than to continue in wrongdoing, for God listens to the call of the oppressed and He is always on the watch against the wrongdoers."⁶

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 5717, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 295, h. 5283.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 7815, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 429, h. 7299.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 807, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 42, h. 995.

4. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 1068, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 43, h. 1047.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8740.

6. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*: 127. Also cf., *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p.355.

589. عنه: - لِيَزِيدَ بِنِ أَبِيهِ -: اسْتَعْمِلِ الْعَدْلَ، وَاحْذَرِ الْعَسْفَ وَالْحَيْفَ؛ فَإِنَّ الْعَسْفَ يَعُودُ بِالْجُلَاءِ، وَالْحَيْفَ يَدْعُو إِلَى السَّيْفِ.^١
590. عنه: ما مِنْ سُلْطَانٍ آتَاهُ اللَّهُ قُوَّةً وَنِعْمَةً، فَاسْتَعَانَ بِهَا عَلَى ظُلْمِ عِبَادِهِ، إِلَّا كَانَ حَقًّا عَلَى اللَّهِ أَنْ يَنْزِعَهَا مِنْهُ، أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى قَوْلِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى: ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّى يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ﴾^٢؟
591. عنه: فِي احْتِقَابِ الْمَظَالِمِ زَوَالُ الْقُدْرَةِ.^٣
592. عنه: مَنْ جَارَتْ وَلَايَتُهُ زَالَتْ دَوْلَتُهُ.^٤
593. عنه: يَتَسَّ السِّيَاسَةُ الْجَوْرُ.^٥
594. عنه: مَنْ جَارَ مُلْكُهُ تَمَّتْ النَّاسُ هُلَاكُهُ.^٦
595. عنه: ظَلُمَ الظَّالِمُ يَقُودُهُ إِلَى الْهَلَاكِ.^٧
596. عنه: مَنْ ظَلَمَ دُمِّرَ عَلَيْهِ ظُلْمُهُ.^٨
597. عنه: الْجَوْرُ أَحَدُ الْمُدْمِرِينَ.^٩

١. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 476 وراجع: روضة الواعظين: ص 511.

٢. الرعد: 11.

٣. إرشاد القلوب: ص 68.

٤. احتقبت فلان الإثم: كآته جمعه واحتقبه من خلفه، واحتقبه بمعنى احتمله (لسان العرب: ج 1 ص 325 و 326).

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 6512، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 355 ح 6024.

٦. غرر الحكم: ج 8365.

٧. غرر الحكم: ج 4404، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 193 ح 3970.

٨. غرر الحكم: ج 8742، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 439 ح 7606 وفيه «في ملكه» بدل «ملكه».

٩. المواعظ العددية: ص 59.

١٠. غرر الحكم: ج 7836، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 452 ح 8107.

١١. غرر الحكم: ج 1657.

589. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – to Ziyad ibn Abīh: "Act on justice and keep aloof from violence and injustice because violence will lead them to forsake their abodes while injustice will prompt them to take up arms."¹
590. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Any king to whom God bestows power and blessing and he employs them in order to oppress people, it is incumbent on God to take them back from him. Do you not see the words of God: *"Indeed God does not change a people's lot, unless they change what is in their souls."*^{2 3}
591. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "In continuous wrongdoings lies destruction of power."⁴
592. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who wrongs in his rule, his state will decline."⁵
593. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Wrongdoing is the worst of policies."⁶
594. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who wrongs in his statecraft, people will wish for his ruining."⁷
595. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The oppression of an oppressor would lead to his destruction."⁸
596. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who oppresses will be destroyed by his oppression."⁹
597. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Injustice is one of the two destroyers."¹⁰

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 476. Also cf., *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn*, p. 511.

2. *Qur'an*, 13:11.

3. *Irshād al-Qulūb*, p. 68.

4. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 6512, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 355, ḥ. 6024.

5. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 8365.

6. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 4404, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 193, ḥ. 3970.

7. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 8742, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 439, ḥ. 7606.

8. *al-Mawā'iz al-'Adadiyya*, p. 59.

9. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 7836, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 452, ḥ. 8107.

10. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 1657.

598. عنه: «الظُّلُمُ يُزِيلُ الْقَدَمَ، وَيَسْلِبُ النِّعَمَ، وَيُهْلِكُ الْأُمَّمَ»^١.

599. عنه: «الْقُدْرَةُ يُزِيلُهَا الْعُدْوَانُ»^٢.

600. عنه: «مَنْ لَمْ يُنْصِفِ الْمَظْلُومَ مِنَ الظَّالِمِ سَلَبَهُ اللَّهُ قُدْرَتَهُ»^٣.

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سَفْكُ الدِّمَاءِ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ

601. الإمام علي: «- فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: إِيَّاكَ وَالْدِّمَاءَ وَسَفْكُهَا بِغَيْرِ جِلْهَا؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ شَيْءٌ أَدْنَى لِنِقْمَةٍ، وَلَا أَعْظَمَ لِتَبِعَةٍ، وَلَا أُحْرَى بِزَوَالِ نِعْمَةٍ، وَانْقِطَاعِ مُدَّةٍ مِنْ سَفْكِ الدِّمَاءِ بِغَيْرِ حَقِّهَا. وَاللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ مُبْتَدِئُ بِالْحُكْمِ بَيْنَ الْعِبَادِ فِيمَا تَسَافَكُوا مِنْ الدِّمَاءِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ».

فَلَا تُقَوِّينَ سُلْطَانَكَ بِسَفْكِ دَمٍ حَرَامٍ؛ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ مِمَّا يُضْعِفُهُ وَيُوْهِئُهُ، بَلْ يُزِيلُهُ وَيَنْقُلُهُ. وَلَا عُذْرَ لَكَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَلَا عِنْدِي فِي قَتْلِ الْعَمِيدِ؛ لِأَنَّ فِيهِ قَوَدَ الْبَدَنِ. وَإِنْ ابْتُلِيتَ بِخَطَا، وَأَفْرَطَ عَلَيْكَ سَوْطُكَ أَوْ سَيْفُكَ أَوْ يَدُكَ بِالْعُقُوبَةِ؛ فَإِنَّ فِي الْوَكْرَةِ^٤ فَمَا فَوْقَهَا مَقْتَلَةً، فَلَا تَطْمَحَنَّ بِكَ نَخْوَةُ سُلْطَانِكَ عَنْ أَنْ تُؤَدِّيَ إِلَى أَوْلِيَاءِ الْمَقْتُولِ حَقَّهُمْ^٥.

602. عنه: «بَقِيَّةُ السَّيْفِ أَبْقَى عِدَدًا، وَأَكْثَرُ وَلَدًا»^٦.

١. غرر الحكم: ح 1734.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 865، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 51 ح 1319.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 8966، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 428 ح 7261.

٤. الوكر: الضرب بجُمُعِ الكف (النهاية: ج 5 ص 219).

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 146 نحوه.

٦. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 84، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 196 ح 4004 وفيه «أُنْمِي» بدل «أَبْقِي».

598. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Oppression causes the steps to stumble, brings about an end to blessings and destroys nations."¹
599. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Tyranny ruins power."²
600. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who does not secure the rights of an oppressed from the oppressor, God will dispossess his power."³

10/2 – 2

Unlawful Bloodshed

601. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Beware of blood and spilling it unlawfully, for nothing is more deserving of vengeance, greater in its consequence or more likely to (bring about) a cessation of blessing and the cutting off of (one's appointed) term than shedding blood unjustly. God, the Glorified, on the Day of Resurrection will begin judgment among His servants over the blood they have shed.

So never strengthen your rule by shedding unlawful blood, for that is among the factors which weaken and enfeeble it, nay, and rather overthrow and transfer it. You have no excuse before God and before me for deliberate killing, for in that there is bodily [talion] retaliation. If you are stricken by error and your whip, your sword or your hand should exceed their bounds in punishment – harmed anyone by mistake – never let the arrogance of your authority prevent you from paying the relatives of the killed their rightfully due."⁴

602. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The survivors of the sword⁵ are larger in number and more in descendants."⁶

1. Ibid, h. 1734.

2. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 865, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 51, h. 1319.

3. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 8966, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 428, h. 7261.

4. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 53, *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 146.

5. God will not let their blood be wasted and will increase the number of those who remain after them..

6. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Aphorism 84, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 196, h. 4004.

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سوء التدبير

603. الإمام علي عليه السلام: سوء التدبير سبب التدمير.^١
604. عنه عليه السلام: من ساء تدبيره تعجل تدميره.^٢
605. عنه عليه السلام: يستدل على الإدبار بأربع: سوء التدبير، وقبح التبذير، وقلة الاعتبار، وكثرة الاعتذار.^٣
606. عنه عليه السلام: من قصر عن السياسة صغر عن الرئاسة.^٤
607. عنه عليه السلام: آفة الزعماء ضعف السياسة.^٥
608. عنه عليه السلام: من تأخر تدبيره تقدم تدميره.^٦
609. عنه عليه السلام: من ساء تدبيره كان هلاكه في تدبيره.^٧
610. عنه عليه السلام: في الحكم النسوبة إليه: إذا انقضى ملك قوم خيبروا في آرائهم.^٨

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الاستيثار

611. الإمام علي عليه السلام: في الحكم النسوبة إليه: الاستيثار يوجب الحسد، والحسد يوجب البغضة، والبغضة توجب الاختلاف، والاختلاف يوجب الفرقة، والفرقة توجب

١. غرر الحكم: ج 3571، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 281 ح 5068.

٢. غرر الحكم: ج 7906.

٣. غرر الحكم: ج 10958، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 552 ح 10176 وفيه «الاغترار» بدل «الاعتذار».

٤. غرر الحكم: ج 8536، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 450 ح 8011.

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 3931، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 181 ح 3703.

٦. غرر الحكم: ج 8045 و 8346 وفيه «من ساء تدبيره تعجل تدميره»، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 432 ح 7421.

٧. غرر الحكم: ج 8768، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 438 ح 7602.

٨. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 303 ح 465.

10/2 – 3

Mismanagement

603. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Mismanagement causes destruction."¹
604. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who mismanages will hasten his destruction."²
605. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "There are four reasons [for the state] to fall off: mismanagement; the evil of extravagance; failing to take lessons; resorting to too many apologies and excuses."³
606. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who fails in politics will be belittled in leadership."⁴
607. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Political feebleness is the blight of the leaders."⁵
608. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He whose management falls behind [the community] his destruction comes forward."⁶
609. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who mismanages, his destruction will lie in his mismanagement."⁷
610. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "When the rule of a group is expired, they become frustrated in their opinions."⁸

10/2 – 4

Arrogance

611. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "Arrogance and possessiveness arouses envy, envy brings about enmity, enmity causes disunity, disunity causes separation,

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 5571, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 281, h. 5068.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 7906.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 10958, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 552, h. 10176.

4. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8536, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 450, h. 8011.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 3931, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 181, h. 3703.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8045 & 8346, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 432, h. 7421.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8768, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 438, h. 7602.

8. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 303, h. 465.

الضَّعْفُ، وَالضَّعْفُ يُوجِبُ الدُّلَّ، وَالذُّلُّ يُوجِبُ زَوَالَ الدَّوْلَةِ وَذَهَابَ النِّعْمَةِ.^١

612. عنه: - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ: - ثُمَّ إِنَّ لِلْوَالِي خَاصَّةً وَبِطَانَةً فِيهِمْ اسْتِثْنَاءً وَتَطَاوُلًا، وَقِلَّةً إِنْصَافٍ فِي مُعَامَلَةٍ؛ فَاحْسِمِ مَادَّةَ أَوْلِيَّتِكَ بِقَطْعِ أَسْبَابِ تِلْكَ الْأَحْوَالِ. وَلَا تُقْطِعَنَّ لِأَحَدٍ مِنْ حَاشِيَّتِكَ وَحَامَتِكَ قَطِيعَةً. وَلَا يَطْمَعَنَّ مِنْكَ فِي اعْتِقَادِ عُقْدَةٍ^٢ تُضَرُّ بِمَنْ يَلِيهَا مِنَ النَّاسِ فِي شَرِّهِ، أَوْ عَمَلٍ مُشْتَرِكٍ يَحْمِلُونَ مَؤُونَتَهُ عَلَى غَيْرِهِمْ، فَيَكُونَ مَهْنَةً ذَلِكَ لَهُمْ دُونَكَ، وَعَيْبٌ عَلَيْكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ. وَالزِّمِ الْحَقَّ مَنْ لَزِمَهُ مِنَ الْقَرِيبِ وَالْبَعِيدِ، وَكُنْ فِي ذَلِكَ صَابِرًا مُتَحَسِّبًا، وَاقِعًا ذَلِكَ مِنْ قَرَانِكَ وَخَاصَّتِكَ حَيْثُ وَقَعَ. وَابْتَغِ عَاقِبَتَهُ بِمَا يَثْقُلُ عَلَيْكَ مِنْهُ؛ فَإِنَّ مَغَبَّةَ ذَلِكَ مَحْمُودَةٌ.^٣

613. عنه: - في عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ: - إِيَّاكَ وَالْإِسْتِثْنَاءَ بِمَا النَّاسُ فِيهِ أَسْوَةٌ، وَالتَّغَابِي عَمَّا تُعْنَى بِهِ بِمَا قَدْ وَضَحَ لِلْعُيُونِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ مَأْخُوذٌ مِنْكَ لِغَيْرِكَ. وَعَمَّا قَلِيلٍ تَنْكَشِفُ عَنْكَ أَعْطِيَةُ الْأُمُورِ، وَيُنْتَصَفُ مِنْكَ لِلْمَظْلُومِ.^٤

614. عنه: - في عُثْمَانَ: - أَنَا جَامِعٌ لَكُمْ أَمْرُهُ: إِسْتَأْثَرُ فَأَسَاءَ الْأَثَرَةَ^٥، وَجَزَعْتُمْ فَأَسَأْتُمْ الْجَزَعَ، وَلِلَّهِ حُكْمٌ وَاقِعٌ فِي الْمُسْتَأْثَرِ وَالْجَزَاعِ.^٦

١. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 345 ح 961.

٢. حاققة الإنسان: خاصته ومن يقرب منه (النهاية: ج 1 ص 446).

٣. العقدة: الضيقة، واعتقد ضيقةً وما لا أي افتتاحها (لسان العرب: ج 3 ص 299).

٤. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 144 نحوه.

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 147 نحوه، صيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 100 ح 2296 وفيه إلى «لغيرك».

٦. الأثر: الاسم من أثر إذا أعطى، والاستثناء: الانفراد بالشيء (النهاية: ج 1 ص 22).

٧. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 30.

separation causes feebleness, feebleness causes degradation, which [in turn] ruins the governments and destroys bounties."¹

612. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then surely the ruler has favorites and intimates among whom there is a certain arrogance, transgression and lack of equity in transactions. Remove the causes of these (qualities) by cutting off their roots. Bestow no fiefs upon any of your entourage or relatives, nor let them covet from you the acquisition of an estate which would bring loss to the people bordering it in (terms of) water supply or a common undertaking, the burden of which would be imposed upon them. Its benefit would be for those (who acquired the fiefs) and not for you and its disgrace would be upon you in this world and the next.

Impose the right (*al-ḥaqq*) upon whomsoever it is due, whether he be related to you or not. Be patient in this and look to your (ultimate) account; however this may affect your relatives and favorites. Look for the ultimate end in that (i.e., imposing the right) which weighs heavily against you, for its outcome will be praiseworthy."²

613. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Beware of arrogating for yourself that in which men are equal; and of negligence in that which is of concern after it has become manifest to the eyes (of men), for these things will be held against you for (the benefit of) others; and (beware of negligence) of the fact that little remains until the coverings of affairs are lifted from you and justice is demanded from you for the wrong."³
614. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – regarding 'Uthmān: "I am putting before you his case. He ruled with arrogation and did it badly. You protested against it and committed excess therein. With God lies the real verdict upon the arrogant and the impatient."⁴

1. Ibid, vol. 20 p. 345, ḥ. 961.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 144.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 147, '*Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 100, ḥ. 2296.

4. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 30.

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تَضْيِيعُ الْأُصُولِ

615. الإمام علي عليه السلام: يُسْتَدَلُّ عَلَى إِدْبَارِ الدُّوَلِ بِأَرْبَعٍ: تَضْيِيعِ الْأُصُولِ، وَالنَّمْسُكِ

بِالْفُرُوعِ^١، وَتَقْدِيمِ الْأَرَاذِلِ، وَتَأْخِيرِ الْأَفَاضِلِ.^٢

616. عنه عليه السلام: تَوَلَّى الْأَرَاذِلُ وَالْأَحْدَاثُ الدُّوَلُ دَلِيلُ انْجِلَالِهَا وَإِدْبَارِهَا.^٣

617. عنه عليه السلام: زَوَالَ الدُّوَلِ بِاصْطِنَاعِ السُّفَلِ.^٤

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إِشَادَاتٌ فِي الْعَلَقَاتِ الْإِجْتِمَاعِيَّةِ وَالسِّيَاسِيَّةِ

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قِيَاسُ النَّاسِ بِالنَّفْسِ

618. الإمام علي عليه السلام - فِي وَصِيَّتِهِ لِابْنِهِ الْحَسَنِ عليه السلام -: وَأَيُّهُ كَلِمَةُ حُكْمٍ جَامِعَةٌ! أَنْ تُحِبَّ

لِلنَّاسِ مَا تُحِبُّ لِنَفْسِكَ وَتَكْرَهُ لَهُمْ مَا تَكْرَهُ لَهَا.^١

619. عنه عليه السلام: مِنْ حَقِّ الرَّاغِبِ أَنْ يَخْتَارَ لِرَعِيَّتِهِ مَا يَخْتَارُهُ لِنَفْسِهِ.^٢

620. عنه عليه السلام - فِي كِتَابِهِ إِلَى مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ -: وَأَجِبْ لِعَامَّةِ رَعِيَّتِكَ مَا تُحِبُّ لِنَفْسِكَ

١. فِي الطَّبْعَةِ الْمَعْتَمَدَةِ: «بِالْفُرُوعِ»، وَمَا أَثْبَتَاهُ مِنْ طَبْعَةِ النَجَفِ وَبِירוْت.

٢. غُرَرُ الْحُكْمِ: ج 10965، عِيُونُ الْحُكْمِ وَالْمَوَاعِظُ: ص 550 ح 10157 وَفِيهِ «زَوَالِ» بِدَلِ «إِدْبَارِ».

٣. غُرَرُ الْحُكْمِ: ج 4523، عِيُونُ الْحُكْمِ وَالْمَوَاعِظُ: ص 202 ح 4095.

٤. غُرَرُ الْحُكْمِ: ج 5486، عِيُونُ الْحُكْمِ وَالْمَوَاعِظُ: ص 275 ح 4998.

٥. فِي هَامِشِ الْبَحَارِ: «كَذَا فِي التَّحْفِ، وَفِي الْمَصْدَرِ: وَأَحْسَنُ كَلِمَةُ حُكْمٍ».

٦. نَحْفُ الْعُقُولِ: ص 81، بَحَارُ الْأَنْوَارِ: ج 77 ص 208 ح 1 نَقْلًا عَنْ السَّيِّدِ ابْنِ طَاوُوسٍ فِي كِتَابِ الْوَصَايَا.

٧. غُرَرُ الْحُكْمِ: ج 9335، عِيُونُ الْحُكْمِ وَالْمَوَاعِظُ: ص 469 ح 8562.

10/2 – 5

Violation of the Principles

615. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "There are four reasons for states to decline: violating the principles, holding onto the secondary things, giving priority to the villainous and putting aside the elite."¹
616. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The coming to power of the villainous and the parvenu is an indication of its [the state's] dissolution and decline."²
617. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The decline of states lies in the employment of the basest of men."³

10/3

Recommendations Concerning Socio-Political Relations

10/3 – 1

Comparing others with Oneself

618. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his will to his son Ḥasan (a.s.): "What wise words are more comprehensive than [saying]: you should aspire for others what you aspire for yourself and to dislike for others what you dislike for yourself."⁴
619. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "It is the duty of the ruler to choose for his subjects what he chooses for himself."⁵
620. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his letter to Muḥammad ibn Abi Bakr: "Long for your subjects whatever you long for yourself and

1. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10956, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 550, ḥ. 10157.

2. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 4523, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 202, ḥ. 4095.

3. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 5486, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 275, ḥ. 4998.

4. *Tuḥaf al-Uqūl*, p. 81, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 77, p. 208, ḥ. 1.

5. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 9335, *Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 469, ḥ. 8562.

وأهل بيتك، وأكره لهم ما تكره لنفسك وأهل بيتك.^١

621. عنه: - في وصيته لابنه الحسن: - إجعل نفسك ميزاناً فيما بينك وبين غيرك، فأحبب لغيرك ما تحب لنفسك، وأكره له ما تكره لها، ولا تظلم كما لا تحب أن تظلم، وأحسن كما تحب أن يحسن إليك، واستفبح من نفسك ما تستفبحه من غيرك، وأرض من الناس بما ترضاه لهم من نفسك.^٢

622. عنه: - في وصيته لابنه محمد بن الحنفية: - يا بني!... أحسن إلى جميع الناس كما تحب أن يحسن إليك، وأرضهم ما ترضاه لنفسك، واستفبح من نفسك ما تستفبحه من غيرك، وحسن مع جميع الناس خلقتك، حتى إذا غبت عنهم حنوا إليك، وإذا مت بكوا عليك. وقالوا: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، ولا تكن من الذين يُقال عند موته: الحمد لله رب العالمين.^٣

623. عنه: - أعدل السيرة أن تعامل الناس بما تحب أن يعاملوك به.^٤

624. عنه: - في الحكم المنسوبة إليه: - اصحب الناس بأي خلق شئت يصحبوك بمثله.^٥

2-3 / 10

مُلَازَمَةُ مَا يُوَجِبُ الْعِزَّ

625. الإمام علي: - أكرم نفسك عن كل ذينة وإن ساقتك إلى الرغائب؛ فإنك لن

١. الأماشي للمفيد: ص 269 ح 3 عن أبي إسحاق الهمداني، تحف العقول: ص 180، الأماشي للطوسي: ص 30 ح 31،

الغارات: ج 1 ص 249 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 6 ص 71.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 31، كشف المحجة: ص 226.

٣. كتاب من لا يحضره الفقيه: ج 4 ص 387 ح 5834، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 79 ح 1914 وفيه «استفبح من نفسك ما تستفبحه من غيرك» فقط.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 3170، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 116 ح 2580.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 309 ح 539.

your household, and dislike for them whatever you dislike for yourself and your household.”¹

621. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to his son Ḥasan (a.s.): “Make yourself a scale between you and others. You should aspire for others what you aspire for yourself and dislike for others what you dislike for yourself. Do not oppress, as you would not like to be oppressed. Do good to others as you would like good to be done to you. Consider as ignoble for yourself that which you consider as ignoble for others. Be pleased with what others do, that which you would like others to be pleased with.”²
622. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – from his instructions to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiya: “My son! Do good to all people as you like good to be done to you and long for others what you would long for yourself. Consider as ignoble for yourself that which you consider as ignoble for others. Be amiable to all people so that when you are away they would be looking forward to your return and when you die they would weep for you and say: *‘Indeed we belong to God, and to Him do we indeed return.’* Do not be like those about whom when they die, people would say: *‘All praise belongs to God, Lord of all the worlds.’*”³
623. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “The most equitable treatment of people is that you deal with people as you like to be dealt with.”⁴
624. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.) – From an aphorism attributed to him: “Treat people in any manner you wish, they would treat you the same.”⁵

10/3 – 2

Self-Esteem

625. Imām ‘Ali (a.s.): “Honor yourself [by avoiding] every ignoble thing even though it may take you to your aspirations,

1. *al-Amālī* by al-Mufid, p. 269, ḥ. 3, *Tuḥaf al-‘Uqūl*, p. 180, *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p.30, ḥ. 31, *al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 249.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 31, *Kashf al-Maḥajja*, p. 226.

3. *Man lā yaḥdurahu al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 387, ḥ. 5834, *‘Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā‘iz*, p. 79, ḥ. 1914.

4. *Ghurur al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 3170, *‘Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā‘iz*, p. 116, ḥ. 2580.

5. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 309, ḥ. 539.

تَعْتَاَصُ بِمَا تَبْدُلُ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ عَوَضًا.^١

626. عنه: «مُبَايَنَةُ الدُّنْيَا تَكْبِيْتُ الْعَدُوِّ».^٢

627. عنه: «لَا تَفْعَلْ مَا يَضَعُ قَدْرَكَ».^٣

628. عنه: «الْمَوْتُ وَلَا ابْتِدَالُ الْخِزْيَةِ».^٤

629. عنه: «أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! إِنَّ الْمَيِّتَ قَبْلَ الدُّنْيَةِ، وَالتَّجَلَّدَ قَبْلَ التَّبَلُّدِ».^٥

630. عنه: «الْمَيِّتُ وَلَا الدُّنْيَةُ، التَّقَلُّلُ وَلَا التَّذَلُّلُ».^٦

631. عنه: «مُقَاسَاةُ الْإِقْلَالِ وَلَا مُلَاقَاةُ الْإِذْلَالِ».^٧

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التَّجَنُّبُ مِنَ الْمُعَادَاةِ

632. الإمام علي: «اجْتَنِبُوا... مِنْ تَضَاعُفِ الْقُلُوبِ، وَتَشَاخُصِ الصُّدُورِ، وَتَدَاوُرِ

النُّفُوسِ، وَتَحَاذُلِ الْأَيْدِي».^٨

633. عنه: «خَالِطُوا النَّاسَ مُخَالَطَةً إِنْ مَثَمَ مَعَهَا بَكَوَا عَلَيْكُمْ، وَإِنْ عَشِثُمْ حَنَوْا إِلَيْكُمْ».^٩

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 31، غرر الحكم: ح 2428، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 85 ح 12056 جواهر المطالب: ج 2

ص 161 ح 139، ينابيع المودة: ج 3 ص 441 ح 10 وفيه إلى «الرهايب».

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 9774، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 485 ح 8954.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 10231، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 518 ح 9395.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 361، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 33 ح 621 وفيه «الخرقة» بدل «الخزيرة».

٥. التبلد: نفيس التجلد؛ بلد بلادة فهو بليد؛ وهو استكانة وخضوع (لسان العرب: ج 3 ص 96).

٦. الكافي: ج 8 ص 21 ح 4 عن جابر بن يزيد الجعفي عن الإمام الباقر: «تحف العقول: ص 207 نحوه».

٧. غرر الحكم: ح 360 و ح 362، نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 396 وفيه «النوسل» بدل «التذل»، عيون الحكم والمواعظ:

ص 33 ح 620 و ص 38 ح 821.

٨. غرر الحكم: ح 9802، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 488 ح 9044 وفيه «الأردال» بدل «الإذلال».

٩. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 192، غرر الحكم: ح 4544، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 200 ح 4046.

١٠. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 10، غرر الحكم: ح 5070 وفيه «عشتم» بدل «عشتم»، بحار الأنوار: ج 74 ص 167 ح 35.

because you will not get any return for the respect, which you have spent."¹

626. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Keeping away from the low things would debase the enemy."²
627. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not act in a way that ruins your prestige."³
628. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Let it be death, rather than lowering oneself with disgrace!"⁴
629. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O People! Certainly death is more preferable than to be disgraced; and to be whipped is more preferable than to be humiliated and vilified."⁵
630. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Let it be death but not humiliation. Let it be little but not disgrace!"⁶
631. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Let there be lack but not encounter with disgrace."⁷

10/3 – 3

Refraining from Enmity

632. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Refrain from having malice in the hearts, hatred in the chests, turning away (from each other's help) and withholding assistance from one another."⁸
633. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Interact with people in a manner that if you were to die they would cry for you, and if you were to live they would yearn for you"⁹

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 31, *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 2428, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 85, h. 2056.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9774, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 485, h. 8954.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 10231, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 518, h. 9395.

4. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 361, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 33, h. 621.

5. *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 21, h. 4, *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, p. 207.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 360 & 362, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 396, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 33, h. 620.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9802, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 488, h. 9044.

8. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 192, *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4544, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 200, h. 4046.

9. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 10, *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 5070

634. عنه: رَأْسُ الْجَهْلِ مُعَادَاةُ النَّاسِ.^١
635. عنه: مِنْ سَوْءِ الْإِخْتِيَارِ مُغَالَبَةُ الْأَكْفَاءِ، وَمُعَادَاةُ الرُّجَالِ.^٢
636. عنه: مَنْ حَارَبَ النَّاسَ حُرِبَ.^٣
637. عنه: حُسْنُ الْعِشْرَةِ يَسْتَدِيمُ الْمَوَدَّةَ.^٤
638. عنه: يَحْسِنُ الْعِشْرَةَ تَدْوُمُ الْمَوَدَّةِ.^٥
639. عنه: أَمَارَاتُ الدُّوَلِ إِنْشَاءُ الْجَيْلِ.^٦
640. عنه: الْوَاحِدُ مِنَ الْأَعْدَاءِ كَثِيرٌ.^٧
641. عنه: يَا بَنِي إِيَّاكُمْ وَمُعَادَاةُ الرُّجَالِ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ لَا يَخْلُونَ مِنْ صَرِيَيْنٍ: مِنْ عَاقِلٍ يَمْكُرُ بِكُمْ، أَوْ جَاهِلٍ يَعَجِّلُ عَلَيْكُمْ، وَالْكَلَامُ ذِكْرٌ، وَالْجَوَابُ أَنْتَى؛ فَإِذَا اجْتَمَعَ الزَّوْجَانِ فَلَا بُدَّ مِنَ التَّنَاجُحِ. ثُمَّ أَنْشَأَ يَقُولُ:
- سَلِيمُ الْعِرْضِ مَنْ حَذَرَ الْجَوَابَا وَمَنْ دَارَى الرُّجَالَ فَقَدْ أَصَابَا
وَمَنْ هَابَ الرُّجَالَ تَهَيَّبُوهُ وَمَنْ حَقَّرَ الرُّجَالَ فَلَنْ يُهَابَا

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الْوَفَاءُ بِالْعَهْدِ

642. الإمام علي: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ! إِنَّ الْوَفَاءَ تَوَأَّمُ الصَّدِيقُ، وَلَا أَعْلَمُ جُنَّةً أَوْقَى مِنْهُ، وَمَا يَغْدِرُ مَنْ عَلِمَ كَيْفَ الْمَرْجِعِ،^١ وَلَقَدْ أَصْبَحْنَا فِي زَمَانٍ قَدْ اتَّخَذَ أَكْثَرُ أَهْلِهِ الْغَدَرَ

١. غرر الحكم: ح 5247، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 264 ح 4814.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 9352 و ح 9429 وليس فيه «ومُعَادَاةُ الرُّجَالِ»، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 469 ح 8555.

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 9013، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 427 ح 7252.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 4811، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 228 ح 4380.

٥. غرر الحكم: ح 4200، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 187 ح 3820.

٦. غرر الحكم: ح 1230، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 127 ح 2902.

٧. غرر الحكم: ح 1149، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 45 ح 1107.

٨. الخصال: ص 72 ح 111، روضة الواعظين: ص 412.

٩. أي من علم الآخرة وطوى عليها عقيدته منعه ذلك أن يندد (شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 2 ص 313).

634. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The peak of ignorance is enmity with people."¹
635. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "It is among unseemly choices to seek dominance over one's peers and to incur enmity towards people."²
636. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who fights against people will be fought against."³
637. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Sociability prolongs friendship."⁴
638. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Through having good relationship, friendship is prolonged."⁵
639. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Deceptions are the roots of the transformations of the states."⁶
640. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Even one enemy is too many."⁷
641. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "My children! Beware of hostility to people, since they are either of the two groups: the wise who would play tricks on you; or the ignorant who would quickly retaliate. Statement is masculine while response is feminine, so whenever the masculine and the feminine become one, then there must be a result."

He then recited the following poem:

*"The honorable is he who avoids responding;
And he who is tolerant towards people will achieve his goal.
He who has respect for people will be respected by them too;
And he who humiliates people, will receive no respect."*⁸

10/3 – 4

Loyalty in Agreements

642. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "O People! Surely loyalty in agreements is the soulmate and twin of truth. I do not know a better shield more protective (against the assaults of sin) than it. One who knows how the Resurrection Day is

1. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 5247, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 264, h. 4814.

2. *Ghurar al-Hikam*: h. 9352 & 9429, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, 469, h. 8555.

3. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 9013, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 427, h. 7252.

4. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 4811, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 228, h. 4380.

5. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 4200, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 187, h. 3820.

6. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 1230, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 127, h. 2902.

7. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, h. 1149, 'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz, p. 45, h. 1107.

8. *al-Khiṣṣāl*, p. 72, h. 111, *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn*, p. 412.

كَيْسًا،^١ وَنَسَبَهُمْ أَهْلُ الْجَهْلِ فِيهِ إِلَى حُسْنِ الْحِيلَةِ.^٢

643. عنه: «مِنْ أَفْضَلِ الْإِسْلَامِ الْوَفَاءُ بِالذِّمَامِ».^٣

644. عنه: «- فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَى مَالِكِ الْأَشْتَرِ -: وَإِنْ عَقَدْتَ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ عَدُوِّكَ عُقْدَةً، أَوْ الْبَسْتَهُ مِنْكَ ذِمَّةً فَحُطَّ عَهْدُكَ بِالْوَفَاءِ، وَارْعَ ذِمَّتَكَ بِالْأَمَانَةِ، وَاجْعَلْ نَفْسَكَ جُنَّةً دُونَ مَا أُعْطِيتَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ فَرَائِضِ اللَّهِ شَيْءٌ النَّاسُ أَشَدُّ عَلَيْهِ اجْتِنَاعاً مَعَ تَفَرُّقِ أَهْوَائِهِمْ وَتَشْتِتِ آرَائِهِمْ مِنْ تَعْظِيمِ الْوَفَاءِ بِالْعُهُودِ. وَقَدْ لَزِمَ ذَلِكَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ فِيمَا بَيْنَهُمْ دُونَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لَمَّا اسْتَوْبَلُوا مِنْ عَوَاقِبِ الْغَدْرِ. فَلَا تَغْدِرَنَّ بِذِمَّتِكَ، وَلَا تُخَيِّنَنَّ بِعَهْدِكَ، وَلَا تُخْلِنَنَّ عَدُوَّكَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَجْتَرِئُ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِلَّا جَاهِلٌ شَقِيٌّ. وَقَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ عَهْدَهُ وَذِمَّتَهُ أَمْنًا أَفْضَاةً بَيْنَ الْعِبَادِ بِرَحْمَتِهِ، وَحَرِيماً يَسْكُنُونَ إِلَى مَنْعَتِهِ وَيَسْتَقْبِضُونَ إِلَى جَوَارِهِ. فَلَا إِدْغَالَ وَلَا مُدَالَسَةَ وَلَا إِخْدَاعَ فِيهِ.

وَلَا تَعْقِدْ عَقْدًا تُخَوِّزُ فِيهِ الْعِلَلَ، وَلَا تُعَوِّلَنَّ عَلَى لَحْنِ قَوْلٍ بَعْدَ التَّكْيِيدِ وَالتَّوَثُّقِ، وَلَا يَدْعُوَنَّكَ ضَيْقُ أَمْرِ لَزِمَكَ فِيهِ عَهْدُ اللَّهِ إِلَى طَلَبِ انْفِسَاخِهِ بِغَيْرِ الْحَقِّ؛ فَإِنَّ صَبْرَكَ عَلَى ضَيْقِ أَمْرِ تَرَجُّو انْفِرَاجَهُ وَفَضْلَ عَاقِبَتِهِ خَيْرٌ مِنْ غَدْرِ تَخَافُ تَبِعَتَهُ، وَأَنْ تُحْبِطَ بِكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِيهِ طَلِبَةٌ، فَلَا تَسْتَقْبِلْ فِيهَا دُنْيَاكَ وَلَا آخِرَتَكَ».^٤

١. الكيس: العقل (النهاية: ج 4 ص 217).

٢. نهج البلاغة: الخطبة 41، خصائص الأئمة: ص 98 نحوه، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 152 ح 3334 وفيه إلى «أوفى منه» العبار والموازنة: ص 96 نحوه.

٣. عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 471 ح 8614.

٤. الوبال: الوخامة وسوء العاقبة (مجمع البحرين: ج 3 ص 1901).

٥. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 53، تحف العقول: ص 145 نحوه وراجع: دعائم الإسلام: ج 1 ص 368 وعيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 162 ح 3463.

shall never betray. We are in a period when most of the people regard betrayal as wisdom. In these days the ignorant call it the excellence of cunning."¹

643. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The best [feature in relation to] Islam is to fulfill one's pledges."²
644. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "If you bind an agreement between yourself and your enemy or grant him a protective covenant (*dhimmah*), guard your agreement in good faith and tend to your covenant with loyalty. Make of yourself a shield before what you have granted, for men, despite the division among their sects and the diversity of their opinions, are not united more firmly in any of the obligations (imposed upon them) by God than in attaching importance to fidelity in agreements. The idolaters had already adhered to that (honoring agreement) among themselves before the Muslims, by reason of the evil consequences of treachery that they had seen. So never betray your protective covenant, never break your agreement and never deceive your enemy, for none is 'audacious before God but a wretched fool. God has made His agreement and His protective covenant a security, which He has spread among the servants by the Grace of His Mercy and a sanctuary in whose impregnability they may rest and in whose proximity they may spread forth. Within it there is no corruption, treachery or deceit.

Do not make an agreement in which you allow deficiencies and rely not upon ambiguity of language after confirmation and finalization (of the agreement). Let not the difficulties of an affair in which an agreement before God is binding upon you invite you to seek its abrogation unjustly. For your patience in the hardships of an affair, hoping for its solution and the blessing of its outcome is better than an act of treachery that you fear its consequences and being questioned by Allah and you could not ask for forgiveness for it in this world and the next."³

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 41, *Khaṣā'is al-A'imma*, p. 98, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 152, ḥ. 3334.

2. *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 471, ḥ. 8614.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 53, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 145. Also cf., *Da'a'im al-Islam*, vol. 1, p. 368.

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أداء الأمانة

645. الإمام علي عليه السلام: أدوا الأمانة إلى من ائتمنكم ولو إلى قتلة أولاد الأنبياء عليه السلام.¹

646. عنه عليه السلام: لا تحن من ائتمنك وإن خانك، ولا تزدع سره وإن أذاعه.²

647. عنه عليه السلام - من كتاب له عليه السلام إلى الأشعث بن قيس -: وإن عملك ليس لك بطعمة، ولكنته في عنقك أمانة، وأنت مسترعى لمن فوقك.³

648. عنه عليه السلام - من عهد له إلى بعض عمال الصدقات -: من لم يختلف سره وعلايته وفعله ومقالاته فقد أدى الأمانة، وأخلص العباداة. وأمره ألا يجبههم⁴ ولا يعصهم⁵، ولا يرغب عنهم تفضلاً بالإمارة عليهم؛ فإنهم الإخوان في الدين، والأعوان على استخراج الحقوق. وإن لك في هذه الصدقة نصيباً مفروضاً، وحقاً معلوماً، ومركاء أهل مسكنته، وضغفاء ذوي فاقة، وإنا مؤفوك⁶ حقك، فوفهم حقوقهم، وإلا تفعل فإنك من أكثر الناس خصوماً يوم القيامة، وبؤسى لمن خصمه عند الله الفقراء والمساكين والسائلون والمدفوعون والغارمون وابن السبيل. ومن استهان بالأمانة ورثع في الحيانة ولم ينزه نفسه ودينه عنها فقد أحل بنفسه الذل والخزي في

١. الخصال: ص 614 ح 10 عن أبي بصير وعمر بن مسلم عن الإمام الصادق عن أبياته عليه السلام، بحار الأنوار: ج 75 ص 115 ح 8.

٢. تحف العقول: ص 81، عيون الحكم والمراعي: ص 519 ح 9426 وفيه «ولا تشن عدوك وإن شانك» بدل «ولا تزدع...»، بحار الأنوار: ج 77 ص 208 ح 1 نقلاً عن السيد ابن طاووس في كتاب الوصايا؛ نظم درر السمطين: ص 167، كنز العمال: ج 16 ص 178 ح 44215 نقلاً عن الوكيع والعسكري في المواضع.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب ٥5 جواهر المطالب: ج 2 ص 26 وليس فيه ذيله.

٤. من الجبه: وهو الاستقبال بالمكره (لسان العرب: ج 13 ص 484).

٥. غصه بعضهم: قال فيه ما لم يكن (لسان العرب: ج 13 ص 515).

10/3 – 5

Discharging Obligations

645. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Return the trust to the person who has trusted you, even though he would be the murderer of the children of the Prophets."¹
646. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not betray him who has regarded you as trustworthy, even though he has betrayed you; and do not disclose his secret, although he discloses it himself."²
647. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to Ash'ath ibn Qays: "Certainly, your assignment is not a morsel for you to have but it is a trust on your neck and you are being overseen by your superiors."³
648. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from his letter to one of his tax collectors: "He whose hidden position is not different from his open position and whose action is not different from his words, has discharged his obligation and his worship is pure. I also order him that he should not harass them (subjects), should not be harsh towards them and should not turn away from them because of superiority of an official position over them, for they are brothers in faith and helpers in the recovery of levies.

Certainly you have a fixed share and a known right in this levy, and there are other sharers who are poor, weak and starving. We shall discharge your rights. So you should pay off their rights. If you do not do so, you will have the largest number of enemies on the Day of Judgment. How wretched is the man whose enemies in the presence of God are the needy, the destitute, the beggars, the turned away, and the indebted and (penniless) travelers.

He who treats the trust lightly, indulges in treachery and does not keep himself and his faith untarnished by it has certainly secured humiliation in this world and his humiliation

1. *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 614 ḥ. 10, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 75, p. 115, ḥ. 8.

2. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 81, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 519, ḥ. 9426, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 77, p. 208, ḥ. 1.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 5, *Jawāhir al-Majālib*, vol. 2, p. 26.

الدُّنْيَا، وَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ أَذَلُّ وَأَخْزَى. وَإِنَّ أَعْظَمَ الْخِيَانَةِ، خِيَانَةُ الْأُمَّةِ، وَأَفْظَعَ الْغِيْشِ غِيْشُ الْأُمَّةِ. وَالسَّلَامُ.^١

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الإِسْتِثْمَارُ مِنْ عُلُومِ الْأَجَانِبِ

649. الإمام عليّ: ضَالَّةُ الْحَكِيمِ الْحِكْمَةُ؛ فَهُوَ يَطْلُبُهَا حَيْثُ كَانَتْ.^٢
650. عنه: ضَالَّةُ الْعَاقِلِ الْحِكْمَةُ فَهُوَ أَحَقُّ بِهَا حَيْثُ كَانَتْ.^٣
651. عنه: خُذِ الْحِكْمَةَ أَنْتَى كَانَتْ؛ فَإِنَّ الْحِكْمَةَ ضَالَّةٌ كُلُّ مُؤْمِنٍ.^٤
652. عنه: الْحِكْمَةُ ضَالَّةُ الْمُؤْمِنِ؛ فَلْيَطْلُبْهَا وَلَوْ فِي أَيْدِي أَهْلِ الشَّرِّ.^٥
653. عنه: خُذُوا الْحِكْمَةَ وَلَوْ مِنْ الْمُشْرِكِينَ.^٦
654. عنه: الْحِكْمَةُ ضَالَّةُ الْمُؤْمِنِ؛ فَالْتَقِفْهَا وَلَوْ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ.^٧
655. عنه: الْحِكْمَةُ ضَالَّةُ الْمُؤْمِنِ؛ فَاطْلُبُوهَا - وَلَوْ عِنْدَ الْمُشْرِكِ - تَكُونُوا أَحَقَّ بِهَا وَأَهْلِيهَا.^٨
656. عنه: الْحِكْمَةُ ضَالَّةُ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ؛ فَخُذُوهَا وَلَوْ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِ الْمُنَافِقِينَ.^٩

١. نهج البلاغة: الكتاب 26، بحار الأنوار: ج 33 ص 528 ح 719.

٢. غرر الحكم: ح 5897، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 309 ح 5432 وفيه «أحق بها» بدل «يطلبها».

٣. غرر الحكم: ح 5896.

٤. غرر الحكم: ح 5043، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 243 ح 4628.

٥. تحف العقول: ص 201.

٦. المحاسن: ج 1 ص 360 ح 771 عن علي بن سيف، بحار الأنوار: ج 2 ص 97 ح 41.

٧. تنبيه الخواطر: ج 1 ص 81.

٨. الأمانى للطوسي: ص 625 ح 1290 عن أبي أحمد عبيد الله بن الحسين عن الإمام الجواد عن آبائه.

٩. غرر الحكم: ح 1829، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 22 ح 145.

and disgrace in the next world will be greater. Surely the greatest treachery is the treachery against the Muslim community and the ugliest deceit is the deceit towards the Muslim leaders. Wassalām!"¹

10/3 – 6

Making Use of Other People's Knowledge

649. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The lost article of a wise person is knowledge. He should seize it anywhere it may be."²
650. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Knowledge is the lost article of a wise person. Therefore he deserves it more anywhere it may be."³
651. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Acquire the knowledge wherever you find it. Certainly knowledge is a lost article of the believer."⁴
652. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Knowledge is a lost article of the believer. Seek it even though it is in the possession of the evil-doers."⁵
653. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Acquire knowledge even from the polytheists."⁶
654. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Knowledge is a lost article of the believer. Seize it even from the mouth of the polytheists."⁷
655. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Knowledge is a lost article of the believer. Seek it even from the polytheists; as you deserve it more and are more worthily of it."⁸
656. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Knowledge is a lost article of the believer. Acquire it even from the mouth of the hypocrites."⁹

1. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 26, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 528, ḥ. 719.

2. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 5897.

3. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 5896.

4. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 5043, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 243, ḥ. 4628.

5. *Tuhāf al-Uqūl*, p. 201.

6. *al-Maḥāsīn*, vol. 1, p. 360, ḥ. 771, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 2, p. 97, ḥ. 41.

7. *Tanbīh al-Khawātir*, vol. 1, p. 81.

8. *al-Amālī* by al-Ṭūsī, p. 625, ḥ. 1290.

9. *Ghurar al-Hikam*, ḥ. 1829, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 22, ḥ. 145.

657. عنه: الْحِكْمَةُ ضَالَّةُ الْمُؤْمِنِ؛ فَخُذِ الْحِكْمَةَ وَلَوْ مِنْ أَهْلِ التُّفَاقِ.^١
658. عنه: خُذِ الْحِكْمَةَ أَتَى أَتْنَكَ؛ فَإِنَّ الْحِكْمَةَ تَكُونُ فِي صَدْرِ الْمُنَافِقِ، فَتَلْجُلُجُ فِي صَدْرِهِ حَتَّى تُخْرَجَ، فَتَسْكُنَ إِلَى صَوَاحِبِهَا فِي صَدْرِ الْمُؤْمِنِ.^٢

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الاستقلال الثقافي

659. الإمام علي: قُلْ مَنْ تَشَبَّهَ بِقَوْمٍ إِلَّا أَوْشَكَ أَنْ يَكُونَ مِنْهُمْ.^٣
660. الإمام الصادق: كَانَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَقُولُ: لَا تَزَالُ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةُ بِخَيْرٍ مَا لَمْ يَلْبَسُوا لِبَاسَ الْعَجَمِ، وَيَطْعَمُوا أَطْعِمَةَ الْعَجَمِ، فَإِذَا فَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ ضَرَبَهُمُ اللَّهُ بِالذُّلِّ.^٤

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التواضع

661. الإمام علي: لَا يَكُونُ الْإِمْرَانُ حَيْثُ يَجُورُ السُّلْطَانُ.^٥
662. عنه: آفَةُ الْإِمْرَانِ جَوْرُ السُّلْطَانِ.^٦
663. عنه: زُهِدْكَ فِي رَاغِبٍ فَيْكَ نُقْصَانٌ حَقٌّ، وَرَغْبَتُكَ فِي زَاهِدٍ فَيْكَ ذُلٌّ نَفْسٍ.^٧

١. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 80، خصائص الأئمة: ص 94.

٢. خصائص الأئمة: ص 94، نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 79 وفيه «كانت» بدل «أتتك» ربيع الأبرار: ج 3 ص 197 وفيه «أين كانت» بدل «أتى أتتك».

٣. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 207، خصائص الأئمة: ص 115، نزعة الناظر: ص 53 ح 31، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 162 ح 3464 وفيه «يصير» بدل «يكون».

٤. المحاسن: ج 2 ص 178 ح 1504 و ص 222 ح 1669 كلاماً عن طلحة بن زيد، بحار الأنوار: ج 66، ص 323 ح 6.

٥. في الطبعة المعتمدة: «يجوز»، وما أثبتناه من طبعة بيروت وطهران.

٦. ضرر الحكم: ح 10791، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 540 ح 10022.

٧. ضرر الحكم: ح 3954، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 181 ح 3717.

٨. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 451، بحار الأنوار: ج 74 ص 1164، تلخيص اللؤلؤ: ج 2 ص 252 ح 707 وفيه «نفسك» بدل «نفس».

657. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Knowledge is a lost article of the believer. Therefore acquire wisdom even from people of hypocrisy."¹
658. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Acquire knowledge from wherever it may come, because if wisdom is in the heart of a hypocrite it stammers in his heart until it comes forth and settles in the breast of the believer."²

10/3 – 7

Cultural Independence

659. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "It is seldom that a man likens himself to people and does not become one of them."³
660. Imām al-Şādiq (a.s.): "The Commander of the Faithful would say: 'This nation will always live with happiness as long as they would not wear the clothing or eat the foods of foreigners. However, if they did so, God would inflict disgrace upon them.'"⁴

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Miscellaneous

661. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "There shall be no prosperity where a tyrant is ruling."⁵
662. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The blight of prosperity is the tyranny of a ruler."⁶
663. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Your turning away from him who inclines towards you is a loss of benefit while your inclination towards him who turns away from you is humiliation of the self."⁷

1. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Aphorism 80, *Khaṣā'is al-'Imma*, p. 94.

2. *Khaṣā'is al-'Imma*, p. 94, *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Aphorism 79, *Rabī' al-Abrār*, vol. 3, p. 197.

3. *Nahj al-Balaghah*: Aphorism 207, *Khaṣā'is al-'Imma*, p. 115, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, p. 53, h. 31.

4. *al-Maḥāsīn*, vol. 2, p. 178, h. 1504 & p. 222, h. 1669, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 66, p. 323, h. 6.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 10791, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 540, h. 10022.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 3954, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 181, h. 3717.

7. *Nahj al-Balaghah*: Aphorism 451, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 74, p. 164, *Yanābi' al-Mawadda*, vol. 2, p. 252, h. 707.

664. عنه: «وَالَاكَ مَنْ لَمْ يُعَادِكَ»^١.
665. عنه: «مَنْ رَغِبَ فِيكَ عِنْدَ إِقْبَالِكَ زَهَدَ فِيكَ عِنْدَ إِدْبَارِكَ»^٢.
666. عنه: «أَحِبَّ حَبِيبَكَ هَوْنًا مَا عَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ بَغِيضَكَ يَوْمًا مَا، وَأَبْغِضْ بَغِيضَكَ هَوْنًا مَا عَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ حَبِيبَكَ يَوْمًا مَا»^٣.
667. الإمام الصادق: «كَانَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَقُولُ: لِيَجْتَمِعَ فِي قَلْبِكَ الْإِفْتِقَارُ إِلَى النَّاسِ، وَالِاسْتِغْنَاءُ عَنْهُمْ؛ يَكُونُ افْتِقَارُكَ إِلَيْهِمْ فِي لَبِنِ كَلَامِكَ وَحُسْنِ بَشْرِكَ، وَيَكُونُ اسْتِغْنَاؤُكَ عَنْهُمْ فِي نَزَاهَةِ عِرْضِكَ وَبَقَاءِ عِزِّكَ»^٤.
668. الإمام علي: «أُبْذِلْ لِصَدِيقِكَ كُلَّ الْمَوَدَّةِ، وَلَا تَبْذُلْ لَهُ كُلَّ الْعَطْمَانِيَّةِ. وَأَعْطِهِ كُلَّ الْمَوَاسَاةِ، وَلَا تَقْضُ إِلَيْهِ بِكُلِّ الْأَسْرَارِ؛ تَوَفَّ الْحِكْمَةَ حَقَّهَا، وَالصَّدِيقَ وَاجِبَهُ»^٥.
669. عنه: «لَيْسَ الْحَكِيمُ مَنْ لَمْ يُدَارِ مَنْ لَا يَجِدُ بُدًّا مِنْ مُدَارَاتِهِ»^٦.
670. عنه: «لَا تُعَامِلْ مَنْ لَا تَقْدِرُ عَلَى الْإِنْتِصَافِ مِنْهُ»^٧.

١. المواقف العددية: ص 61.

٢. غرر الحكم: ج 8878.

٣. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 268، تحف العقول: ص 201 وفيه «يمصيك» بدل «بغيضك» في الموضع الأول، الأمالي للطوسي: ص 364 ج 767 عن علي بن علي بن رزين عن الإمام الرضا عن آبائه عنه، و ص 703 ج 1505 عن زيد بن علي عن أبيه عنه نحوه الأدب المفرد: ص 382 ج 1321، المصنف لابن أبي شيبة: ج 8 ص 341 ج 144 كلاهما عن محمد بن عبيد الكندي، تاريخ المدينة: ج 4 ص 1266 عن عبيد الله الأنصاري.

٤. الكافي: ج 2 ص 149 ج 7 عن عمار الساباطي، معالي الأخبار: ص 267 ج 1 عن يحيى بن عمران، تحف العقول: ص 204، مشكاة الأنوار: ص 312 ج 977، تنبيه الخواطر: ج 2 ص 196.

٥. في المصدر: «توفي»، والأصح ما أثبتناه.

٦. كنز الفوائد: ج 1 ص 93.

٧. تحف العقول: ص 218، بحار الأنوار: ج 78 ص 57 ج 121.

٨. غرر الحكم: ج 10184، عيون الحكم والمواقف: ص 518 ج 9400.

664. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who does not incur enmity towards you is your friend."¹
665. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who inclines towards you in time of your fortune will turn away from you in time of your misfortune."²
666. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Have love for your friend up to a limit, for it is possible that he may become your enemy some day; and hate your enemy up to a limit for it is possible that he may become your friend some day."³
667. Imām al-Šādiq (a.s.): "The Commander of the Faithful would say: "Let your heart combine need for people with independence from them. Your need for them should appear in your lenient words and affability, and your independence from them should appear in [maintaining] the integrity of your reputation and the retaining of your self esteem."⁴
668. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Grant all your friendship to your friend, but do not fully put your trust in him. Help him by all means, but do not divulge all your secrets to him, so that you have used wisdom and observed bonds of friendship."⁵
669. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who does not tolerate those whom he has to tolerate is not wise."⁶
670. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Do not deal with him from whom you cannot extract justice."⁷

1. *al-Mawā'iz al-'Adadiyya*, p. 61.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8878.

3. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 268, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 201 *al-Amālī* by al-Tūsi, p.364, h. 767.

4. *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 149, h. 7, *Ma'ani al-Akhbār*, p. 267. h. 1, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 204.

5. *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, vol. 1, p. 93.

6. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 218, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 78, p. 57, h. 121.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 10184, *Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 518, h. 9400.

671. عنه: إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تُوَجِّسَ مُوَادَّكَ وَحَشَمَةً تُفْضِي بِهِ إِلَى اخْتِيَارِهِ الْبُعْدَ عَنْكَ وَإِثَارِ
الْفُرْقَةِ.^١

672. عنه: مَنْ كَانَ نَفْعُهُ فِي مَضَرَّتِكَ لَمْ يَخُلْ فِي كُلِّ حَالٍ مِنْ عَدَاوَتِكَ.^٢

673. عنه: تَجَاوَزَ مَعَ الْقُدْرَةِ، وَأَحْسَنَ مَعَ الدَّوَلَةِ تَكْمُلُ لَكَ السِّيَادَةُ.^٣

674. عنه: إِحْتَمِلْ زَلَّةً وَلَيْتَكَ لَوْ قَبِ وَثْبَةً عَدُوُّكَ.^٤

675. عنه: تَأْمِيلُ النَّاسِ نَوَالِكَ خَيْرٌ مِنْ خَوْفِهِمْ نِكَالِكَ.^٥

676. عنه: أَقِمِ الرِّغْبَةَ إِلَيْكَ مَقَامَ الْحُرْمَةِ بِكَ.^٦

677. عنه: أَقِمِ النَّاسَ عَلَى سُنَّتِهِمْ وَدِينِهِمْ، وَلِيَأْمَنَكَ بِرِئُثُهُمْ^٧ وَلِيَخَفَكَ مُرِيئُهُمْ، وَتَعَاهِدَ
تُغَوَّرَهُمْ وَأَطْرَافَهُمْ.^٨

678. عنه: أَصْعَبُ السِّيَاسَاتِ نَقْلُ الْعَادَاتِ.^٩

679. عنه: لَا يَزَالُ النَّاسُ بِخَيْرٍ مَا تَقَاوَتُوا، فَإِذَا اسْتَوَوْا هَلَكُوا.^{١٠}

680. عنه: مَنْ عَامَلَ النَّاسَ بِالْمُسَاحَاةِ اسْتَمْتَعَ بِصُحْبَتِهِمْ.^{١١}

١. غرر الحكم: ج 2689، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 98 ح 2253.

٢. غرر الحكم: ج 9150.

٣. غرر الحكم: ج 4528، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 200 ح 4048.

٤. بحار الأنوار: ج 74 ص 166.

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 4510، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 203 ح 4119 وفيه «خيرك» بدل «نوالك».

٦. غرر الحكم: ج 12291 شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 311 ح 573.

٧. كذا في المصدر، والظاهر: «ببرئهم».

٨. غرر الحكم: ج 2419، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 81 ح 1961 وفيه «وأطراف بلادهم».

٩. غرر الحكم: ج 2969، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 118 ح 2649 وفيه «تغيير» بدل «نقل».

١٠. عيون أخبار الرضا: ج 2 ص 53 ح 204، الأمل للصدر: ص 531 ح 718 كلاهما عن عبد العظيم الحسيني عن

الإمام الجواد عن أبياته: «غرر الحكم: ج 289 وفيه «الناس بخير ما تفاوتوا».

١١. غرر الحكم: ج 8861، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 457 ح 8286.

671. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Beware of scaring your friends to the extent that it will force them to keep a distance and make them desert from you."¹
672. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He whose benefit lies in your loss will never be free from hostility to you at any time."²
673. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Overlook at the time of strength and do good in your good turn of fortune so as to perfect your magnanimity."³
674. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Put up with your friend's blunders for the time of the enemy's assault."⁴
675. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "People looking forward to your rewards is better than their fear of your punishment."⁵
676. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Substitute [other people's] interest in you with [their] respect for you."⁶
677. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Let people hold on to their rites and customs so [act in a way] that the innocent feel secure from you and the evil-doers be scared of you; and attend to the borders and the outskirts of cities."⁷
678. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The hardest of all policies is to change habits and customs."⁸
679. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "People will prosper as long as they differ. Then when they become alike they will be ruined."⁹
680. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who treats people with tolerance will enjoy their company."¹⁰

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 2689, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 98, h. 2253.

2. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9150.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4528, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 200, h. 4048.

4. *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 74, p. 166.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 4510, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 203, h. 4119.

6. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 2291, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, vol. 20, p. 311, h. 573.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 2419, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 81, h. 1961.

8. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 2969, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 118, h. 2649.

9. *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 53, h. 204, *al-Amālī* by al-Ṣadūq, p. 531, h. 718, *Ghurur al-Hikam*, p. 289.

10. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8861, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 457, h. 8286.

681. عنه: مِنْ الْحِكْمَةِ طَاعَتُكَ لِمَنْ فَوْقَكَ، وَإِجْلَالُكَ مَنْ فِي طَبَقَتِكَ، وَإِنْصَافُكَ لِمَنْ دُونَكَ.^١

682. عنه: أَلَّهُ الرَّفَاسَةَ سَعَةَ الصَّدْرِ.^٢

683. عنه: خَوْضُ النَّاسِ فِي الشَّيْءِ مُقَدِّمَةُ الْكَائِنِ.^٣

684. عنه: إِيَّاكَ وَكُلَّ عَمَلٍ يُنْفَرُ عَنْكَ حُرًّا، أَوْ يُذِلُّ لَكَ قَدْرًا، أَوْ يَجْلِبُ عَلَيْكَ شَرًّا، أَوْ تَحْمِلُ بِهِ إِلَى الْقِيَامَةِ وَزْرًا.^٤

685. عنه: مَنْ رُفِعَ بِلاَ كِفَايَةٍ وَضِعَ بِلاَ جِنَايَةٍ.^٥

686. عنه: زَيْنُ الرِّجَالِ بِمَوَازِينِهِمْ.^٦

687. عنه: مِنْ الْحِكْمَةِ أَنْ لَا تُنَازِعَ مَنْ فَوْقَكَ، وَلَا تَسْتَذِلَّ مَنْ دُونَكَ، وَلَا تَتَعَاطَى مَا لَيْسَ فِي قُدْرَتِكَ، وَلَا تُجَالِفَ لِسَانُكَ قَلْبَكَ، وَلَا قَوْلُكَ فِعْلَكَ، وَلَا تَتَكَلَّمَ فِيهَا لَا تَعْلَمُ، وَلَا تَتْرُكَ الْأَمْرَ عِنْدَ الْإِقْبَالِ وَتَطْلُبُهُ عِنْدَ الْإِدْبَارِ.^٧

688. عنه: - فِي الْحِكْمِ الْمَنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: عَامِلُوا الْأَحْرَارَ بِالْكَرَامَةِ الْمَحْضَةِ، وَالْأَوْسَاطَ بِالرَّغْبَةِ وَالرَّهْبَةِ، وَالسَّفِلَةَ بِالْهَوَانِ.^٨

١. غرر الحكم: ج 9422، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 473 ح 8676.

٢. نهج البلاغة: الحكمة 176، خصائص الأئمة: ص 110، غرر الحكم: ج 1256.

٣. غرر الحكم: ج 5067، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 242 ح 4612.

٤. غرر الحكم: ج 2727، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 100 ح 2291.

٥. غرر الحكم: ج 8613.

٦. الواعظ العددية: ص 57.

٧. غرر الحكم: ج 9450، عيون الحكم والمواعظ: ص 473 ح 8681.

٨. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 311 ح 574.

681. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Obedience to the superior, respecting the peers and being equitable to the subordinate are among the signs of wisdom."¹
682. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "The instrument of governing is tolerance and forbearance."²
683. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "People delving into something is a preliminary step forwards achieving it."³
684. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Beware of doing something that makes an honorable person disgust you, or debases your status, or ushers evil towards you, or makes you suffer a penalty on the Day of Resurrection."⁴
685. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "He who rises to a high position undeservedly will collapse unreasonably."⁵
686. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Measure people with their own scales."⁶
687. Imām 'Ali (a.s.): "Wisdom is that you do not dispute with your superior, do not debase your subordinate, do not promise [to do] what you are not capable [of doing]; that your tongue should not disagree with your heart and your words should not disprove your deeds. Do not talk about what you have no knowledge of. Do not give up affairs when applicable and do not pursue them when inapplicable."⁷
688. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "Treat the honorable magnanimously, the average interestedly and fearfully and the ignoble contemptuously."⁸

1. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9422, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 473, h. 8676.

2. *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Aphorism 176, *Khaṣā'is al-A'imma*, p. 110, *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h.1256.

3. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 5067, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 242, h. 4612.

4. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 2727, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 100, h. 2291.

5. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 8613.

6. *al-Mawā'iz al-'Adadiyya*, p. 57. This apparently means to measure people according to their own capacities and circumstances.

7. *Ghurur al-Hikam*, h. 9450, *'Uyūn al-Hikam wa al-Mawā'iz*, p. 473, h. 8681.

8. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 20, p. 311, h. 574.

689. عنه: - أيضاً: - إذا كَانَ لَكَ صَدِيقٌ وَلَمْ تَحْمَدْ إِخَاءَهُ وَمَوَدَّتَهُ فَلَا تُظْهِرْ ذَلِكَ لِلنَّاسِ، فَإِنَّمَا هُوَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ السَّيْفِ الْكَلِيلِ^١ فِي مَنْزِلِ الرَّجُلِ، يُرْهِبُ بِهِ عَدُوَّهُ وَلَا يَعْلَمُ الْعَدُوُّ أَنَّ صَارِمَهُ هُوَ أَمَّ كَلِيلٍ^٢.

690. عنه: - أيضاً: - إذا أَحْسَنَ أَحَدٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِكَ فَلَا تَخْرُجْ إِلَيْهِ بِغَايَةِ بَرِّكَ، وَلَكِنْ اتْرُكْ مِنْهُ شَيْئاً تَزِيدُهُ إِيَّاهُ عِنْدَ تَبَيُّنِكَ مِنْهُ الزِّيَادَةُ فِي نَصِيحَتِهِ^٣.

691. عنه: - أيضاً: - مِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَنْقُصُكَ إِذَا زِدْتَهُ، وَيَهُونُ عَلَيْكَ إِذَا خَاصَصْتَهُ، لَيْسَ لِرِضَاهُ مَوْضِعٌ تَعْرِفُهُ، وَلَا لِسُخْطِهِ مَكَانٌ تُحَذِّرُهُ، فَإِذَا لَقِيتَ أَوْلِيكَ فَاذْكُلْهُمْ مَوْضِعَ الْمَوَدَّةِ الْعَامَّةِ، وَاحْرِمْهُمْ مَوْضِعَ الْخَاصَّةِ؛ لِيَكُونَ مَا بَدَلْتَ لَهُمْ مِنْ ذَلِكَ حَائِلاً دُونَ شَرِّهِمْ، وَمَا حَرَمْتَهُمْ مِنْ هَذَا قَاطِعاً لِحُرْمَتِهِمْ^٤.

692. عنه: - أيضاً: - مَنْ سَاسَ رَعِيَّةً حَرَمَ عَلَيْهِ الشُّكْرُ عَقْلاً؛ لِأَنَّهُ قَبِيحٌ أَنْ يَحْتَاجَ الْحَارِسُ إِلَى مَنْ يَحْرُسُهُ^٥.

693. عنه: - أيضاً: - لَا تَقْبَلِ الرِّيَاسَةَ عَلَى أَهْلِ مَدِينَتِكَ؛ فَإِنَّهُمْ لَا يَسْتَقِيمُونَ لَكَ إِلَّا بِمَا تَخْرُجُ بِهِ مِنْ شَرِّ الرِّئَاسَةِ الْفَاضِلِ^٦.

694. عنه: - أيضاً: - لَا تُخَيِّمَنَّ رَأْساً كُنْتَ تَعْرِفُهُ بِالْخُمُولِ، وَسَمَتْ بِهِ الْحَالُ، وَيَعْرِفُ مِنْكَ أَنَّكَ تَعْرِفُ قَدِيمَهُ؛ فَإِنَّهُ وَإِنْ سُرَّ بِمَكَانِكَ مِنْ خِدْمَتِهِ، إِلَّا أَنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ الْعَيْنَ الَّتِي تَرَاهُ بِهَا، فَيَنْقِصُ عَنْكَ بِحَسَبِ ذَلِكَ^٧.

١. كُلُّ السَّيْفِ فَهُوَ كَلِيلٌ: إِذَا لَمْ يَقْطَعْ (النهاية: ج 4 ص 198).

٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 309 ح 550.

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 331 ح 798.

٤. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 320 ح 673.

٥. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 338 ح 871.

٦. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 282 ح 232.

٧. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 337 ح 865.

689. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "If you have a friend whose brotherhood and friendship you do not approve, do not reveal it to the people, for such a friend is like a dull sword in one's house that frightens the foe and they do not know whether it is sharp or dull."¹
690. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "Whenever a friend of yours does something good to you do not pay him back with full reward, but reserve some of it for a later time when his benevolence adds up."²
691. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "There are some people who diminish their favor when you increase yours and degrade you when you take them as your special friend. Their pleasure is not positioned where you can realize it and their fury is not situated where you can avoid it. If you ever encounter them, offer them your common friendship and deny them your deep friendship so that what you grant them may serve as a defense against their harms and what you deny them may keep their respect in check."³
692. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "A person who heads a group, wisdom forbids him to get drunk, for it is indecent for a guardian to be in need of someone [else] to guard him."⁴
693. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "Do not accept chairmanship over the people of your hometown since they would not be in agreement with you unless you overpass the status of an accomplished leader."⁵
694. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "Do not serve a leader whose indolence you are aware of and whom the circumstances has raised [to a high position] and he knows that you are aware of his past. For although he would be pleased with your service, he knows how [disdainfully] you look at him, so he would be annoyed with you."⁶

1. Ibid, vol. 20, p. 309, h. 550.

2. Ibid, vol. 20, p. 331, h. 798.

3. Ibid, vol. 20, p. 320, h. 673.

4. Ibid, vol. 20, p. 338, h. 871.

5. Ibid, vol. 20, p. 282, h. 232.

6. Ibid, vol. 20, p. 337, h. 865.

695. عنه عليه السلام: وَلَا تُرْخَصُوا لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ فَتُدْهِنُوا وَتَذْهَبَ بِكُمْ الرُّخَصُ مَذَاهِبَ الظَّلَمَةِ فَتَهْلِكُوا وَلَا تُدَاهِنُوا فِي الْحَقِّ إِذَا وَرَدَ عَلَيْكُمْ وَعَرَفْتُمُوهُ فَتَخَسَّرُوا خُسْرَاناً مُبِيناً.^١
696. عنه عليه السلام - فِي الْحُكْمِ الْمُنْسُوبَةِ إِلَيْهِ -: أَضَرُّ الْأَشْيَاءِ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تُعْلِمَ رَئِيسَكَ أَنَّكَ أَعْرَفُ بِالرِّيَاسَةِ مِنْهُ.^٢
697. عنه عليه السلام - أَيْضاً -: قَلِيلٌ يُتْرَقَى مِنْهُ إِلَى كَثِيرٍ خَيْرٌ مِنْ كَثِيرٍ يُنْحَطُّ عَنْهُ إِلَى قَلِيلٍ.^٣
698. عنه عليه السلام - أَيْضاً -: لَيْسَ يَضُرُّكَ أَنْ تَرَى صَدِيقَكَ عِنْدَ عَدُوِّكَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ إِنْ لَمْ يَنْفَعَكَ لَمْ يَضُرَّكَ.^٤

١. تحف العقول: ص 150.

٢. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 337 ح 863.

٣. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 344 ح 953.

٤. شرح نهج البلاغة لابن أبي الحديد: ج 20 ص 336 ح 852.

695. Imām 'Ali (a.s.); "Do not let your desires be free, for they will lead you to the ways of tyrants and hence destroy you. Once truth comes to you and you happen to realize it, do not be indolent about it, as you will be at a great loss."¹
696. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) – from an aphorism attributed to him: "The most detrimental to you is to inform your superior that you excel over him in chairmanship."²
697. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –from an aphorism attributed to him: "The little that leads to abundance is better than the abundance that leads to little."³
698. Imām 'Ali (a.s.) –from an aphorism attributed to him: "It is of no harm to you to find your friend with your foe, for if he brings you no profit he will not cause you any harm."⁴

1. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqul*, p. 150.

2. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 20, p. 337, ḥ. 863.

3. *Ibid*, vol. 20, p. 344, ḥ. 953.

4. *Ibid*, vol. 20, p. 336, ḥ. 852.

